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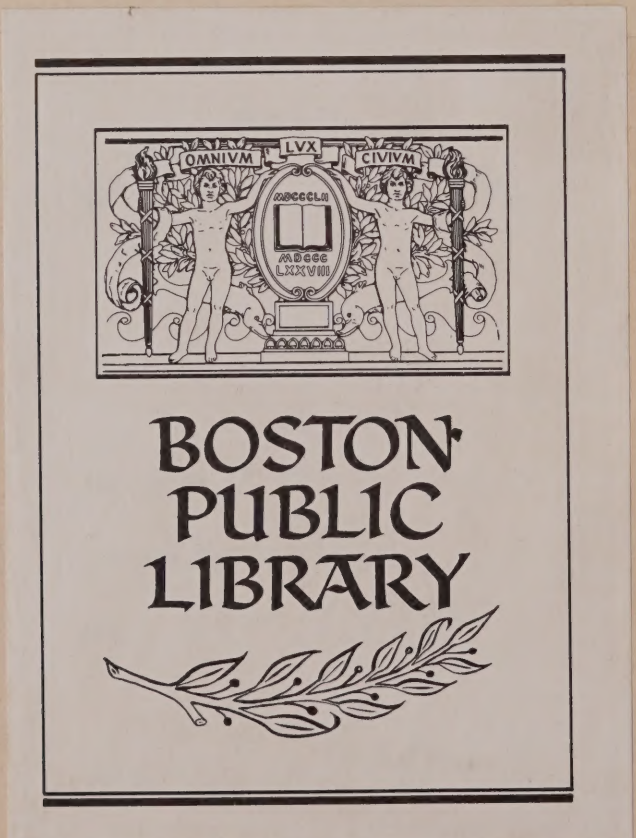

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A WEEKLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO

POLITICS, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1875.*

## The Week.

ONE of the most extraordinary incidents in the Beecher case was Mr. Beach's commentary on the part played in it by Mr. Tracy, which is, we think, about the most remarkable example of that now common feat of "hating the sin and loving the sinner" we have met with in a long while. Mr. Beach accused Mr. Tracy in a formal and deliberate manner of having obtained from Tilton as his "chosen friend and counsellor" a "full and free communication of his secrets" with regard to this transaction, and of having afterwards "pledged his word and honor that he would not under any circumstances thereafter become the counsel of Henry Ward Beecher in antagonism to Theodore Tilton"; of having, in spite of this pledge, afterwards not only become Beecher's counsel, but offered himself while counsel as a witness against his former client. This, if true, Mr. Beach rightly characterizes as an exhibition of "professional treachery and personal dishonor." On hearing these assertions made in this solemn manner in open court, one would naturally conclude that Mr. Beach would not only hold no further intercourse, either personal or professional, with Tracy, but that he would make some attempt in the interest of public morality to get him disbarred, and to drive him out of decent society. This is certainly what lawyers of Mr. Beach's standing used to do under such circumstances in old times at this bar, and it is what they do still at the bars of other civilized nations. But Mr. Beach does not mean to do anything of the kind. On the contrary, he opened his attack on Tracy in the regular Brooklyn fashion, by telling him "that he had no feeling for him but one of the utmost kindness"; "that he said nothing about this matter from any unfriendliness or any desire to injure his feelings"; that "his relations with him had been entirely cordial, and that nothing that had happened or should happen in that case would interrupt that friendliness of sentiment"; and that "what he (Tracy) had done would not diminish the feeling that he (Beach) had hitherto entertained for that gentleman"; and that "he trusted nothing he should say would embitter the sentiment of that gentleman (Tracy) towards himself." There is of course a Pickwickianism which is funny and harmless, but Pickwickianism of this sort on such an occasion is not only repulsive but mischievous. Why should Tracy or anybody else not commit "professional treachery and personal dishonor" if he is not to suffer for it either in pocket or in social relations?

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The fact seems to be that Mr. Beach, while thundering against Brooklyn notions of morality and social relations, is himself in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity. One of the peculiarities of chromo-civilization is that it makes no distinctions between persons, holding that one man or woman who weeps and prays and sings is just as good as another, and that it does not make much, if any, difference what your course of life has been or is, provided you "feel kindly" towards people and do not allow things to "embitter your sentiments." Consequently, a chromo-civilized Christian is quite capable of making a speech of this kind to a brother man: "You have, my dear sir, committed every offence which it is in the least worth your while to commit; you have betrayed your clients and wards; you have wasted the substance of the poor; you have broken your word of honor to your friends, and have perjured yourself in courts of justice. I would not trust you alone in the room with a silver spoon, and believe you would take a brief from the devil himself if he made your fee large enough. Now, I hate these offences deeply. I think no man ought to commit them. I believe God disapproves of them in a mild way, but trust this expression of my opinion will not hurt your feelings. In fact, I only make it because I find that Pothier, the renowned jurist, Hugo Grotius, the Apostle Paul, and Dr. Lieber have given utterance to similar sentiments in several of their great works, as you know, doubtless, as well as I. Towards you personally, my dear old cultured friend, I need hardly say my feelings are entirely unchanged. I love you as I have always loved you. Whenever you feel wearied with your frauds and adulteries and lies, you know you are welcome to my fireside. Come near to me, that I may get my arm around your neck, and lend me your pocket-handkerchief, and sit down while I send out for a 'floral tribute.'"

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The railroad statistics for the year 1874 have appeared during the week, and they show a result at variance with the common notion that railroad business was more unprofitable than any other. The gross earnings of the 69,273 miles of road in the country were $520,466,016, and the net earnings $189,570,958; the gross earnings in 1873, when the mileage was 66,237, were $526,419,935, while the net earnings were only $183,810,562. These figures show that the reduction in the cost of materials and labor more than compensated the loss in total receipts. The total amount invested in railroads in this country is $4,221,763,594, or more than double that in the securities of the United States Government. The construction of new roads during the year amounted to only 1,940 miles, or less than one-third the average of the preceding five years. This check to the too rapid expansion of the railroad system is an encouraging sign for all railroad property. With the population of the country increasing at the rate of about one million per year, it is clear that within a comparatively short time every railroad which was judiciously laid out will become, with proper management, good property. The tonnage in 1874 exceeded that of previous years, and shows that the general complaints of dulness in trade were not well founded. The dividends paid in 1873 were $67,042,942; in 1874, $67,120,709. The statistics with regard to the Western and Southern States will not greatly encourage the Grangers, for in the former the net earnings equalled 3.8 per cent. of the cost, while the dividends paid amounted to 1.92 per cent. on the stock; in the latter the net earnings were 3.3 per cent. on the cost, and the dividends paid amounted to one-half of one per cent. on the capital stock.

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The Chicago *Tribune* complains of our recent treatment of Judge Dillon, apropos of his decision touching the Iowa railroad law, and maintains that we did him injustice both in our account of the two decisions which we alleged to be contradictory, and in the strictures which we based on them. Now, we venture to repeat again that the two decisions are diametrically opposed to each other, and that it was owing to an oversight that the first one was not cited at the bar in the recent argument. The distinction the *Tribune* thinks it sees, amounts to nothing even if it exists. We had not intended, however, by anything we said to cast any imputation on Judge Dillon's motives. What we said was—and to this we adhere—that foreign investors who do not know him will see in his giving two decisions, each of which has happened to favor a cheating process on the part of the State, reasons for doubting his purity, particularly in view of the tricks the Grangers have recently been playing with the judges in more than one State; and that American credit of all kinds will, therefore, suffer through his course. This will doubtless be unjust, but that it will happen we have no doubt whatever. We believe, in fact, that the material development of the West is likely to be seriously retarded by the growing suspicion of the honesty of the people as indicated by their course towards their creditors, and by the conduct of the judicial bench with regard to exciting public questions; and it is right that it should be so. This is the way the world is governed and the knaves prevented from permanently getting the upper hand.

There have been no further failures of importance in London, and the uneasy feeling which existed there has passed away. The Bank of England continues to gain steadily in its bullion account, the increase in the past ten days having been larger than in any like time for several years. The gold shipments from here were checked early in the week because of the absolute scarcity of the metal, but have been renewed since the Treasury began the prepayment without rebate of the July interest. There has been a good demand for first-class securities here and in Europe; the Syndicate find ready purchasers in Europe for the new United States five per cent. funding bonds, and they have accordingly been able to request Mr. Bristow to call in $5,000,000 more five-twenty six per cents., which he did on Saturday. They now expect to take the entire remainder of the new fives within the time limited by their contract. The New York banks report only $8,850,000 gold, against $19,700,000 last year and $27,660,000 in 1873. This weakness in coin reserve would be alarming to the money market were it not that the banks hold such a large amount of legal-tender notes—$71,500,000, a good part of which has been obtained by forwarding to Washington for redemption national-bank notes sent here for deposit during the summer. It is worthy of note that a more cheerful feeling prevails among business men. From all sections the reports in regard to the crops and business prospects are encouraging. This improved feeling has been more or less reflected at the Stock Exchange, where shares have advanced.

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The reports of the army officers, made through General Pope, on the condition of the Indians at the agencies, which so far confirmed Professor Marsh's charges, have received further corroboration from the report of General Miles on the operations of the troops against the hostile Indians in the Department of the Missouri during the past year. He discusses at the close the causes of these outbreaks and the best means of preventing them. He condemns, in the first place, in the strongest terms the practice of collecting thousands of savages on remote reservations, under no control "except that of one or two individuals, beyond or on the verge of civilization," where they are not only cut off from the only occupations they respect or have been trained to—murder and pillage—but live in complete idleness. No civilizing process is therefore going on among them, and they are in the meantime allowed to provide themselves with the most improved weapons. They are consequently always ready for an outbreak, but the immediate provocation, General Miles says, usually comes from the fact that, though the Government undertakes to support them on the reservation, "the provisions given them are insufficient to satisfy their wants." "They have been," he says, "for weeks without their bread-ration, and their year's allowance of food is exhausted in six or seven months; thus they are half-starved or half-fed," and "become dissatisfied or hostile." He therefore suggests that they should be disarmed and dismounted, and placed under some government strong enough to command their respect, instead of solitary agents selected by missionary societies, (and forced to betake themselves to pastoral pursuits,) for which they are well fitted, and which would not involve such a violent transition as their conversion into agriculturists. At any rate, the scandals of the present system have gone so far as to call for some radical remedy. There is now talk at Washington of the transfer of the whole business of feeding the Indians to the War Department, which would doubtless secure the honest distribution of the supplies; but then the process of pauperizing the Indians would still go on, and nothing can be worse than this. We cannot elevate savages or anybody else by feeding them for nothing. Men are elevated by working for their living and enjoying in security the fruits of their toil.

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The "People's Independent Party" in California has held a convention and adopted what we believe to be the longest platform on record. It contains thirty-six planks, and leaves very few subjects of legislation untouched, besides making several excursions into the region of pure morals. It rejoices over the subsidence of the passions of the war; denounces both the national parties in California; cuts out work for the Independent party, which includes the establishment of a perfect State government; forms a league between the cities on the coast and the counties of the interior; denounces railroad corporations, and gives up all hope of relief from their extortion through competition; proclaims the right of the State to regulate charges; demands a transcontinental railroad, to be managed by the pure and good; proclaims the supremacy of the public over lakes and rivers; denounces local water and gas companies; bewails the cost of the State government; calls for a reduction of special salaries; demands perfect equality in taxation, and calls on assessors to be just; criticises the grand juries; repudiates strict party discipline; and declares that this movement has nothing to do with the Presidential contest of next year. There is a good deal that is good in the platform, but it is safe to say that a party which seeks to accomplish so much, and that much of such a lofty character, cannot expect to accomplish a great deal. No party can regenerate either the whole earth or any one State, and there is no use in any party taking its stand on the Ten Commandments; for it will find nobody to offer what a reform party most needs—direct opposition. The reform parties which are now springing up all over the country in fact attempt too much, and often illustrate the proverb about the nearness of the sublime to the ridiculous.

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The Cincinnati *Commercial* has been making an amusing exposure of the "record" of General S. F. Cary, the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant-Governor in Ohio. One of the planks of the platform declares the opposition of the party to "what are called sumptuary laws," or any "interference with the social habits or customs not in themselves criminal," and denounces "any espionage by one class of citizens upon another." On this platform General Cary now stands, and asks for the votes of the liquor-sellers. Unfortunately, however, the *Commercial* has discovered that in 1849 this same General Cary was a temperance orator and writer, and in that capacity composed one or two thoughtful tracts upon the subject, which were published by the National Division of the Sons of Temperance. In these tracts the General declares that the manufacture and sale of liquor is a crime against society, and demands that it shall be "incorporated in the same catalogue with the highest crimes known to the law." The great hope of his life is, he says, "to induce the sovereigns of this land—the people—to wrest from the hands of intemperance and its coadjutors—the liquor-sellers—the power of the law, and turn it upon the adversary." The question of sumptuary laws he settles by declaring that it is the province of government to guard the property, health, reputation, and lives of its citizens; that the traffic in liquors impoverishes a people, impairs their health, destroys their characters and reputations and also their lives, and therefore comes clearly within the proper reach of the criminal law. "If an individual," he continues, "recklessly discharge a cannon in the crowded streets of a city, and mow down indiscriminately men, women, and children, it would be no excuse that he did not intend to injure anybody." So with the liquor-seller, *malice*, in a legal sense, is *implied* by the very nature of his act, and, on the whole, the General does not see how the rumsellers can escape being regarded as "outlaws."

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The case of William Allen, candidate for re-election as Governor, is quite as bad. Mr. Allen's speeches when in the Senate have been unearthed, and it seems that on every occasion he was in the habit of denouncing paper-money in unmeasured terms, declaring, for instance, that "privilege, paper, and oppression stand arrayed on the one side, against liberty, labor, and property on the other." On the 31st of December, 1838, he offered a resolution "that those legal provisions by which the Government was originally required, in the transaction of its own affairs, to receive and to tender in payment as money nothing but that which is made a legal tender by the Constitution, ought to be revived, with those modifications only, as to time and proportion, suggested by the present

condition of the country." To make the whole thing complete, it need only be added that this was immediately after the panic of 1837, and that Mr. Allen's economical studies then enabled him to trace all the disasters of the time to one thing—an unlimited issue of paper-money. As showing how prolonged study may modify the deepest thinker's views, it is interesting to observe that Mr. Allen proposes as the panacea for financial panics in 1875 what he erroneously thought in 1838 was their cause.

The opposition to Tammany has spent the last few days in organizing a new party in the interest of the "Short-Hairs," but without much chance of success. There is, to be sure, a great deal of dissatisfaction in the party with its leaders, as there always is as soon as the patronage is pretty well distributed, and numbers of the faithful men who have sacrificed themselves to the party discover that there is no chance of their reaping their reward, and besides this there is the dissatisfaction of the laborers with the reduction of wages; but, on the other side, there is the immense obstacle, that Governor Tilden and John Kelly and their friends have really got possession of the machine; that the machine represents now an unusual amount of wealth, respectability, and consequent independence; and that any bold attempt to strike the city treasury would probably bring out a heavy vote against the strikers. So long as the control of the party by Mr. Tilden and his friends means a saving of two or three millions in a single year by vetoes alone, they may certainly count on a good deal of support of the non-political sort. However, the present movement is not so much one directed immediately against the city as it is against Tammany itself, and it is rather "reform within the party" that the reformers want than the formation of a permanently opposing or even parasitic faction. "Reform within the party" of course, in this case, means the removal of General Porter and one or two other insufficiently magnetic persons, and filling their places with one or two friends of the "boys."

Some of the newspapers a short time ago discussed with a good deal of warmth the propriety of the erection of a Musical College in Central Park in this city. The signing of the bill by the Governor will, it is to be hoped, tend toward the clearing up of the awful mystery which surrounds the whole project. Of course, if the donor or promoter wishes to keep his name in obscurity, he is entitled to do so; but there is something very stimulating to public curiosity in the news of a proposition to present the public of New York with what must be the largest fund ever dedicated to music by any private person. The controversy which has been going on in the newspapers seems almost insignificant compared with the importance of knowing what the real facts are about the origin and purpose of the gift itself. There is no doubt that the offer has been made, and that trustees of respectable standing have undertaken the duty of carrying out the founder's plan. But what is the plan, and can it be carried out? With three or five millions, which are the modest sums generally mentioned in connection with the enterprise, a whole people might almost be made musical; and if these sums are dedicated not merely to instruction, but to amusement as well, we might have concerts in the Central Park which should do for the public at large what Thomas now does for a small part of it. The want of summer amusements for the city is one of its great defects, and anything which tends to increase their number must be looked upon as a benefaction.

On the 8th of last month Mr. Schurz received at Berlin a gratifying tribute like that which signalized his departure from this country. Among the prominent Americans present at a dinner given in his honor were Dr. J. P. Thompson, the presiding officer, and Prof. W. D. Whitney, while Dr. Friedrich Kapp may be said to have represented the German-Americans; Mommsen, Virchow, Gneist, and other professors, the universities; and Von Benningsen, Speaker of the Prussian House, Von Bernuth, vice-president of the House of Lords, and Rösing, formerly consul-general in this city, the Liberal party of Germany. Mr. Schurz's remarks, spoken in two languages, were brief and impersonal, and were devoted to showing the natural and indeed actual sympathy of the people of the United States with that of Germany, and the absence of any conflicting interests between them. In urging a reciprocal regard on the part of the Germans, it was of course necessary to look in the face the fact of our country's declining reputation abroad since the war, owing partly to rascality by which foreigners have suffered heavily, and partly to the free exposure of its vices by its own press and public men in their efforts to bring about a better state of things. This part of Mr. Schurz's speech was marked by his usual tact and delicacy, and it is certain that no other of our public men, had he stood in Mr. Schurz's place, could with the same grace and effectiveness have maintained the substantial soundness of the American character. On the other hand, there is scarcely a leader of that party which has heaped contumely upon Mr. Schurz as a renegade, from whom such a defence of his own countrymen before a German audience would not have seemed both impudent and ridiculous.

The Attorney-General has given an opinion on German-American citizenship which is of considerable interest. In 1848, one Steinkauler, a Prussian subject, emigrated to this country, and in 1854 was naturalized. In 1855, he had a son born in St. Louis, and four years later he took back his family, including this son, to Germany, where he has ever since continuously resided at Wiesbaden. In 1866, Wiesbaden came under the North German Confederation, and the son, who is now twenty years of age, has been called upon by the German Government for military duty. Mr. Steinkauler invoked the aid of the United States Legation at Berlin, on the ground that his son was a native-born American citizen. On this application, Mr. Bancroft Davis enquired whether the son would give an assurance of intention to return to America within any reasonable time and resume the duties of a citizen; but the father declined to give any such assurance. On this state of facts the Attorney-General says that there is no reason for any interference of the Government; that the naturalization treaty of 1868 between North Germany and the United States provides that "if a German, naturalized in America, renews his residence in North Germany without the intent to return to America, he shall be held to have renounced his naturalization in the United States," and that the intent not to return may be inferred from a residence of more than two years in the other country. Under this treaty, according to the Attorney-General, Steinkauler the father abandoned his American citizenship and became a German subject, and thus "by virtue of German laws the son acquired German nationality." But it is "equally clear," he continues, that the son "by birth has American nationality," and hence "he has two nationalities, one natural, the other acquired." Again, "there is no law of the United States under which his father or any other person can deprive him of his birthright." More than this, young Steinkauler "can return to America at the age of twenty-one, and in due time, if the people elect, he can become President of the United States"; but at the same time, the son, "being domiciled with the father and subject to him under the law during his minority, and receiving the German protection, where he has an acquired nationality," and declining to give any assurance of his intention to return and assume the duties of an American citizen, the Attorney-General decides that he is not entitled to the protection of our Government. The status, then, in law of a German uhlan, say of the age of twenty, who is mustered into the German service for a period necessarily fixed by German laws and perhaps not terminating till he is thirty, but who, nevertheless, has by birthright a sort of inchoate American citizenship, which on the day he becomes of age ripens into a full citizenship, entitles him to desert the German army, come home, and run for his State legislature. This is rather difficult for the mind to grasp, and in the case of a war between the two countries would be apt to lead to remarkable consequences. If such is the law, it would seem to need revision.

## THE "SHORT-HAIRS" AND THE TAXPAYERS.

THE contest now raging between the "Short-Hairs" and the "Swallow-Tails" upon the question of the rate of wages paid to laborers employed by the city, though many people will turn from it with disgust as a mere politicians' fight, is one of very great interest to the inhabitants, not only of this city but of all large cities. On the surface, it seems a small matter—viz., whether the city shall pay its laborers a dollar and a half or two dollars a day—and the difference would probably in the course of the year be a comparatively small proportion of the taxes. But then the principle involved is of enormous importance, as the taxpayers will find out before very many years, if they do not see to it that the matter is now settled in the right way once for all. The "Swallow-Tails," strange to say, and the Department of Public Works which they control, are desirous of dealing with the question of wages on economical grounds—that is, of paying persons employed by the city the rate of wages paid by private employers, or, in other words, the rate fixed by the action of demand and supply in the markets. The "Short-Hairs," however, headed by John Morrissey, the ex-pugilist, and with more or less countenance from more respectable opponents of John Kelly, insist upon it that the city should pay not what labor can be got for, but what the laborers consider a reasonable sum, on the ground that the city is something different from and higher than a body of taxpayers executing certain works in concert for the common benefit, and that, therefore, it ought to be governed by other than business considerations; and they announce their intention of voting against all officials who support or connive at the payment of the market rate.

It ought to be observed, in the first place, that, as we pointed out a fortnight ago, the ease with which employment is obtained in the city, and the exemption from the rigorous enforcement of the ordinary penalties for idleness or incompetency which city laborers enjoy, has had the effect of drawing to this point large bodies of shiftless persons from all parts of the country, whose presence here would be dangerous and undesirable even if they were not voters, and did not obtain the power very speedily after their arrival of drawing large appropriations of money for their own benefit out of the pockets of the citizens whom they find engaged here in trade, commerce, and manufactures. It is no injustice to say, therefore, that the laborers now employed by the city are, for the most part, an inferior body of men, both morally and physically, whom it is a gross injustice to pamper or protect or in any manner encourage out of the public treasury. Instead of deserving more consideration than other people, they deserve less. It must be borne in mind, also, that such inducements as have been offered them hitherto have been offered them, so to speak, on the sly. That is, the city politicians have *pretended* to pay the market rate of wages, and to employ and dismiss men on the same conditions as other employers. In reality, they have not done so. For a long time they have paid more than the market rate, and have used their patronage simply to reward political support, but they have not made public announcement of the fact. The drift of good-for-nothings into the municipal works has therefore had the outward marks of an abuse which the perpetrators either tried to disguise or kept silent about. When, therefore, their demands on the taxpayers have reached their present height under existing circumstances, we may guess what they will be when the comfort of lazy and bad workmen is openly proclaimed as one of the objects of municipal government.

This is what is now sought by the "Short-Hairs." They wish to have the right of the city officials to pay such wages as they please, without regard to the market rate—or, in other words, to distribute every year an enormous sum in charity to persons selected by themselves, and without control or accountability—formally and publicly recognized. The difference between what they can get labor for, and what they pay for it, is of course charity. It may be called "wages," or any other name you please, but its character remains the same. In paying it, the city officers are giving away the money of the taxpayers without any check, because the accounts of an officer who may pay what he pleases in wages are absolutely valueless. They will tell you how much has been spent, but they tell nothing as to whether it has been well and properly and necessarily spent. In fact, absolute discretion as to the rate of wages might in practice, and in the hands of persons even half as audacious as Tweed and Sweeny, amount to complete control of the appropriations for certain important portions of the municipal expenditure. The phrase, "sufficient to keep a workingman and his family in comfort," which the "Short-Hairs" propose to substitute for "market value," has nothing in the least definite about it, and may be, and probably would be, construed with the widest variety of interpretation. If the city laborers once found that their officers had complete discretion in the matter, they would doubtless change their standard of living very rapidly, and would probably decide before long that an American citizen working for the public, even in the humble duty of excavating or carrying hods, ought to have ten dollars a day. In fact, if the proposed rate of payment were once adopted, attempts to keep down taxation and to prevent the gradual confiscation of the property of the taxpayer would rapidly become farcical in their futility. The taxpayers could not escape by suspending the works and discharging the laborers, because the very same arguments which are used in defence of paying them more than they are worth in the market, would be used with still greater force to prevent their dismissal. If the city is bound to pay men what *they* think is sufficient to maintain them in comfort, it is *à fortiori* bound not to let them starve. In fact, from the duty of purchasing labor at a fancy price to the duty of purchasing it whether you want it or not, there is only one short step; and any body of voters which successfully insists on either in this city will be reinforced so rapidly from other places that the wages of city laborers will rise in the direct ratio of the increase in the number of laborers, and the economists be thus covered with confusion, and "the pauper labor of Europe," to which amusing reference was made at the laborers' meeting the other day, be thus once more brought into greater disrepute than ever. In fact, the word "pauper" is in the hands of some of our economists and agitators rapidly losing its original meaning. It used to signify a person who could not or would not sell his labor for enough to support him. It now begins to mean a person who cannot procure legislation for forcing people to buy his labor whether they need it or not.

Another point in this "Short-Hair" movement to which we wish to direct the earnest attention of municipal taxpayers, is the fact that it is an attempt to introduce into American politics a delusion which has been and is now the curse of the European continent, and which, while declining under the influence of bitter experience in France, begins to gain strength in Germany through the labors of a new school of professorial economists—the notion that the government either of a city or state is something different from, and superior to, the people who support it. The great safeguard of American institutions—the reason why free government has succeeded here and has failed in most other countries—is that no hallucination on this point has yet taken possession of the public mind. It has not been possible by any trick or juggle to persuade people that the money in the Treasury to-day is other than the money they had themselves given the tax-gatherer yesterday, or that the officers of the Government had any peculiar sources of wisdom or knowledge, or any powers or capacities, not attainable by their fellow-citizens. So that there has been no time when it was possible here for a man to get up, without being more or less laughed at, and talk of "the state" as a glorious, beneficent, and all-powerful being, whose duty it is not only to execute the laws, but instruct, enlighten, and relieve the people. Everybody here knows that when Smith becomes governor he is no wiser than before his election, and that when he and the legislature get together, their united wisdom is about as great as the wisdom of each of them, and is not the result of any chemical change, making a new or peculiar faculty, which qualifies them to instruct the private citizen how to manage his affairs, or to raise their management of the public funds above criticism. Nothing could be more dangerous or disastrous than to have this robust and healthy view of the relations of ruler and ruled supplanted by the mystic folly of the German

professors and French Reds, which makes the State a kind of Providence. On this point it is impossible to overestimate the value of the training of the town governments. If you told a New England farmer that the town could afford or was bound to pay more for labor than the individual taxpayers could afford or were bound to pay, or that the town was a mighty and munificent entity, whose purse ought to be ever open, and which should never haggle in its bargains, he would be greatly amused. There is nothing in the constitution of a city to make the responsibilities of its officers with regard to money different from those of a town's officers. The city is simply a body of taxpayers. It can afford what the taxpayers can afford, and no more. Its duties to the poor are what theirs are. The great maxims of prudence and morality applicable to the conduct of private affairs are applicable to its affairs. Giving away its money for any purpose whatever, unnecessarily, or without authorization, is stealing from a large number of private citizens, nearly all of whom are persons of small means, struggling with difficulty from year to year to make ends meet. All payments to "Short-Hair" voters, therefore, of more than their labor is worth, are simply frauds upon persons almost as poor, but honester and more industrious, and the efforts that are now being made to disguise them ought to be sternly repressed. In fact, the charter ought to provide some cheap and simple process by which any taxpayer could call to account any department guilty, as nearly all the departments now are, of the dishonest use of the public money, in giving bonuses to the lazy and undeserving persons who crowd into the service of the city, simply because they are either too lazy or too tricky or too disreputable to secure employment from private citizens.

## THE EUROPEAN ARMAMENTS.

ONE of the most striking features in the political discussions now going on in Europe is that the principal question of interest is the military question, and England does not furnish an exception to the rule; and what makes this all the more remarkable is that this interest in military matters is accompanied by wonderful commercial activity. Capital, machinery, railroads, steamboats, telegraphs, new lines of communication, are accumulating with extraordinary rapidity, and the financial interdependence of nations, through the growth of national debts and the investment of capital in foreign enterprises, is every day becoming greater and greater, so that the shock to credit of even the sign of a war bids fair in a few years to be tremendous. Yet the amount of money, labor, and thought put into preparation for war was never anything like so great in proportion to the national resources as it is at this moment. The arts of war, in fact, receive now in every great nation in Europe an amount of positive encouragement such as has never been anywhere bestowed on those of peace. Its professors are honored above men in any other walk of life; enormous rewards of the most attractive kind are offered to them for improvements of every kind in their calling, and a considerable portion of the national revenue is devoted every year to enabling them to make experiments. Besides this, almost the entire able-bodied male population is passing in some way or other into the army, and the existence of armies constituted in this way is a constant menace to peace. In England, the volunteer system is at this moment the subject of constant complaints, and people are beginning, not exactly to think of resorting to conscription, but to contemplate the possibility of having to abandon their old volunteer system for some other better suited to a possible conflict with one of the great Continental powers, or, more accurately, to the possible necessity of interference in Continental quarrels. It is admitted on all hands that the English army as at present constituted would be completely unable to participate in any European conflict, and would, indeed, be unable to furnish an auxiliary force worthy of notice to any Continental ally.

The change in the conditions of European warfare which has reduced her to this condition may be said to have taken place within twenty years, and they are worth studying as one of the results of recent industrial progress. Ever since the Revolution of 1688, England has been able to make a respectable figure in all the great Continental wars—that is, she was always able to despatch a force of Englishmen, Scotchmen, or Irishmen to the Continent, and able, with the assistance of such auxiliaries as she was able to secure by diplomacy or pay, to hold her own against anything which the greatest military power of the day could send against it. Her armies were the first to cow Louis XIV., and during his reign and that of his successor brought the French monarchy to the brink of ruin by a succession of victories. After its overthrow and the rise of Napoleon, she sent a sufficiently large force to Spain to check the progress of his arms in that quarter, and finally, with such assistance as the Spaniards could give, to drive him out of the country, and the following year confronted the whole French army for a whole day at Waterloo, and came out of the struggle with the reputation of being the first military power in the world. In 1853, too, she was able to send a force to the Crimea which, if it had been properly commanded and organized, would, without difficulty, have borne at least half the brunt of the war to the end, and indeed, as a matter of fact, mustered in much larger numbers at the close than at the beginning. She could, however, not only play no such part now in a Continental war, but she could not play any part at all that would not be mortifying to the national pride. As wars are waged in our day, the contingent she sent to Spain or the Crimea would hardly exert an appreciable effect on the fortunes of a struggle between any two great powers. A small detachment from the armies which Russia or Austria or Germany or France sends into the field would suffice to hold it in check. Besides this, the system of subsidies in money by which she exerted so much influence on Continental politics could no longer be resorted to, and for the simple reason that money will not now go nearly as far in military preparations as it did in the beginning of the century. Armies cost vastly more per man, and they contain more men, and though the wealth of England has increased prodigiously within the last fifty years, it has not increased in anything like the ratio of the expense of armament. "Le monstre Pitt avec ses guinées anglaises" who weighed so heavily on the French imagination during the war of the Revolution, and who was supposed to pay all the enemies of the Republic liberally, would find his money-bags in our time almost ridiculous.

This great change is due largely, of course, to the growth of revenues and population, but it is due mainly to the wonderful increase in the means of transportation. It is the railroads and steamers which have called great armies into existence, by making it possible to concentrate them rapidly. Great blows can now be struck in a fortnight with three or four hundred thousand men, and these can be kept together within one-tenth part of the space in which Napoleon could have kept them, because they can draw their subsistence from great distances. In short, the military systems of modern countries have been adapted to their industrial systems; and to ask countries like France or Germany now not to use their force in numbers in warfare, would be much the same thing as asking them not to use their skill in making rifles or cannon or steam-engines. They are only doing what they have always done—viz., getting as many men into the field as they can transport and maintain.

That there is any near probability of the disuse of great armies we presume very few thinking men not immediately engaged in the advocacy of peaceful modes of adjusting international differences really believe. Even if "the principle of arbitration" were accepted to-morrow in perfectly good faith by all the great military powers, we should probably not, in consequence of it, see a soldier the less in any part of Europe, and for the simple reason that, even after all thought of aggression and all fear of attack had virtually disappeared, each country would seek in its armed force a sign and guarantee of its freedom and security, such as a private citizen derives from the sight of the police and the courts, even when he has not the least dread of robbers or assassins. In the present state of civilization, the preservation of national self-respect is hardly possible apart from a strong sense on the part of the nation of ability, not to do any particular thing, not to assail this

neighbor or annex that piece of territory, but to do whatever thing it may happen to please without let or hindrance; and this sense can only be got in Europe from the existence of an efficient armed force. Nothing else can give it until there has been a great change in the popular mind with regard to the use of force and the relation of force to morality—a change of which there is no immediate sign.

There are also, it must be remembered, three nations in Europe just now in that uneasy state of mind through which the individual passes just as he is entering on manhood. Neither Russia nor Germany nor Italy knows as yet exactly what it wants, nor, with the consciousness of great capabilities, has it made up its mind as to how its ambition is to be gratified. Moreover, each of them is surrounded by territory into which expansion is possible or over which influence is desirable. Of the opportunities of Russian growth we need not speak, and the future of the scattered races of Eastern Europe is certainly a problem with which Germany begins to think she will eventually have to deal, while it is quite safe to predict that the generation now coming on the stage will see on the part of Italy a revival of visions and dreams with regard to the basin of the Mediterranean which are none the less dazzling for having been extinct for fourteen hundred years. We shall probably have more serious talk of disarmament when each says she has attained her legitimate place and is satisfied.

## OCCUPANCY OF THE LAND IN ENGLAND.

London, June 5, 1875.

ENGLAND is still steeped in political slumber. The vessel of the state is lying motionless; her sails are flapping idly against the mast, stirred gently, now one side, now another, by the feeble airs of public opinion; the crew are idling about, and the man at the wheel seems to think it hardly worth his while even to glance at the compass. So it is at present. But there are some slight indications that the season of rest is after all but temporary. There are two small clouds on either side of the horizon. Both are creeping slowly, very slowly, over the sky, and you may watch them from day to day, and from month to month, and you cannot say which of the two is most rapidly gaining ground. This time last year it seemed as if the future condition of the Church was going to absorb men's minds, and interest the different elements that go to make up the Parliamentary constituencies. Attempts to tinker up the old institution were like to bring it down about the tinker's ears. The Government saw this in time, and, with what some call prudence, and others timidity, they dropped it before they did much harm beyond that of disturbing men's minds, and showing to the world how tottering and unstable the old fabric was. This year they have left the Church to itself, but they have opened up another question—that of the occupancy of land; and it remains to be seen whether in so doing they have not raised the sluices of even deeper political feeling and controversy than they did when they undertook the responsibility of a "Bill to put down Ritualism."

Speaking broadly, it may be stated that the greater part of the soil in England, estimated as exceeding two-thirds of the whole, has been held by wealthy, or in some cases not wealthy, landlords, who, as eldest sons, have in most cases received it under deeds of entail or by right of primogeniture from their fathers, just as the latter did in their day from their fathers. Few if any of these landlords farm their own land. They may hold in their own hands a home farm to supply beef and mutton for their tables, and hay and corn for their horses. The remainder of their landed possessions are occupied by farmers, farming from fifty to five hundred acres each, and, as a rule, holding their occupancies on no written lease or formal agreement, but merely at will, from year to year, and liable to be turned out on a six months' notice. A sort of feudal relation has thus been fostered between landlord and tenant. The landlord draws the same rent from the tenant that his father drew from the tenant's father, and expects him, in consideration of the lowness of the rent and the practical security of his tenure, to pay him such respect as an inferior used to pay to a superior in the good old days, to give him no trouble, to vote as he votes at all elections, and to render him such feudal or quasi-feudal services as the spirit of the times admits. All these requirements the farmer not unwillingly fulfils. He and his family live in comfort upon their farms, working on them from early morn to dewy eve, and trusting to their own exertions, unaided by any modern artificial agencies, for a sufficient return from the land to keep them surrounded by all the material comforts which they presume to want. Mutual confidence is thus established between landlord and tenant—the ambition of the one is satisfied with a human edition of the easy life which the animals on the farm share along with him, and the other is satisfied with the moderate rents and the modest feudal services which his farmer renders.

This pleasing relation subsisting between the owner and occupier of the soil has lasted uninterruptedly in England since, I may almost say, the days of the Tudors. There is something poetical about it, and in its way idyllic. But it is hardly abreast of the spirit of the age. Wealth has increased. Facilities of locomotion and communication have changed the face even of agricultural England. The conditions of farming are different from what they were. The small farmer, working his own patch of land with no assistance but that given him by the manual exertions of his family, is fast becoming a thing of the past. High farming is now a necessity. Expensive tile-draining and wire-fencing, artificial manures and rich artificial feeding, good farm-steadings and cottages, costly machinery of the newest kinds, laborers at high wages, and all the other expensive agencies that follow upon wealth and keen competition, have driven or are rapidly driving the small man out of the field. Farming is no longer a pleasant lounge for a lazy, unambitious man with not much more intelligence than his oxen and his sheep. It is becoming a business conducted by men of capital and of scientific education. And in like manner, the letting of farms is becoming a matter of commercial contract, instead of as heretofore a sort of easy, social understanding between the owner and occupier of the soil, in which the old feudal relation of superior and vassal colored the whole arrangement. In Scotland, where the people are shrewd and less influenced by the poetry of the situation than their English neighbors when it interferes with their interests, the feudal relation has long died out. Farms in Scotland are almost universally held on nineteen years' lease. The contract between landlord and tenant is a pure matter of calculation. At the expiration of the lease the farm is generally let to the highest bidder, the old occupier getting perhaps a first chance of his farm at a rent advanced from 30 to 100 per cent. The farmers are mostly men of capital, who lay out their money freely at the beginning of their lease, with the confident expectation of getting their return during the last five or six years before it expires. They are independent of their landlord, and grant him no service, feudal or other, except the natural courtesies which one gentleman grants to another. They have, of course, their grievances. No class of men in these islands is emancipated from a Briton's privilege of grumbling at his lot. But, on the whole, the Scotch farmer, as compared with his English brother, has very little cause for complaint. They will not admit this account of them, but you may take it as a fact.

A change in this direction is impending in England. The Government have been driven into doing something for the farming interest, which in a stolid and bucolic array supported them with the landlords last year at the general election. Accordingly, the Duke of Richmond, as the Lord President of the Council and heir-presumptive to the Premiership, introduced into the House of Lords, early in the session, a bill entitled the "Agricultural Holdings (England) Bill," the object of which, as stated by him, is to remedy a grievance complained of by the tenant-farmers of England, that they had no security for the capital which they invested in the soil. If the bill passes, tenant-farmers will, under certain conditions, have a legal right to compensation for all improvements made by them in their farms and unexhausted when they have to leave them. The improvements for which compensation may be demanded are classified as follows:

First Class.

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|---|---|
| Drainage of land. | Making or improving of water-courses, ponds, wells, or reservoirs, or of works for supply of water for agricultural or domestic purposes. |
| Erection or enlargement of buildings. | |
| Laying down of permanent pasture. | |
| Making and planting of osier-beds. | |
| Making of water meadows or works of irrigation. | Making of fences. |
| | Planting of hops. |
| Making of gardens. | Planting of orchards. |
| Making or improving of roads or bridges. | Reclamation of waste land. |
| | Warping of land. |

Second Class.

| | |
|---|---|
| Boning of pasture land with undissolved bones. | Claying of land. |
| | Liming of land. |
| Chalking of land. | Marling of land. |
| Clay-burning. | |

Third Class.

| | |
|---|---|
| Application to land of purchased artificial or other manure. | Consumption on the holding by cattle, sheep, or pigs of cake or other feeding stuff not produced on the holding. |

Heretofore, all such improvements, by whomsoever executed, on the principle of law that *quicquid plantatur solo, solo cedit*, accrued to the land. So that if a tenant spent money on draining, building, manuring, or anything of the sort, he did so in the knowledge that he was spending his money not for his own nor his family's benefit, but for that of his landlord. In some cases tenants holding their farms only from year to year were not debarred by this knowledge from spending their money freely for their landlord's behoof. The Duke of Argyll, on the third reading of the bill before it left the House of Lords to be brought down to the Commons, told a story of a landlord friend of his which, unless colored by the ducal imagination, reads like a romance of agricultural life. The Duke's friend happened one day when he was hunting to find himself in a remote part of his county where he owned some farms. He had not seen them since he was a child; and when he got to them he did not know them. Where he recollected a barren moor, he found rich, well-ploughed corn-fields. Instead of a tumbledown farmhouse and ruined outhouses he saw a substantial mansion and a model farm-steading, and where of old there were straggling, untrimmed hedgerows and wide open ditches spreading over acres of good land, he saw neat wire fences cropping out of fine valuable land tilled to the very posts. The metamorphosis of his farms was so complete that it seemed as if magic only could explain it. But it really was due to a good tenant or succession of tenants in the same family, who had capital to expend upon their landlord's land, and confidence in their landlord's generous disposition, and a certainty that their family would not be dispossessed. But such confidence and such financial capacity are, if not impossible, at least exceptional. Nine English agricultural tenants out of ten have no spare capital, and they cannot borrow money from the banks (as they do in Scotland) on the security of their leases when they have no leases to offer. The landlords, on their side, holding for the most part under deeds of entail, and being what is called "limited landlords," cannot, except to a very small amount, raise money on their land for the purpose of improving it. Consequently, since neither landlord nor tenant is in a position to spend money, the land and the best interests of agriculture suffer. It has been calculated that under proper husbandry the productiveness of England might be doubled. But with the law of entail eating into the pockets of the landlords, and the custom of yearly tenancy, and the absence of any right of compensation for improvements crippling the energies of the tenants, it is impossible that it could be otherwise.

It is to meet some of these difficulties that this bill has been introduced. It passed through the House of Lords without much criticism and without a single division. Some of the Whig Lords spoke upon it, but only to show that they looked at all questions affecting land with a more stubbornly Conservative eye than the Conservative Lords. The fact, however, that it passed through one of the three Estates of the realm—that Estate, albeit, where every man is a landlord—without a division in any of the stages, is good *primâ-facie* evidence that, so far as the landed interest is concerned, as a bill likely to become an Act of Parliament it will not do much harm. In the Commons' House, where it is to be read a second time next week, it will receive different treatment. Already notice has been given by four members, representing different interests, of amendments which, if carried, would wreck the measure. Rumor has it that a strong Tory faction are to break away from the Government, and oppose it on old Tory grounds, and that attempts have been made to buy off this opposition by a lavish expenditure of peerages and baronetcies, in which the Tory heart delights. I hardly credit these rumors, because, as I have said, the House of Lords have passed it. That the Radicals will oppose it keenly I do not doubt, on the ground that it is a sham measure which professes to grapple with the difficulties of the question in the interest of the farmers, but which really will do no good whatever, except the good to be gained by directing public attention to a state of matters which only the sanction of antiquity relieves from being scandalous. As a question of practical politics, it is impossible that the bill can pass in its present shape. The landlords say that it goes too far in the direction of tenant right, and cuts deep into their feudal privileges. The large farmers and the political agitators say it does not go far enough. So long as it is permissive it will not operate for their interests; it can be made effectual only by making it impossible for landlords to contract themselves out of it. If a landlord insists on the principle of freedom of contract—a principle which the agitators consider to be an obsolete tradition—then a tenant is precluded from making a fair bargain with him. The tenant is so heavily handicapped that he has no chance in the race. And while these two sets of influential people—the landlords and the large farmers—are thus growling over the principles of legislation, the small farmers see to their horror that they are left out in the cold. They could pull along in the pleasant old quasi-feudal relation before their wealthy brethren came in with their principles of law and their compensation for unexhausted improvements. They make no improvements, and sink no money in their farms, but exhaust them from year to year to the best of their ability. But they pay low rents, and the landlords never think of a revaluation of their farms or a rise of rent. These halcyon days will be no longer. Farm-letting will henceforth become a hard matter of business, and every farm will be revalued as the current lease expires. My sympathies are with the small farmers, but my reason is very much against them. I should be sorry to see them harassed as they will be by revaluations. But I should be glad to see the land more profitably farmed and more productive.

# Notes.

HENRY HOLT & CO. have issued, in a fresh translation by Simon Adler Stern, Auerbach's 'On the Heights.' They do well to replace the version which they put out in 1867, and which, though by the practised hand of the late Miss F. E. Bunnêtt, was far from satisfactory.——Stereotyped plates of nearly forty years ago, in which was embalmed the debate on Catholicism held in Cincinnati in 1837 between Alexander Campbell (founder of the "Christian" denomination) and Bishop Purcell, have been brought to press again, and now furnish the first part of a thick volume called 'The Battle of the Giants' (Cincinnati: C. F. Vent). With this matter is bound up Mr. Gladstone's 'Vatican Decrees' and the various replies to it, with an abstract of his rejoinder; and purchasers will probably be found who, for the sake of the modern controversy, will pay for the older one also.——F. B. Patterson publishes in handsome pamphlet form Mr. James W. Gerard's paper on 'The Old Stadt Huys of New Amsterdam,' read before the New York Historical Society, June 15. Numerous legal actions, great and small, illustrating the manners of the original settlers of this island, furnish the writer his chief material. His narrative is much injured in the printing by making a paragraph of nearly every sentence.——Bulletin No. 3 of the American Geographical Society contains addresses by R. B. Roosevelt, on the geographical distribution of fish in the United States, and by A. L. Rawson, on Palestine. There is a long list of corresponding members and fellows elected, and of accessions to the library; but one is painfully reminded, by a comparison of this Bulletin with the Proceedings and Journal of the Berlin Geographical Society, of the difference between amateurishness and science. The latest *Zeitschrift*, by the way (No 56), has a map of Nachtigal's travels in southern Wadai and Dar-for. The same region is included in a more comprehensive but less finely executed map in the *Geographical Magazine* for June (Trübner & Co.)——We have received from Shanghai a lecture by Edward C. Taintor on 'The Iliad, and the Recent Discoveries at Troy.' Its chief interest lies in the information given about the antiquity in China of certain symbols stamped on the Trojan *fusaioli* found by Schliemann.——Prof. David F. Boyd, of the Louisiana State University, is about to take the position of Superintendent of the Military College of Egypt, and will be glad to receive reports, catalogues, and other publications pertaining to education in this country (especially military and scientific), with a view to forming a library of reference in the above college. His address will be Baton Rouge till Oct. 1; afterwards, Cairo.——Lee & Shepard have in press 'The Sovereigns of Industry,' by Edwin M. Chamberlin, the well-known labor-reform politician of Massachusetts.——The *Portfolio* for June (J. W. Bouton) is much embellished with a very fine study from a painting by Gérôme, heretofore unknown—a young Egyptian master of the hounds, surrounded by his dogs, and walking in a palm-orchard. The copy is executed in the photogravure of Goupil & Co., and is remarkably glittering and definite. The etchings are from Sir Joshua's heads of angels in the National Gallery—a subject imperfectly adapted for aquafortis treatment—and a bold theme of Constable's, etched with firm hand by Mr. Chattock. One of the articles gives an imperfect taste of Dürer's folio of drawings in the British Museum's print-room, and the notes on technique are resumed.

—The centennial literature of the week embraces 'One Hundred Years Ago—How the War Began,' a series of readable sketches by Rev. Edward E. Hale, reprinted from *Old and New* (Boston: Lockwood, Brooks & Co.), and Mr. Dana's privately printed Lexington Oration. From the latter one passage in particular is worth citing for its forcible presentation of a fact not unfamiliar but too often overlooked. The Massachusetts men who were capable of Lexington, and Concord, and Bunker Hill, were not, says Mr. Dana, "simple, peaceful yeomen and mechanics, unused to war and its works":

"During the great French war, every fifth man in Massachusetts had

been in the service; and a larger proportion of our able-bodied men had been mustered into service during the seven years of that war than Napoleon had led into the field from the French people at the height of his power; in fact, the people of Massachusetts had been, up to that time, one of the most martial people on earth. The historian Minot tells us that, in 1757, one-third of the effective men of this colony were in the field, in some form or other. In the expedition to the West Indies in 1740, Massachusetts sent five hundred men, of whom only fifty returned alive; and, of that force sent out, at least six were men of Lexington. Of the four thousand and seventy men at Louisburg, Massachusetts sent three thousand two hundred and fifty. . . . Massachusetts in 1775 was full of men who had been under fire, who had held respectable commands in the field, and had learned something of strategy and of military engineering."

—The Public Library of Groton, Mass., has just published a catalogue. It is of economic construction, and will no doubt be very useful. We mention it now to enquire the reason of one device not infrequent in catalogues of its class, which has always puzzled us. Books are entered under some word of their titles, because in country towns more people, it is found, remember books by their titles than by their authors; in fact, the popular intellect seems to consider the author as a very unimportant adjunct of a book, necessary perhaps to its existence, but of no further account. No entry is made, therefore, under his name. But if the library happens to have two books by one writer, they are put under his name. Is it supposed that the man who has the abnormal ability to compose more than one book must be able to impress himself more deeply upon unobservant minds and unretentive memories? It would not be difficult to enumerate several writers who are not likely to furnish more than a single work each to a collection of two or three thousand volumes, and yet are not altogether unknown to fame even in the rural districts. Boswell, Gibbon, Lamb, Macaulay, Milton, must occasionally be asked for by their own names, and not alone by the title of the works in which they are thought to have merged their individuality. And we fancy that librarians could point out several among the digraphic authors who are known neither by name nor title. On the whole, then, the rule seems unreasonable, and another entry is not useless even for the illiterate. The lady who asked for 'Spencer's Physcology,' and the man who wanted 'Mills' Mography,' would not have been much assisted in finding those books by either subject or title entry.

—A correspondent writes us from New Orleans as follows: "In looking over Webster's Unabridged Dictionary (1872), I have been surprised at the absence of the common names of those fishes which are most abundant on the Gulf coast, and most prominent and attractive in the fish-markets of this latitude. I find no mention of the pompano, the redsnapper, the croaker, or the redfish. On the other hand, such words as porgy, cunner, tomcod, sucker, red-eye, and bullhead, are given and defined. The omitted names are those of the best fish we have, and, in the opinion of some, the best in American waters."

—Another correspondent, prompted by our recent review of Professor Whitney's essays, sends us a list of idioms collected during a two years' residence in Central Pennsylvania. The only ones which are new to us are: (1) A pleonastic use of *do it* before verbs, as in "John won't do it give me that"; (2) a peculiar use of *behave*, as in "John won't do it behave hitting me." The next two are "Dutch" products: (*a*) *dare*, in the sense of *have permission* (*dürfen*), as in "Ma, dare I have another cake?" "You daren't move your knight in that way"; (*b*) *leave* for *let* (*lassen*), as when a child shut out of the room cries, "Leave me in!" or in "Don't do it leave him have it"; "The school left out at twelve o'clock"; and this, North of Ireland: (*c*) a singular use of *take* with *in*, and of *want* with *in* or *out*, as in "The school takes in at nine o'clock," "The dog wants in (or out)." You say to some one at the door, "Do you want in?"

—The illustrated and seasonable article in *Lippincott's* for July is "'May' in June," by "May" being meant Cape May. The distinctive features of this watering-place are sketched lightly with a pleasant fancy, and in a way both to oblige summer-tourists in quest of novelty and not to offend individual hotel-keepers. Possibly, *Lippincott's* audience, less than that of any other of the magazines, stood in need of information about this popular Middle State and Southern resort. Miss Agnes Lazarus translates, and translates well, so far as we can judge, a little tale by Turgenef, called 'Three Meetings.' Nothing could be more redolent of this author's style and manner of working. The skilful description of the sky and the landscape—the harmonious adjustment of them, we may say, to the dramatic situation; the lonely Russian manor-house; the fair countrywoman tormented with a misdirected affection; the melancholy, one suspects tragic, ending—it is all found in these fifteen pages as it is at greater length in so many of our author's works; but the disappointment over the dénouement is enhanced by the brevity of the tale, and for this reason one who has never read Turgenef should not be in haste to judge him by the 'Three Meetings.' A pathetic story is made the basis of an interesting paper by Leonard Woolsey Bacon, who half communicates a sad experience of his own when telling of "Searching for a Grave in a Foreign Land." This land is Switzerland, and the reason why one must search for a grave is that private cemeteries are not encouraged by Government, and that in the public cemeteries graves can be guaranteed at most for ninety-nine years, and in practice are renewed and memorial stones obliterated every fifteen years or less. Mr. Bacon proposes this grievance as a fit subject for international conference; but, if it hardly seems to be that, it at least deserves to be mitigated through the establishment by foreign liberality either of cemeteries set apart for foreign dead, and placed reasonably under foreign control, or at least of vaults or mortuary chapels in which the dead can rest until removal out of the country can be effected.

—We meant last week to have quoted from the *Galaxy* a very pleasing sonnet called "A Remembered Critic," to the memory of "J. R. D."—our late associate, Mr. John Richard Dennett. The verses are by Miss Alice M. Wellington, who, we believe, has written for the *Galaxy* before, and they are certainly remarkable for pure feeling and beauty of expression:

> "Kind words, that greater kindness still implied
> From one unused to praise, for one unknown
> To him and to the world where he had grown
> Less wont to cheer the artist than to chide;
> And always in my heart I thought with pride
> Some day to know him, and for him alone
> Bring the fair finished work, that he might own—
> 'O friend, behold my full faith justified!'
> Now he is dead! a man severe, they said
> Who knew the critic; but around the spot
> We call his grave, by some sweet memory led
> Of kindred sweetness, violets have not
> Refused to bloom; and one he had forgot
> Wept suddenly to hear that he was dead!"

—Government publications, since our last notice of them, relate chiefly to our still unknown Western territory. From the Engineers' Department, U.S.A., we have a cloth-bound Report on the Reconnoissance of Northwestern Wyoming, in the summer of 1873, by Captain William A. Jones. This was an important expedition, having for its object the survey of a military wagon-road from a point on the Union Pacific Railroad to Fort Ellis, Montana, by way of the Yellowstone National Park. The desired route was found (starting from Point of Rocks, 250 miles east of Corinne) to lie up the Wind River Valley, at the head of which is a pass (the Togwotee Pass) leading into the Yellowstone Valley. Though 9,621 feet high, it is quite practicable for a railway, and seems to offer the shortest and cheapest access to Montana. The construction of such a railway, says Captain Jones, "would, in all probability, be followed by the virtual disappearance of steamboat traffic from the Missouri River." Forty-nine trail-maps mark the course of the expedition, and there is a large colored geological map of the section traversed. The Report contains an interesting account of the peaceful Shoshones, with a copious vocabulary and specimens of their music.

"I frequently noticed the children crying and shedding copious tears, with expressions similar to those of white children in like cases. Laughter was very common, both among young and old, its only peculiarity being the very numerous and trifling exciting causes, and its grunting or guttural and explosive nature. The voices of the men and women are more nearly alike in pitch than is often found among civilized races. I never saw anything approaching a kiss, though our Indians were quite affectionate as compared with other tribes."

Another publication of the Engineers' Department is a 'Systematic Catalogue of the Vertebrata of the Eocene of New Mexico collected in 1874,' by Professor E. D. Cope, attached to the Wheeler Survey.

—Dr. Hayden's Survey issues three bulletins (second series). No. 3 is a report on the San Juan Country of Colorado, consisting of papers on the means of communication between Denver and the San Juan mines, by A. D. Wilson, and on the topography of San Juan, by Franklin Rhoda. The latter is illustrated by field views of Mount Sneffels and of the quartzite peaks seen across the cañon of the Animas. Mr. Rhoda's account of his climbing is very entertaining reading. One curious experience was the common meeting of grizzly bears on the highest peaks. Mount Sneffels was no exception:

"The claw-marks on the rocks on either summit of the pass showed that the grizzly had been before us. We gave up all hope of ever beating the bear climbing mountains. Several times before, when, after terribly difficult and dangerous climbs, we had secretly chuckled over our having outwitted Bruin at last, some of the tribe had suddenly jumped up not far from us and taken to their heels over the loose rocks. Mountain sheep we had beaten in fair competition, but the bear was 'one too many for us.'"

Still more singular and alarming were the electric conditions by which the party was occasionally surrounded on the approach of a storm:

"We had scarcely got started to work when we both began to feel a peculiar tickling sensation along the roots of our hair, just at the edge of our hats, caused by the electricity in the air. . . . When we raised our hats our hair stood on end, the sharp points of the hundreds of stones about us each emitted a continuous sound, while the instrument outsang everything else, and even at this high elevation could be heard distinctly at the distance of fifty yards. . . . Just before leaving the top I slung the strap of the tripod over my shoulder, and experienced a sharp pain at the two points where the tripod touched me. . . . We could detect the electricity in the air long before the clouds reached us by holding our hands high in the air, when a faint clicking was audible."

A note by Dr. Hayden completes this Bulletin: on some peculiar forms of erosion in Eastern Colorado. Two heliotype views by Osgood exhibit these forms very successfully. Another note, by the same authority, on the surface features of the Colorado or Front Range of the Rocky Mountains, is printed in Bulletin No. 4, and is illustrated by two striking panoramic profiles of the range from near Denver and of the Pike's Peak group. This number also contains Outlines of a Natural Arrangement of the Falconidæ, by Robert Ridgway, who, together with Dr. Coues, Dr. Gill, and Ernest Ingersoll, contributes to the natural-history reports in Bulletin No. 2. Dr. Gill treats of the relations of insectivorous mammals.

—In his recent Rede Lecture, of which we spoke lately, Sir Henry Maine refers to what he calls "the famous 'greatest happiness' principle of Bentham" as one of the "maxims of public policy and private conduct" likely to be revised and corrected by what he terms a new method of enquiry. Before discussing this point, it may be well to note that Bentham himself says: "Priestley was the first (unless it was Beccaria) who taught my lips to pronounce this sacred truth: that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the foundation of morals and legislation" ('Works,' vol. x., p. 142). The credit of being the first to formulate this doctrine seems to belong to Beccaria. In the introduction to his 'Treatise on Crimes and Punishments' (*Dei Delitti e delle Pene*), first published in 1764, he says: "If we turn to history we shall see that laws, which are or ought to be the covenants of free men, have been for the most part only the instrument of the passions of some few individuals, or have arisen from a fortuitous and transient necessity, and that they have by no means been dictated by a cool investigator of human nature who had concentrated in a single point the actions of a multitude of men, and considered them from this point of view, namely, the greatest happiness divided among the greatest number (*la massima felicità divisa nel maggior numero*)." This "greatest happiness" principle, says Sir Henry Maine, "has great imperfections, unless some supplementary qualifying principles be discovered, and for these qualifications I look to some new application of comparative methods to customs, ideas, and motives." No doubt the wording of this motto of a great and influential school of practical legislation and morality needs to be explicated and explained in a manner quite different from that in which the critics of the school have done it. For these have drawn for the most part their understanding of the principle from the mere wording of it, without consulting the writings of which this motto is more properly to be regarded as the title or summary name. Yet it is far from clear, when we consult these writings, how the principle, as unfolded by them, could be supplemented by any qualifying principle of the sort which Sir Henry Maine suggests. It is true indeed that in what is the real difficulty of the principle in application—namely, in making a true determination of the objective happiness or true well-being of any people for whom a legislator has to make and improve laws—there is involved the consideration of many historical facts, historical products, in the form of existing "customs, ideas, and motives." That Sir Henry Maine should have supposed the consideration of these to be anything *supplementary* to the principle, and not rather already and essentially demanded by it, is surprising; for he cannot be supposed to have derived his whole knowledge of the principle, like most sentimental critics of it, from the words of its name. He must have known that in Bentham's writings, and in those of his immediate followers, a most detailed and laborious discussion of existing laws and usages is made an essential part of criticism on them, and of devices for reforming them. A more thorough knowledge of human nature, and of the force of customs, ideas, and motives, than Bentham possessed, are no doubt requisites for the wisest legislation; yet this can hardly be of the nature of supplementary principles.

—It should not be supposed that the greatest-happiness principle is anything more than the highest *practical* guide or test, wherever it is applicable, or that it has anything to do with the explanation of the historical development of law. It is not a theoretical principle. No one really acquainted with its meaning and use can suppose it intended for an explanation of the historical phases of laws and morals; for in fact it has had altogether too little to do with the growth of laws. It is, as Beccaria says, the principle which legislators *ought* to have observed, and is in great measure opposed to what they have really done. Nor again is this principle regarded by its advocates as an exclusive motive principle or sanction, except with the legislator as such, or with the influential citizen who has the power to mould opinions and customs or the secondary morals of society, and to bring to bear in *true directions* the various more immediate sanctions of laws and morals. To such as these, the guides and benefactors of society, the principle should be an all-inclusive motive principle, or the highest sanction, and cannot in this relation be the selfish principle it is commonly charged with being. Its real place in ethical and legal writings is as the practical principle of all true legislation, including under this the reformation of current moralities through the sanctions of opinion. The advocates of the principle also hold, however, that it is the true foundation of primary morals, as well as of the laws which legislation and opinion can and ought to make; but in this relation the principle can only be a theoretical one, or a summary statement of the rules themselves of human morality, since the primary morals, whether wholly instinctive or a mixed inheritance half-instinctive and half-traditional in a race, like language, are obviously not the devices of legislators and moralists, though such leaders have always had to do with applying various requisite sanctions to the fundamental laws of conscience. Yet the principle of "the greatest happiness for the greater number" is in this form of its enunciation essentially a practical principle or rule of duty for the legal and moral reformers and guides of mankind. As the fundamental theoretical principle of all human morality, or as the principle which has guided nature in the production of moral instincts and universal traditions of law, its statement should be modified; for in this relation it is the principle whereby *the greatest numbers of the most prosperous individuals have been produced* in races having the social nature of man. In this, its Darwinian form, it is, however, just as obnoxious as in the Benthamite or Beccarian form to believers in an *absolute* morality, who, on their principles, are bound to regard the conduct of the worker-bees of a hive as morally reprehensible, even from a reflective philosophical bee's point of view, when they kill their brothers, the drones, at the end of the season; although this apiarian custom conduces to produce the greater number of prosperous communities of the hive.

## RECENT NOVELS.*

THERE are many books (and perhaps it is fortunate for novel-readers that it is so) which conceal in their mass of verbiage a curious spell, that will hold a reader till the end, if he once yield his independence long enough to peruse the opening pages. But afterwards he may pick up the precise volume which so fascinated him and turn over its sibylline leaves with a dull eye, in great wonder at his own recent mood and in despair at the vapidness of his author. This reaction, however, often supervenes upon the study of even the best masters of fiction, and especially afflicts those who read much, and who ought accordingly to be rewarded by a greater proportion of enjoyment. We have sometimes speculated upon the particular qualities needful in a story-writer for effecting this primary fascination, and upon the weight which should be assigned to it in making up the account of his merits and demerits. Whatever may be his faults (and they are grave ones, at least so far as regards view-point), M. Victor Cherbuliez possesses this power of attraction. Yet, when one has gone entirely through a story like his 'Romance of an Honest Woman,' the question arises, what is there to be proud of or glad of in either the fact of the writing or that of the reading? We will admit at once that it is an exceedingly clever tale, not unworthy the author of 'Prosper Randoce' and 'Meta Holdenis'; it has remote roots in the author's imagination, as one may see by the distance from the main facts at which he begins, and by the accurate pertinency and the suggestiveness of these preliminary details. Moreover, he has taken a plot which is, on the whole, very trite, and by his mode of treatment and his judicious decorations has given it almost the air of novelty. The character of the heroine, "Isabella the Serious," as she has been nicknamed by her confessor, is an exceptionally sweet one, certainly—one that French novelists do not too much affect; but her somewhat masterful lover and husband, Max de Lestang, with his "face of bronze," is not only not new, but also annoying, and their misunderstandings are wofully hackneyed. It is true, one cannot but sympathize with their lively intellectual and emotional exercises; they really do the thing so well. But then they have a luxurious castle at their disposal in the South of France, whither they have retired at the height of the Paris season, and they take

* 'The Romance of an Honest Woman. By V. Cherbuliez. (Translation).' Boston: Wm. F. Gill & Co. 1875.

up the business of mutual irritation and mutual concealment of their real feelings with all the zest of people who from earliest youth have been accustomed to the epigrammatic French novel, and are conscious of the interesting figure they make as actors. Doubtless "they manage these things better in France" than here: injured women have not the taste for law-courts and for writing women's-rights novels there which they so frequently develop among us, and accordingly the novelist, while adhering to fact, loses nothing in delicate, artistic effect. But M. Cherbuliez adds to this quality of fact his many graces of literary art, his quick seizure of shades of character, his ability in epigram, his charm of description, and his flashes of dramatic imagination: "I shivered like a poor bird who has guessed without seeing that the hawk hovered in the clouds. Its invisible enemy is announced by an unknown horror in the very air, and it feels somewhere in space the weight of the hawk's wing." These delicate discriminations of emotion abound. Isabel's jealousy having been aroused, and Max becoming estranged, absenting himself in Paris, she is embarrassed by the admiration of a half-crazed youth in a pointed hat, one Monsieur Dolfin, who prates about himself at great length and with considerable skill, and finally interests her a good deal. Max returns; there are ebullitions of fearful passion and a climax. She has remained entirely true to him, but tempts him to believe otherwise, and he, becoming desperate, attempts to kill her. He only wounds her, however, and is checked by remorse:

"Then suddenly he did a strange thing. He looked at the knife, saw on it a drop of blood; and, as if to quench a mysterious thirst, he raised it to his lips and drank it. Then, throwing the knife violently on the floor, he fled."

This very characteristic passage reminds one of the similar animally instinctive insight, as one may call it, in 'Joseph Noirel's Revenge.' Here we have the moment of supreme power in the book, and there is a horrible reality, a painful fascination, about it. One cannot avoid astonishment, but equally one can hardly respect the man who presents us with such sensations. The story turns out well, but we are left with an uncomfortable suspicion of refined charlatanism in the author, which arises from this and kindred points in the book; and, on the whole, we are disposed to think that the superficial charm of it cannot outweigh the excess of artifice and epigram over substance which impresses one at every turn, on a reperusal.

'In The Camargue' is useful as showing how an authoress, who is perfectly aware that she ought to be interesting, in view of her fresh material, can yet completely fail to be so, and partly through that very consciousness. Miss Bowles had evidently spent a winter in Languedoc getting up her facts, and here they all are—a great many too many of them. She can talk about *têradous*, a *mas*, or a *dondaïre*, and explain them all in foot-notes; she has acquainted herself with the Greek derivation of the name Camargue, but, unfortunately, her winter's board did not teach her how to draw men and women. The plot is not especially new. Young Morland, looking about in the picturesque neighborhood of Aigues Mortes for good "bits" to paint, is attracted by Noël Privas, a farmer's daughter. He is careless, and commits himself by the most downright promises, while his friend Nasmyth feebly tries to act the part of a conscience to him. Morland then returns to England, and marries one Car Chetwynd, at which Noël would naturally be grieved, though in this instance the peculiarly malicious name of her rival must have greatly aggravated the matter. She goes to a neighboring convent and devotes herself to good works, and Nasmyth, who has also cheerfully entered into the wedded state at the same time with Morland, comes down with his wife to see her, when a little of the quietly pathetic is introduced with a skill well calculated to send the average reader hurrying to the circulating library for another new novel a little worse, if possible, than the example in hand.

Mrs. Alexander is a very different sort of person. She has already gained considerable favor by her two previous novels, and 'Ralph Wilton' will do her no discredit, we think, with those who have come to look upon her as the best minor novelist among the women writers of the day in England. She is as much superior to the Mrs. Woods, the Edwardses, and the Braddons as the pretty little muslin volumes through which the "Leisure Hour Series" has introduced her to us are preferable to the lanky and long-paged paper-covered tomes in which those other worthies have been in the habit of appearing. Not that Mrs. Alexander is anything very extraordinary as an artist; for she quietly assumes at the outset a conventional and somewhat too coolly skilful tone to rise especially high in æsthetic harmonies of language or suggestion; but within her range she has a firm, sane, unsentimental touch, and imbues her pages with a warm and contagious earnestness throughout. She tells her story in a straightforward manner, and presents it in small compass. The shaping, indeed, strongly suggests French influence, and it is noticeable, by the way, how much the nice dovetailing of scenes and incidents is just now preferred by all noticeable novelists to the old considerations of probability. The accidental novel would seem to have had its day. Mrs. Alexander suffers, too, from the prevalent want of genuine humor among writers of fiction—that humor of which George Eliot alone preserves the tradition. But it would be impossible to gainsay the skill and feeling with which she has presented the delicate, fresh, vivacious character of her heroine; and there is something very satisfactory in what must be called the English stolidity of Wilton. The dénouement of the story is one which would be clap-trap under ordinary treatment, and goes far to nullify the effect which the book was apparently written to attain, viz., the showing how well a man may lay aside the superficial considerations of class, and trust himself to the instincts of his unbiassed manhood. But to us perhaps the most interesting result is the side-illustration we get of the practical uses of gentlemanly reserve in critical emergencies. Wilton puts up with an amount of annoyance from his friend Moncrieff which is excessively irritating to the reader; but his complete self-possession secures him in the end a commanding position, with Moncrieff in a very uncomfortable attitude of apology. This very reserve, however, was a compensating accompaniment of the conventional surroundings of Wilton's previous life. In equipping him with this quality, Mrs. Alexander is as true to nature as she is in all other points of the narrative.

Christian Reid has once more demonstrated her ability to prepare a light—a very light and thin—summer-beverage sort of fiction in a larger or smaller quantity, as may be desired. This time it is called 'Hearts and Hands,' and is confined to sixteen chapters; but there is room within its covers for the inevitable White Sulphur Springs and the usual inconstant young woman. Sybil Courtenay begins by shooting off at a tangent from the side of Jack Palmer, and after ricochetting about a little finds herself in the arms of young Langdon, a painter, with whom she goes to Europe and lives happily. In no way of which we are aware does the telling of a large part of this instructive tale in the present tense enhance its effect. But the present is preferable to the future, at least when we reflect what that future may bring forth of a similar kind.

Mr. Black is perhaps the most uniformly successful of the school of novelists—if we may call that a school which has neither a head nor any definite code—which has arisen since the disappearance of Thackeray and Dickens. It is indeed a remarkable proof of the force and originality of these two writers that they left no followers. It is not long since they were, each in his different and opposite way, the representative of what seemed to be two different and opposite tendencies in English literature. On one side was the jovially sentimental view of life, one which aimed, partly by sheer good-humor, animal spirits, and good-will, to solve the complicated problems of society and life; the other, the pathetic and cynical view of life, which aimed at a solution of the same problems, in the case of most of them, by the shibboleth of *vanitas vanitatum*. We look around in vain for their representatives to-day. They have founded no school, and left no followers. Possibly the explanation of this may be in the fact that, after all, their greatness lay in directions wholly independent of their philosophy, and that while the latter was in both cases really weak, their strength was of a sort so individual as not to permit reproduction. Dickens's individuality was primarily that of a caricaturist; Thackeray's, that of a drawer of character. Their philosophy of life was really of very little moment, and, though they thought it themselves of the first importance, and for the time being the public may have been induced to agree with them, the delusion could not, in the nature of things, be kept up very long; and by the time that Thackeray and Dickens had disappeared from the stage, the cynicism of the one and the "gush" of the other had satiated us. There are plenty of people, no doubt, who would have been glad to rechristen literary offspring of their own as new Fagins, Betsy Prigs, Sam Wellers, or to have been able to produce such characters as Becky Sharp, Colonel Newcome, or Ethel or Major Pendennis. But this was exactly what they could not do, and so, as we say, there is hardly more than a trace to-day in English fiction of these giants of yesterday. We should be puzzled to find in William Black, or George Eliot, or Thomas Hardy, or any other of the rising or risen—or, for that matter, setting—names any traces of their influence. Of course we would

'In The Camargue. By Emily Bowles.' Boston: Loring.
'Ralph Wilton's Weird. By Mrs. Alexander.' New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1875.

'Hearts and Hands. A story in sixteen chapters. By Christian Reid.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.
'Three Feathers. A Novel. By William Black. With illustrations.' New York: Harpers. 1875.

not dream of denying the possession by Miss Thackeray of a very pretty gift; but we are talking of literary, not natural, descent.

It would probably be easier to define Mr. Black's position by negative distinctions of this sort than by a positive way. He is not like Dickens or Thackeray, or, for that matter, not like Miss Austin or Richardson. He is not a caricaturist. He is not theatrical. He is not a moralist. He is not an acute analyzer of human situations into their molecular elements. He is no blustering romancer. His plots are simple, his characters are well drawn, his situations natural and descriptions of scenery agreeable, his selections of music (which here and there in his stories take the place of that sort of accompaniment of initial verse once in vogue) are always good. His philosophy is *nil*. There is nothing superlative about him in any way. There is no danger of any one crowning him as the genius of the future, and we cannot but fancy Mr. Black extremely grateful that he has escaped that peril.

The 'Three Feathers' is a simple love-story, the scene of which, as the title obscurely indicates, is laid in Cornwall. The principal characters are Miss Wenna Rosewarne, the heroine, and her sister, Miss Mabyn, the latter a gay, vivacious, slightly pert young girl, extremely fond of her sister, however, whom she is determined to prevent from marrying a certain Mr. Roscorla. Wenna herself is a young lady of a shy, modest, and self-distrustful disposition, who devotes herself to the care of the poor of Eglosilyan, the village in which most of the scene of the story is laid. Her girlish piety and tenderness seem a little overdone, but nevertheless she is a prettily-drawn character. She and her sister are the daughters of a couple who have seen better days, and now have retired to Eglosilyan, where they have taken charge of the inn, which is, however, as different from most other inns as the Rosewarne family is from that of most landlords. The great people in the village are the Trelyons, the latest scion of the race being Master Harry Trelyon, a headstrong and ill-mannered boy, who makes it disagreeable for most people with whom he comes into contact. To reside in this little village comes Mr. Roscorla, a gentleman not far from fifty, who, beginning life with an income just enough for his wants, and spending it in a career of thoughtful selfishness, leading the life of a club-man, has suddenly found himself well advanced in middle life with an accidentally diminished income, and obliged to economize. He determines to retire to Eglosilyan, and there he takes a neat cottage to spend the remainder of his days in. He does not fall in love with Wenna, but after a time he persuades himself that he has done so, and offers himself in marriage by letter. Mr. Roscorla is an admirably-drawn character. His selfishness, his knowledge of the world, his good sense, his cynicism, his delusions about his feelings towards Wenna, the ludicrous embarrassments of the situation between an accepted suitor of fifty and a girl in her teens, neither of whom is really in love with the other—is all depicted with the humor and vivacity that are the peculiar gifts of the author of the 'Strange Adventures of a Phaeton' and 'A Princess of Thule.' Wenna having accepted Roscorla, it is needless to say that Harry Trelyon is much shocked on hearing the news. Why, he hardly knows himself except on very general philanthropic grounds; but by-and-by, as the story goes on, he discovers that the reason is no other than that he is in love with her himself, and still later it begins to be made pretty clear that Wenna, whose affianced husband has gone to Jamaica to look after his property there, has also fallen in love with him. The various turns the story takes in order to make it possible that the first engagement shall be broken off and a new one made, we must not detail; enough to say that they preserve every one's self-respect, including Mr. Roscorla's—though to the rest of us that selfish old man appears in his true character before the story is over.

Those who have read and liked the 'Strange Adventures of a Phaeton' or 'A Princess of Thule,' will not find themselves disappointed in this story. It is not a wildly exciting tale, nor is there anything in it to compare with the opening chapters of the 'Princess,' in which we first make the acquaintance of Sheila, the King of Borva, and the Hebrides. But then Mr. Black must himself admit at least that he outraged all our best feelings when he brought his Princess to London and surrounded her innocence and beauty with the pettiness of town-life. The 'Three Feathers' is, on the whole, more evenly written. As a mere story—a natural succession of events relating to people in whom we are interested, and which are themselves just exciting enough to make us feel that we are in the midst of action—anything Mr. Black writes is sure to be pleasing and agreeable.

Let no man hereafter despair of anything; even Ouida improves! She began several years ago with writing unmitigated nonsense, and she now writes nonsense very sensibly mitigated. The mitigation is due, doubtless, to various causes—to experience, maturity, the *Saturday Review*, and, in a measure lately, we infer, a residence in Italy. Ouida is essentially a charlatan, and will never be anything else; but if 'Signa' were her first book instead of her last, and if the damning list of its predecessors were not staring at you from the fly-leaf, you would almost suffer yourself to fancy that it was a work of promise. A certain garish and lascivious imagination was formerly this lady's stock-in-trade, but little by little it has consented to go into training, and it has been perceptibly refined and purified. Ouida's notion of training, apparently, has been to read a good deal of Victor Hugo and a little of Swinburne's prose, and to try and produce something which should suggest a compound of these masters. It speaks volumes, doubtless, for the author's original manner that the effect of this process has been chastening, but it is obvious that Ouida has been keeping better company intellectually than of yore, and has acquired in consequence a superior tone. 'Signa' is at once the name of a place and the name of a person; of an old Tuscan city and of a foundling child who grows up there and springs into fame as a musical composer, in his teens, with the delightful facility of romance. There are various other people, but we are quite unable to give a coherent account of them. There is a dusky, moody, oppressively picturesque uncle of Signa, who brings him up and becomes exceedingly fond of him, and there is, of course, a "light woman out of France," who indeed turns out to be a very heavy woman out of Italy, and whom the uncle stabs in her bed for corrupting the innocent mind of the hero. The work is a perfect curiosity in the way of diffuseness, and there is hardly a sentence in all its high-flown length that means anything very particular; but Ouida has quite brought to perfection the art of seeming to mean something, and to make, at a small outlay, a great show of pictorial and psychological power. Her faculty of spinning fine phrases, descriptive and other, which will pass muster as brilliantly picturesque writing, is quite unparalleled; for pure charlatanism was surely never wound up to so high a pitch. To drop into honesty now and then is generally found a shorter cut. When examined, Ouida's brave words are generally found to escape very narrowly being arrant rubbish; but it is in virtue of this saving margin of real imagination that we said just now that if the author's bad habits were not so confirmed, her cleverness might be held to contain the seeds of promise. Ouida has imagination, unmistakably, and it is a real pity that she has not a little good sense. In attempting to depict peasant life in Tuscany she has taken an audacious plunge; but we cannot complain of a want of local color; it is poured out in bushels, it is laid on with a trowel. It is, of course, all hopelessly wild and crazy, and to point out specific aberrations would be idle. It is, however, in her æsthetic and scholastic allusions that Ouida is most amazing; it is not too much to say that every proper name in the work that does not belong to the *dramatis personæ* is introduced with some ludicrous obliquity—to say nothing of their being spelled and printed in a manner that makes half of them hopeless riddles. Yet in spite of her appalling verbosity, her affectations and inanities and pruriencies, Ouida has a certain power of dramatic conception and effective portraiture which it would be ungenerous not to acknowledge. There is a touch of poetry and a certain force of coloring. The poetry is a tissue of Bohemian shreds and patches, and the colors have been mixed in an old rouge-pot; but if you don't look too closely they produce a sort of gas-light illusion. Ouida's people are better than her things, and her dialogues better than her descriptions. We confess that, even amended and improved as we find her here, she is not to our minds possible reading. But then we know that we are fastidious, and we are tempted to wish we were not, so that we might innocently swallow her down and think her as magnificent as she pretends to be.

'Signa: A Story. By Ouida, author of 'Strathmore,' etc.' Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

## LITTRÉ'S FRENCH DICTIONARY.*

WHATEVER hesitancy there may be in fixing upon the best of the larger English, German, Spanish, or Italian vocabularies, there can be none when a French dictionary is to be selected. Littré's is by so far the best in every respect, that works which before its appearance were considered as fair may now be altogether disregarded. It cost its author more than twenty-five years of labor. It covers about 4,800 closely-printed quarto pages of three columns each. That he must have had some assistance to complete a work of such magnitude is self-evident; for he prepared it and carried it through the press without seeming to interrupt his other pursuits. Yet we have it on good authority that not merely is the general plan and arrangement his own, but even the material execution is mainly his. The examples were selected by him, the passages quoted were marked by him,

* 'Dictionnaire de la Langue Française. Par E. Littré.' 4 vols. Paris: Hachette; New York: F. W. Christern.

and copied in his own family under his own eyes. A very large part of the manuscript was in his own hand—all the etymology, for instance, the grammatical remarks, and we may suppose the definitions, which are so characteristically his. Few large works on lexicography are more fully original; none more constantly bears the imprint of the author's personality in every part. Yet with the true generosity and kindliness that characterize breadth of learning, Littré acknowledges in his preface his indebtedness to many "collaborateurs," some of whom are known as specialists in French letters. He has further drawn largely from sources not used heretofore as they should have been, among others from two immense manuscript collections of unpublished documents. The first, the 'Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage françois,' by Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, fills many folio volumes in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Only a small portion of this was published towards the end of the last century, but the whole is now announced for publication in ten vols. under the direction of L. Favre, the author of a very uncritical glossary of the dialect of Poitou. The hundred manuscript volumes left by Pougens, now in the library of the Institute, have also been freely used, and are often quoted in the course of the work. Both of the above collections are the result of lives of toil. Death and unfavorable circumstances prevented their publication. Littré, more fortunate, has seen the close of his work, though it was begun at a period of life when man thinks rather of rest from labor than of new undertakings. He has accomplished in his old age what to one starting in life might well seem the work of a lifetime.

Sainte-Beuve, in his excellent notice on Littré, gives interesting glimpses into his private life. We are told that he works from half-past six in the evening until three o'clock in the morning, and this with unfailing regularity. This alone can account for his marvellous productiveness in so many directions, for Littré is distinguished as a writer on philosophical, philological, literary, and even political subjects. He published and translated the works of Hippocrates in ten volumes and translated Pliny. He has never lost sight of his early studies in the physical sciences, especially medicine. There is a charming bit of autobiography in regard to this in the preface of his 'Médecine et Médecins' (1872). His publications in regard to the positive philosophy of Comte have done more than those of any other writer to make that system accessible to the world at large. He is, then, representative of many branches of human learning. His works upon early French literature and philology and upon Romance philology in general, have, in addition to the merits of detail which specialists alone generally attain, a breadth and method of their own; for he has applied to the study of language the processes of investigation in the natural sciences and the method of the philosophy to which he has devoted himself.

No one could be better qualified than Littré for the task he imposed upon himself when he undertook to make his dictionary. A man of science alone would not have been competent for the literary part. One exclusively devoted to letters would have neglected the scientific portion of the vocabulary or treated it incompletely. Littré, standing in an intermediate position between the literary and the scientific world, having moreover by his philosophical training and bent of mind something more than the fineness of taste which letters give, could with complete success devote all his energies to what is generally a thankless task. The French Academy refused to admit him the very year the first number of his dictionary appeared (1863). It was remembered that he had many years before translated Strauss's 'Leben Jesu.' Since then that body, in spite of the vigorous denunciations of high and eminent church dignitaries, have done him tardy justice and honored themselves by receiving him.

To appreciate our indebtedness to Littré we must compare him with his predecessors. He himself opens his preface with a quotation from Furetière, who fared ill at the hands of the French Academy for having dared to prepare a dictionary which was terminated before the first edition of theirs in 1694. Furetière's work, successively enlarged and embodied in others, was the principal rival of the various modifications of the Dictionary of the Academy, which has now passed through six editions. A certain fetishism exists in regard to

"Ce beau dictionnaire,
Qui, toujours très-bien fait, sera toujours à faire,"

from which even Littré could not free himself entirely. A few, though very few, timorous writers and speakers hesitate to use words which the Academy has not registered. Although it is a notorious fact that even the last edition of 1835 is lamentably incomplete, it still holds its rank as a traditional idol that it will not do to neglect wholly. Littré, whether from conviction or from motives of policy, has respected this linguistic superstition and omits no word that the Academy had retained. He simply inserts a † before the others. That the Dictionary of the Academy is inadequate, that it leaves out many words in common use, that its choice is often arbitrary, any one may see by turning over the pages of Littré, and noticing the words marked †, many of which are found in the best writers. Its decisions, formerly considered final, are now frequently disregarded. It represents or rather represented forty years ago the extreme conservative party in language. As to the more modern lexicographers, we have Napoléon Landais, who made it a point to contradict the Academy whenever he could. Later came Bescherelle, whose work was fuller than any preceding one. In Poitevin's larger vocabulary some of Bescherelle's errors have disappeared, but it is not so complete. Larousse's 'Grand Dictionnaire du XIXe Siècle' is not yet finished; it aims at being an encyclopædia. Dochez's Dictionary (1859), from some unfavorable circumstances, did not come before the public as it should have done. It deserved to be better known, if only for the good intentions of the author, who died before its publication. This and the projected 'Dictionnaire Historique' of the Academy, of which only two *fascicules* have appeared, are the only works that can at all be compared with Littré's.

Some have been tempted to institute a comparison between Littré's work and the publication known as Grimm's 'Deutsches Wörterbuch.' This is unjust to both. The starting-point and aim of the two are essentially different. The German work, of which the publication was begun eleven years before Littré's, is planned on a vast scale. It is a national undertaking, and will present the result of the labors of many. What it will be when completed, only those who are now young can hope to know. That it may be found less practical for hasty reference than Littré's, or that Littré's may in many cases be less full, is to be expected. The 'Wörterbuch' is a learned work. Littré disclaims every idea of aiming at erudition. He says, in so many words, "L'érudition est ici non l'objet, mais l'instrument." He merely seeks to complete what he calls *l'idée de l'usage*. He wishes to show *l'usage complet* of the language from the earliest days to the present, and thereby to prevent those arbitrary decisions which have been too frequent in French, and we may add in English, grammars and dictionaries. Wishing to give "to present usage all the fulness and security that it admits of," Littré bases it upon a historical study of the forms and meanings through which words have passed. In order to do this, he has carefully classified the definitions. The Academy and others give first the usual meaning of to-day, and then, without any clear order, the various senses the word may have. Littré first gives the meaning which the word has etymologically, unless that meaning had disappeared before the seventeenth century, in which case it is found elsewhere. For he assumes that the language from about the time of Malherbe (died 1628) had become fixed in the shape it has virtually kept since. After this first meaning, or the one that deviates the least from the etymology, he gives the others in logical sequence. This strict classification of the definitions from the primitive ancient sense, through the sometimes almost imperceptible shades, passing on to the deviations and figurative uses, is one of the main features of Littré's work. Thus, the Academy gives *fondre* as meaning to melt, to cast, to dissolve, to unite, combine, blend, to soften, to disappear, to vanish, to squander, to fall, to rush, to pounce down, to attack. This bewildering list, generally followed in French-English dictionaries, has not even the merit of completeness. In Littré the word is explained under nineteen heads, and the logical sequence is further set forth in the paragraph upon the etymology.

As to the definitions, they are simple and straightforward. The French language seldom admits of that easy process of working backward and forward with synonymous words so convenient in English, owing to the double vocabulary of Saxon and Latin elements, as when we find FLOOD, an inundation; and INUNDATION, a flood. Still, Littre often has recourse to analogous methods, and though in such cases he sometimes adds very good remarks upon synonyms, he not unfrequently fails to do so, as may be seen by his treatment of the group *fier, hautain, altier, orgueilleux, superbe, avantageux*, etc. In general, for technical and scientific terms he willingly sacrifices precision to clearness. He does not make his work for specialists, but for the general reader. A striking example of this is his definition of the word *homme*. In the 'Dictionary of Medicine,' which Littré edited in 1865, we find the definition: HOMME, *animal mammifère de l'ordre des primates, famille des bimanes*, and so on for thirteen lines. This wholly physical definition, which at the time was the object of indignant accusations, is replaced in the 'Dictionary' by one which probably gave offence to nobody; *animal raisonnable qui occupe le premier rang*, etc.

In the grammatical observations there is an absence of pedantry that is particularly refreshing. The lexicographer does not try to lecture authors upon their use of language; he rather seeks to explain the usage he finds, setting aside many of the over-nice distinctions that have been made by grammarians, as between *commencer à* and *commencer de*, *aider* and *aider à*.

Many of these grammatical notes are to be found under prepositions ; and yet the articles upon words of this class, though generally very long and rich in illustrations, are disappointing. The examples are classed according to what seem to be rather accidental, outward circumstances than according to the fundamental meanings. The information found in Littré in regard to *à*, *de*, *en*, etc., needs to be supplemented by what may be found in Lafaye's 'Dictionnaire de Synonymes.' Probably many of the distinctions there given may have seemed fanciful to the logical mind of our author. Contrary to his custom, he has in this case omitted much without replacing it by anything of his own.

The examples grouped under each word to illustrate the meanings are mostly chosen from the classical authors, principally those of the XVIIth century. Occasionally there is a quotation from Châteaubriand or Mme. de Staël, but there are very few from contemporary literature. Yet George Sand, Sainte-Beuve, Mérimée, are authorities now for the use of words no less than the writers of the age of Louis XIV. Appreciating fully the motive that led Littré to choose as he has and to omit in general citations from living writers, we too often feel the want of examples indicating present usage with more precision. It would be ungenerous to dwell upon this in presence of the judicious and broad selection of illustrations to be found in the Dictionary. We can only feel grateful to the scholar who has collected them and classed them in a way so convenient for reference. Showing as they do the freedom with which words have been used by authors whose authority is recognized, we may hope that we have seen the last of such narrow verbal criticism as is found in Voltaire's commentary on Corneille, in Bret's notes to Molière, and in most of the commentaries on Racine. The futility of many of the remarks of such annotators, too often copied in the school editions of French classics, may be proved by a glance at Littré's examples.

The general excellence of 'Littré's Dictionary' will cause it to rank as the highest authority. It is therefore proper not to pass by its only weak point—the pronunciation. The author does not seem to possess the qualities necessary to treat this subject properly. To do this there is wanted not so much learning as tact and nicety of ear, not the power to decide what *ought* to be so much as the readiness to accept what *is*. A man of the world, with a nice ear and good taste, having a broad and constant experience of the best society, even were he a little futile and inclined to stop at the mere form, might be and probably would be a better guide for pronunciation than the profoundest scholar, who necessarily leads a life of relative retirement—unless indeed the latter has made the science of orthoepy his specialty. That Littré throws his own personality into his treatment of the etymologies and into his disposition of the definitions adds to the merit of his work, but that he seems to be guided mainly by his personal habits and tastes in all he says of the pronunciation is its only great blemish. We do not mean to say that many of his remarks are not very valuable. He in many instances carefully notes the old pronunciation when it is known. He not only directs how to pronounce the words, but often how not to pronounce them, or, after stating his own preference, he gives without exactly condemning it a current pronunciation of a word which had generally been rejected as incorrect, as he does under *linceul*. He notes many of the cases in which a final consonant should or should not be linked or carried over to the next vowel, though in this he has not followed a very regular system. But on the whole he is an unsafe, a dangerous guide. He does not represent or give fairly the usual pronunciation of Paris or of Northern and Central France. His figuration of the vowel sounds as to quantity and even as to quality is in many instances false. This, as far as we are aware, has been little noticed in France, simply because pronunciation, except as regards anomalous words, is something to which the French people at home give very little thought, or at least for which they are not likely to refer to a dictionary. What matters it to them that Littré gives *mauvais* as *mô-vê*, *croyant* as *cro-ian* (with the remark, "d'autres disent croi-ian"), *fils* as *fî*, adding that to say *fiss*' "est une très-mauvaise habitude," and numberless arbitrary indications of the same kind directly opposed to general usage ; they will never consult him for the pronunciation of such words. If the Parisian of average culture reads Littré's preface, p. lix., and finds the directions in regard to liquid *l*, it is probable that he will not understand them at all. There are millions of northern Frenchmen who have never heard the old, the true liquid *l*. This sound, which it is not easy to describe (it may be found explained in Bell's 'Visible Speech' and in Ellis's 'Essentials of Phonetics'), is heard in Spanish *ll*, Italian *gl*, or Portuguese *lh*. Though preserved in certain parts of France and in Switzerland, it has about disappeared in the north and especially in Paris. It is not even heard on the stage, as the writer of this article can testify from careful personal observation made lately. There, as elsewhere, *ail'eurs* and *bouteille* are distinctly uttered as if written *a-yeur*, *bou-tè-ye*, with what Littré calls *une prononciation vicieuse*, against which he warns upon every possible occasion. It cannot be denied that Littré has logic on his side. Historically, liquid *l* should be liquid *l* and not *y*. Logically, the Genevese are right in pronouncing as they do, and it would be folly for them to abandon a rich, true, and beautiful sound of *l* for the lazy vowelly articulation heard in Paris. But all Littré's influence and all the logic of ancient custom will not prevent the Parisians from pronouncing as they do. The dying away of the true liquid *l* sound, its gradual passage into a mere *y* sound, is *un fait accompli*. It would be about as easy to bring back into English the old sound of *gh* in such words as *through*, *thorough*, as to go up the stream and make the mass of Northern Frenchmen pronounce *fille*, *famille*, *gentille*, otherwise than they do.

Under the heading "Historique," there is a separate paragraph for every word used before the seventeenth century, in which examples are grouped under each century, beginning with the ninth, if the word occurs so far back, and coming down through the sixteenth. This, for the student of language, is one of the most attractive features of the work. Here we may trace the gradual passage of words from their ancient signification, the only one warranted by their etymology, to their present meaning, often far removed from that of their primitive ; interesting in this respect are the words *danger*, *élire*, *valet*. Here, also, we may study curious analogies and differences between the present usage of English words and their ancient meaning in French, as under *dais*. This historical part, as M. Paul Meyer has well shown in an excellent review of the work in the *Revue Critique*, leaves much to be desired. This was inevitable, as the larger works on lexicography can never present the results of the latest researches. They necessarily need long preparation, so that while their authors have been collecting and classifying their materials, new facts have come to light, new and better editions of old works have appeared. Thus, Littré has not used even in his last volumes the collection of poems in the Carolingian cycle published under the direction of Guessard. He unfortunately quotes the 'Chanson de Roland' from the inaccurate text of Michel. He uses the incorrect and systematically-modernized edition of Froissart by Buchon, and places his examples from this chronicler under the fifteenth century, although Froissart died in 1410, and is therefore certainly a writer of the fourteenth century, having received the language that he used before 1350. In several other cases the edition used seems to be very arbitrarily chosen. Montaigne is quoted from the edition of Naigeon of 1802, which differs in several passages from the text generally received. Molière is quoted from the small edition by Louandre, which, though presenting a pretty good text, is not the best. Similar remarks would apply to many of the great writers that are quoted. Indeed, the list of the principal books from which examples are chosen, given at the end of Volume IV., would not be a safe guide for one seeking bibliographical information. It was certainly not the author's intention to give such information ; but it is to be regretted that the excellence of his work should be slightly, though very slightly, impaired by his disregard of editions. What cannot be too highly praised is the honesty with which the quotations are made. The verse, the strophe, or act and scene, in many cases even the page, is given ; so that for many of the important French writers Littré's Dictionary is an index, a valuable concordance to all the remarkable passages.

The etymological part, though occupying but small space as compared with the rest, is that to which Littré has undoubtedly given the most of his personal care. We feel in his short and clear statements that it is a master who speaks. He generally gives his own opinions unhesitatingly, without discussing the other etymologies that have been proposed. In some cases, however, he departs from this method ; after stating the conjectures of others, he gives his own with a straightforward conciseness that always inspires respect if it does not convince. It is almost impossible to realize how absurdly weak the larger French dictionaries that preceded were in regard to etymologies. Littré could take nothing from them. He owes much to Diez's 'Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages'; and Scheler's work, of which a second edition appeared during the progress of Littré's, also gave him much assistance. But in this field Littré has been an original worker. His opinion, whether he has accepted formerly received derivations or proposed new ones, must hereafter always be taken into account. We can scarcely hope that the learned author will be able to give a second edition of his work, but if he should, we may be sure that many additions will be made, especially to the etymological part. There is a notable improvement in the way the etymologies are presented or discussed as the work advances; the dialects are used to more purpose, and there is a surer, a firmer treatment of the etymological elements that reach beyond the domain of Romance philology.

Doubtless many have used the Dictionary for reference without reading the preface and its *complément*. They are well worth reading, especially the latter. The summary "Coup d'œil sur l'histoire de la langue française" is excellent in every respect. It is the clearest exposition of the subject that has been presented, giving in separate sections as much as many readers will wish to know on the grammatical rules of old French, ancient orthography and pronunciation, dialects, etc.

We have dwelt at some length upon this truly great and useful work of Littré. We have not hesitated to point out where it is relatively weak and unsatisfactory. To praise it as it deserves would demand phrases of admiration which might seem ill applied to a dictionary. We will say simply, using the phrase with all the meaning that it can bear: It is the best book of its kind. In conclusion, it is a fact worthy of notice that the French, who have not had the credit of being great searchers in linguistic and etymological subjects, have produced three such national works as the Thesaurus of Henri Estienne, the Glossary of Ducange, and this Dictionary of Littré.

## ROMANICA AND TEUTONICA.*

THE title of Professor Hillebrand's recent volume, which constitutes the second of the series, 'Zeiten, Völker und Menschen,' is slightly misleading. One might be led by it to expect a more or less systematic comparison of the spirit and institutions of Germany with those of the Latin races, a counterpart to Volume I., 'Frankreich und die Franzosen,' reviewed in the *Nation*, July 3, 1873; whereas the present volume is rather a compilation of detached essays, published at various times, and now recast into book-form. Its unity, so far as it can be said to have any, consists solely in the author's style, his way of looking at men and books. We state this, not to condemn but merely to characterize the work.

The first section, entitled "Renaissance," comprises three essays on Petrarch, Lorenzo de' Medici, and the Borgias. Then follow the essays upon Italy of to-day, namely, upon Manzoni, Guerazzi, Tommaseo, Carducci, and Guerrieri's Translation of Faust. These one hundred and twenty-six pages will be for the general reader doubtless the most attractive. We find in them the same freshness, the happy combination of ease and vigor, the suggestiveness, and above all the deep undercurrent of sympathy and taste, that gained our applause two years ago. Seldom indeed does one find a more charming bit of characterization than the introductory paragraph to Lorenzo de' Medici. The introduction to Manzoni, p. 60, is also singularly suggestive. It carries us back to the golden days of the Restoration, the Indian summer, as Hillebrand calls it, of the Revolution, when mankind drew once more a long breath after the hard fight, and gave itself up to the dreams of the muses. The eighty pages of essay upon France of to-day we can scarcely rank so high. The author's spirit has lost somewhat of its freshness amid the din and extravagance of Paris. His judgment of Michelet is sound, but it seems to us that he has overrated the importance of Prosper Mérimée. Judged by his 'Letters to the Incognita,' the Academician and Senator was a shrewd observer, a man of thorough culture and uncommon attainments, and a magical wielder of words, but he was not, in our opinion, a man to leave his mark upon the literature of his nation. He was an instance—and there are only too many such in every land and age—of a man who failed to achieve lasting results for want of concentration. Had he taken to heart Goethe's aphorism, that the master-artist is known by the limits he imposes upon himself, what might Mérimée not have accomplished! Gustave Flaubert, we may add, is treated by Hillebrand with even-handed justice.

In approaching the "Teutonic" portion of the volume, we pause—not exactly to remove our shoes before treading holy ground; the field over which Hillebrand leads us is strewn with the dry bones of false prophets, and especially with the dust of Gervinus, the Golden Calf of the Frankfort Parliament, "ground exceeding small." It is e'en a battle-field, and we shrink from venturing upon it. We always suspected that Gervinus combined the disagreeable features of the Philistine and the pedant; but we were not prepared for such a merciless analysis of his shortcomings. From sheer revulsion of feeling, we cannot help breathing a sigh of regret for the aged doctrinaire who went to his final rest grudging his country the political unity and glory that it had seen fit to achieve without him. The reader who wishes to inform himself upon the oddest phase of German politics, the rôle played by the professors and their satellites in 1848, and their fiasco, will find it set forth here with masterly acumen.

We pass by Hillebrand's trenchant criticism of Strauss, for that most bigoted of liberals has received already sufficient attention from our amiable theologians, and we hasten to a topic which seems to us the most pregnant in the entire volume. We mean the review of Nitsche's essay on the "Uses and Disadvantages of History for Practical Life." It lets us into a world whose existence we indeed suspected, but concerning whose movement we had little precise information. The problem, we might say, is momentous. We witness close at hand the reaction that is manifesting itself in Germany against the "historical sciences." The years 1866 and 1870 not only created a nation, they led a people to reflect upon its past ways. For a century, Germany had been taught to look upon its professors and *docents* as the flower of its intellectual vigor, the universities as the citadel of its greatness. The state officials, *Beamten*, were ignoramuses, the officers were hopeless dullards, put into the army because fit for no other place. All at once the greatest revolution since '89 is wrought, Germany's unity is effected, the victory won over its hereditary foe, and the agents in this work are—not the professors and the universities, but the despised officials and officers! What wonder, then, if every thinker capable of rising above the intoxication of the hour and looking upon success as a result to be studied rather than a phenomenon to be marvelled at, should become sceptical and impatient. What wonder if the nation, weary of over-much research in history and philology and over-little culture in practical life, should experience for its seats of learning a feeling not remote from contempt, a temptation to turn its back upon their methods and standards of excellence. We have not the space for recapitulating the points advanced by Nitsche and Hillebrand, much less for entering into a discussion of them. We advise our readers to read everything, rejecting nothing and accepting nothing unqualifiedly. The wave of criticism runs high, but we cannot decide as yet whether the tide is advancing or receding. We can only send to Germany a word of warning. So much has been said of late on the "failure of American institutions" that we are loth to add even the veriest mite to the stock of commonplaces. We do not believe that our institutions are a failure, but we do believe that they are undergoing the severest strain. One of the causes is obvious: the utter absence of "historic sense" in the American people. We may as well admit, once for all, that we have no feeling for continuity in history, that each generation takes up its problems of trade, finance, and politics afresh, as if there had been no generation before it and would be none after it. The gravest defect of our office-holders may be their want of honesty; but we are persuaded that the great majority of them desire sincerely to do the best they can. They are simply ignorant of what has been done or undone before them, and unable to calculate the resultant of forces good and bad now at work. In other words, they are not qualified for their mission by a careful training in historical subjects. Each man looks upon his office as a mere clerkship, and not as an organ in a complicated and ever-changing organism This evil has a twofold origin. It results from the want of connection between our centres of learning and our centres of political activity, and it also results from the shortsightedness of the colleges themselves. Not one of them perceives the importance of teaching American history thoroughly and with a view to influencing, in a scholarly way, the drift of public opinion. Before making rash innovations in their system of education, the Germans will do well to consider *how* it has come about that their office-holders are so admirably and so liberally trained, so superior to self and greed of salary, and whether too much study of history is not after all far safer than too little.

Concerning Hillebrand's remarks upon Schopenhauer, Prince Pückler-Muskau, and Varnhagen and Rahel, we have nothing but words of commendation. The reader will derive from them much enjoyment and no less profit. Like the sketches of the Italian authors, they seem to spring more from the heart than the head. The reviewer lays aside the weapons of angry controversy and sits down to a familiar yet instructive chat with us upon themes and persons which are to him the objects of deep affection. We call attention particularly to the sketch of Pückler-Muskau, a unique character in German society, a singular mixture of the dandy, the man of letters, the traveller, the Don Juan, and the unrivalled art-gardener. The portraiture will be to many of our readers an agreeable surprise.

*A History of Madison*, the Capital of Wisconsin, to July, 1874. By Daniel S. Durrie. (Madison, 1874.)—The capital of Wisconsin is a year older since this local chronicle was closed, but it is refreshing to learn in these centennial days that the city will be only forty years old in 1876. It was surveyed, that is to say, in October, 1836, on behalf of Judge afterwards Governor Doty, an early proprietor, who named the place after President Madison, as he did the county after Nathan Dane, author of the Ordinance of 1787, which, as our readers will remember, has been thought

* 'Wälsches und Deutsches. Von Karl Hillebrand.' Berlin: Robert Oppenheim; New York: B. Westermann & Co. 1875.

to be paramount to the present constitution and laws of Wisconsin touching the right of the Legislature to regulate railroad tariffs. The Territorial government was effectively organized July 4, 1836, and the first Legislature assembled in November, at Belmont. Judge Doty was there with his speculation in his pocket, and, by the judicious distribution of corner lots to the delegates, in less than a month he procured the selection of Madison as the seat of government, and such it remains in spite of a determined attack on the part of Milwaukee only five years ago. The Judge was then appointed one of the commissioners for building a State capitol, who immediately formed a ring with the contractor, and in 1840 were found by an investigating committee to have "done little more than erect a shell of a capitol, which is scarcely capable of sustaining its own weight, and which, unless it is speedily secured by extensive repairs, must become a heap of ruins." They had received appropriations amounting to $40,000, and had expended less than half on the public buildings. It is scarcely necessary to add that Judge Doty was their treasurer.

In the matter of legislatures, Wisconsin made, as we have seen, a bad beginning. That of 1840–41 busied itself in creating "as many offices as possible, so as to give a place to partisan favorites and friends to pay them for electioneering and to secure their votes at future elections; also, to get as much money as possible out of 'Uncle Sam' to circulate in the country." It was esteemed a great improvement on its predecessors, but the policy of plunder which it initiated "was the beginning of that system which was afterwards known as the 'Forty Thieves,' who ruled the Territory and State for years, on the principle 'to the victor belong the spoils.'" The Forty Thieves were still in existence in 1853, when "the first great railroad session of the Legislature of Wisconsin" was held, and when the Rock River Valley Union Railroad Company, of unsavory memory, was an applicant for State favors. They, and other thieves without a number, boldly frequented the headquarters of the company at Monk's Hall, were fed there and "took liquid beverage"; "rates were fixed with various appliances, and nights were often made hideous." Do Mr. Potter and his colleagues ever look back on this time?

Of the judiciary even more astonishing stories are told than of the legislature, and some very amusing ones; but we have no space for them. Nothing is more grotesque than the first glimpse of the U. S. civil service in the wilderness of Dane County. In 1837, Mr John Catlin was appointed postmaster of Madison under Van Buren, and his deputy opened the mails and kept the office "in Mr. E. Peck's house, his being the only family in Madison." This house was "a hastily-patched-up log-hut, consisting of one room about twelve feet square." In 1841, on the coming-in of Harrison's Administration, Mr. Catlin was removed on political grounds with as much promptness as if he had been postmaster of New York or Boston. How much the town had emerged meantime from its primitive condition appears from an anecdote of a certain English doctor, who visited it in 1842, and, after a day's hard experience of its rawness, sparseness, mud, and visible drunkenness, said to his cicerone: "John A——! if you tell anybody that I *ever was in Madison*, by ——, I'll kill you!"

Many are the quotable stories with which Mr. Durrie adorns his pages, and curious are the personages who figure in them. Not only was Madison the birthplace of Miss Vinnie Ream, but of Miss Wisconsiana Victoria Peck; and here also flourished in the pioneer days the "pardners" in industry and in dram-drinking—Jonathan Butterfield, of Vermont (a great many of the first settlers of Madison were from the native State of Park and Fiske), and Pinneo, whose Christian name is not given. They carried on together a shingle factory, and independently stopped work whenever liquor was obtainable. "Near our house," says one of Mr. Durrie's informants, "stood a large oak-tree, the one under which Mr. Peck's family had camped when they first landed in Madison. This was a beautiful tree, valued for its shade as well as for its beauty and from association. Butterfield knew how we prized it, and when *strapped*, and his credit gone, his last resort was an onslaught on the old tree with an axe, and the only condition on which he would stop from damaging it was to give him an order on Nelson's or Than's grocery." Butterfield was a bad fellow, and his partner knew it:

"When the first minister visited Madison, and called the good people together on Sunday, Pinneo was among the first present. He listened attentively to the opening services, and when the minister began to speak of a better life than men were leading in the new country, Pinneo very deliberately rose from his seat and electrified the small audience by saying: 'That's so, Mr. Philo, that's so. Butterfield's got to be saved; and you just hold on till I bring him in.' Upon which he stalked out of the room; but, failing to find his chum, neglected himself to return."

*Fruit between the Leaves.* By Andrew Wynter, M.D., M.R.C.P., etc. In two volumes. (New York: Scribner, Welford & Armstrong. 1875.)—We do not profess to understand Dr. Wynter's title, but we cannot deny having been much entertained by his book. This may be described as a compilation of out-of-the-way facts upon familiar subjects. Dr. Wynter's skill in getting up a subject and raking together curious information is most commendable, and though his style pretends to no greater purity than is convenient for the lighter magazines, his two pretty volumes may be pronounced equally useful and agreeable. Dr. Wynter is apparently a walking encyclopædia of so-called practical knowledge; his brain seems stuffed with those secondary and tertiary facts which constitute the filling in, and as it were the padding, of the central masses of science. We are oppressively reminded, as we turn his pages, of the vast and daily increasing number of things that demand to be known about, and what a serious matter it is constantly becoming to attempt to appear well-informed. Dr. Wynter discourses upon such topics as "Clever Dogs" (the strictly canine, not the human); the idiosyncrasies of "Female Convicts"; "How and where Toys are made"; the "Skeleton Trade," and the manner in which it is kept up; the economy of life-boats; the habits of the domestic—the too domestic—rat; "Tunnels and Tunnelling"; the innumerable forms of adulteration of food and drink; the final destiny of what goes into dust-bins and ash-barrels; the eccentricities of cats; the question whether bad odors cause disease; the gruesome mysteries of infanticide, as practised in the serving classes; and various other lowly themes which, partaking at once of the commonplace and the recondite (so that people are apt to assume both that they are not worth knowing about and that they themselves know all about them), might easily lack a chronicler if it were not for Dr. Wynter's taste for curious and, in some cases, unsavory detail. With the growing complexity of our civilization, every object around us is getting to have a history and to play a part—often even to have a literature and a special science of its own. We have been interested to read that the thumbs of kid-gloves are often made of rat-skins; that, if the rat is for ever gnawing, it is not from wanton destructiveness, but in order to wear down its incisor teeth, which are for ever growing upward from the root, and threatening to penetrate the opposite jaw; also, that these unfortunate animals (as if this did not give them enough to do) begin to litter at six months old, and produce four litters a year, of an average of eight to a litter. Writing of "Precious Jewels," the author mentions an episode in the career of the famous "Sancy diamond." It was sent by a person owning it in the fifteenth century as a present to the King of Portugal. The servant carrying it was attacked by banditti, whereupon he immediately swallowed the stone to save it, and on his death only it was restored to the light. The servant and the diamond, if the latter was none the worse, were about equally to be complimented. Writing of tunnels, Dr. Wynter reminds us of the project of an ingenious French engineer, M. de Gammond. "This gentleman, in addition to laying down the tube, suggests a great ocean station, midway in the Channel. Here he proposes to have a harbor and basins, into which any home-bound ship may enter and discharge her passengers by means of a huge shaft, three hundred and thirty yards in diameter, opening into the tunnel, and giving egress to both England and France." If M. de Gammond's name were spelt a trifle differently, we should be inclined to suspect him of being fond of his little joke. Into the mysteries of the adulteration of food Dr. Wynter dives deeply, and brings up some astounding disclosures. Gunpowder tea, for instance, "has often but little tea in it, being composed of sand, tea-dust, dirt, and broken-down portions of leaves, worked together with gum into grains. When it is intended to mix it with 'scented caper,' this stuff is 'faced' with blacklead; when with gunpowder, turmeric, Prussian-blue, and chalk are used." But the genesis of "coffee" is sometimes even more appalling. "Mangold-wurzel, roasted wheat flour, red earth, roasted horse-chestnuts, and we are even told that in some neighborhoods baked horse's and bullock's blood, are used for this purpose . . . . In various portions of the metropolis, but more especially in the East, are to be found 'liver-bakers.' These men take the livers of oxen and horses, bake them, and grind them into a powder, which they sell to the low-priced coffee-shop keepers." It is perhaps equally pleasant to learn that "the most delicate and delicious essence of jargonel pear-drops and essence of pine-apple are made from a preparation of ether and rancid cheese and butter." In the paper entitled "Dust Ho!" the author enumerates a multitude of minute facts in the small economic line; as that dust-contractors are almost always brick-makers as well, and use the refuse of their refuse in their brick-yards, that old greasy dish-cloths and other filthy rags make "beautiful" manure for hop-gardens, that the worthy Frenchman who set the fashion of picking up and selling the scraps of bread in the *cafés* to humbler establishments, be-

thought himself, thriftily, of manufacturing "tooth powder" out of the burnt portions of the crusts. It seems decreed that everything in the world shall, sooner or later, go into our mouths, in some form or other. Dr. Wynter, touching on a heavier theme, relates that it has been accurately estimated that there are some twelve thousand women, who have murdered their infants, now resident at liberty in London. As to the basis of this computation he gives some hideous particulars, mentioning among others the extraordinary number of children who come into the world still-born on washing-day. But we forbear: this subject should be talked about either thoroughly or not at all.

*History Primers.* Edited by J. R. Green. History of Greece, by C. A. Fyffe, M.A., Fellow and late Tutor of University College, Oxford. With Maps. (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1875. 32mo, pp. 127.)—One wonders at first thought how there can be any demand for a new historical series by the side of those of Mr. Freeman and Mr. Morris, but Mr. Green's series seems designed to be much briefer and more elementary than either of the others. The editor's name carries nearly as much weight in favor of his undertaking as Mr. Freeman's, and some of the names of authors are well known and of high rank—Mr. Freeman and Mr. Green themselves for European and English history respectively, Miss Yonge for French, Rev. Richard Morris for English Grammar, Dr. Farrar for Latin Literature, and Rev. Stopford Brooke for English Literature. Mr. Fyffe's 'History of Greece' is an exceedingly good compendium—well arranged, clear, and simple in its style, and, above all, not burdened with an infinity of detail. One is much struck, on glancing through the pages, with the very small number of proper names introduced. This we regard as a merit of the first order, by virtue of which the book is made interesting and suggestive in a very small space, with at the same time no sacrifice of really important matter. The maps are, we suppose, as good as could be expected in so small and cheap a book; there ought, however, to be a brief table of dates.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices* |
|---|---|
| Gesetzgebung des Deutschen Reiches, Part I. Vol. I., No. 1, swd. | (L. W. Schmidt) |
| Wright (R. J.), Principia; or, Basis of Socia Science. | (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) |
| Sanderson (L.) and Firman (Rev.), Zeugma: Greek Steps. | (Rivingtons) |
| Gerard (J. W.), The Old Stadt Huys of Amsterdam, swd. | (F. B. Patterson) |
| Oliphant (T. L. K.), The Duke and the Scholar, and Other Essays. | (Macmillan & Co.) 2 25 |
| "Righteousness": a Book of Collated Scriptures, swd. | (R. Tompkins) 0 50 |


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III. The Reporters and Text Writers. Franklin Fiske Heard, Boston, Mass.
IV. The Responsibility of Newspapers. Edward McCrady, jr., Charleston, S. C
V. The Bench and Bar of the South and Southwest. Hon. Henry S. Foote, Nashville, Tenn.
VI. The Legal Aspects of the Great Crim. Con. Case. John F. Baker, New York.
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X. Limitations of Judicial Power. Prof. Emory Washburn, Cambridge, Mass.
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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 8, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE Tilton-Beecher trial ended just six months after it began, and the jury, as was becoming, stayed out seven days, and then, having incurably disagreed, were discharged, Judge Neilson, true to the traditions of the place, hoping they "felt kindly." The fear that somebody may "feel unkindly," or that somebody's "sentiments may be embittered," seems to hang like a black cloud over Brooklyn life. Characteristically, too, the clerk of the court asked the jury to stand up and be photographed at the close, but two of them objecting, the scheme was given up. The whole thing has been conducted from first to last in the most melodramatic style. The jury are said to have stood nine for Beecher to three for Tilton, and to have differed on the veracity of the witnesses, as well they might. There probably never has been a case, except the Tichborne case, in which the jury was in greater need of a good charge, reviewing the evidence, and picking out from it the essential points; but this they cannot be said to have received, and they consequently went into the jury-room undoubtedly in a state of considerable bewilderment and staid in it until the close. The members were twelve plain men, without much education or mental training of any kind, and wholly unused to carrying long or complicated transactions or arguments in their memory. During six long months they were kept listening to a host of witnesses, who were examined and cross-examined at inordinate length, to four speeches lasting about ten days each, in which all the facts were enveloped in a cloud of rhetoric, most of which, instead of being expository, was savagely denunciatory. Anything better calculated to bemuddle the brains of the average man it would be difficult to devise. From this confusion it was the duty of the judge to extricate them by something in the nature of an orderly legal narrative, separating the wheat of the bar from the chaff, but Judge Neilson fell very far short of furnishing it. The case has been reviewed, evidently by a master-hand, in the New York *Times* of Saturday last, and nowhere else adequately that we know of. We strongly advise any one who wishes to get a clear view of the evidence and its bearings to read that able statement. It leaves nothing worth saying to be said, and its conclusions, as far as they go, are those which we believe will be those of every careful and intelligent man a month hence. Nowhere else have the important points been extracted and set out in a clear light.

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The "working up" which the Loader-Price perjury case has been receiving from the reporters and the lawyers gives it the appearance of a great deal more importance than it has. It was nothing surprising, in a case in which so many queer people had been produced to tell strange stories on the witness-stand, that two scamps, who were "down on their luck," should try and contribute a little tale of their own for the chance of a few dollars. As they never appeared in court, and as their story was on its face grossly improbable, and their character broke down at the very first enquiry, the affair was hardly worth mention. But the Beecher side instantly seized on it as something tremendous got up by the Tilton fiends, and a fair specimen of all their evidence, and gave out that they would probably indict Moulton and Tilton for conspiracy. Whereupon, Moulton published a card challenging the Beecher "minions" to touch him, and Loader and Price received a scathing in various editorial articles, and so the whole thing became ludicrous as well as disgusting. If we might now offer advice to the *dramatis personæ*—Frank, Emma, Dorey, Lib, Bessie, Gussie, Brother Shearman, and the rest of them—it would be to withdraw themselves, temporarily at least, from the public gaze. We would even counsel a brief abstinence from "talks" on Friday and other evenings and all public praying and weeping. The tears have flowed too long down all sorts of cheeks, and the "Lord has been blessed" too often for a great many things the Lord by no means concerns himself about. Let us now have rest and peace and decency, during the hot weather at all events.

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The summer hegira has its usual quieting effect on the financial markets. Most of the *habitués* of Wall Street have departed for the watering-places, and the still large figures which appear on the stock list are due mainly to a few leading operators, who seem desirous of keeping up appearances of activity. The gold and exchange markets are kept in a feverish condition by an uncertainty as to how far the payment of five-twenties for the Sinking Fund may force gold out of the country. About $20,000,000 of the bonds "called" for this purpose have been paid, and it is estimated that the remaining $10,000,000 are owned abroad. As bills are very scarce, and the rates of exchange are now at the specie-shipping point, it seems quite possible that we may have to settle for this maturing indebtedness by shipments of specie. During the week ending July 3, we exported from this port $3,238,000 of specie, mainly gold coin. Considering the comparative lightness of the stock of gold on the market, and the diminished amount owned by the Treasury, the largeness of the current export of the precious metals is regarded with unusual interest. Under ordinary circumstances, this state of things would have been comparatively immaterial; for the flow of our gold into the Bank of England would have produced an ease in the London money market that would have made an immediate opening there for a few millions of our securities, and these would restore the equilibrium of the specie movement. But, with the extraordinary circumstance of the rate of interest being lower here than at London, our exportable securities are too high to admit of their taking the place of gold in the exports; and therefore this element of relief does not come into play. For the sake of getting rid of an anxious problem in the exchanges, it is to be hoped either that the reaction following the late English credit panic may produce a lower rate of interest at London, or that a revival of business here may induce a more active money market at New York. The enforcement of the Resumption Act of last January is becoming an important element in the condition of the currency, little felt, however, under the extraordinary ease in money. The legal-tender circulation has been reduced $6,160,000, as against new issues of bank-notes, and the fractional currency has been contracted $4,261,000 up to the 1st inst.; making a combined diminution of $10,421,000 in the two forms of currency under the operation of the Act of January 14, 1875. The Secretary of the Treasury has purchased a considerable amount of silver, for coinage, to be issued in place of the fractional currency thus retired, and he is selling the "new fives" privately to reimburse himself for outlays in silver and cancellations of greenbacks. The Government will sell five millions of gold coin this month; but it is unofficially intimated from Washington that Mr. Bristow contemplates instituting, as early as possible, a policy of hoarding gold preparatory to the resumption of coin payments fixed for January 1, 1879.

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The falling-off of some of the railroad dividends in Massachusetts and of some of the manufacturing stocks has no doubt given some people the idea that we have not yet got to the "bottom" of the panic. An examination of the figures, however, shows that there is really very little cause for apprehension. The total amount of dividends payable in Boston, on July 1st, as given in the *Transcript*, was $9,889,540, against $9,117,378 payable a year ago, or, in other words, an increase of about three-quarters of a million, and we find that we have to go back to January 1, 1873, before getting to a period when there was any very substantial difference between dividends as they are and dividends as they ought to be.

At that time they amounted to $12,083,034. No doubt, an examination of the figures in other cities would show similar results; *i. e.*, a great falling-off in the year of the panic, followed by steady though smaller payments, with signs now indicating a stronger "tone." The fact is that some of the gentlemen who get up the financial news for the world have an unfortunate habit of looking only at one side of this market at a time—now examining the condition of the manufacturing stocks and railroad dividends, without regard to the bond market, and now reversing the process. This year, while the two former may have fallen off, the latter has improved, and no one who has any securities can look over the list of railroad bonds just now without finding that one or two roads he takes a warm interest in are beginning to pay what they owe.

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The dishonesty of the godlike farmer of the West, who has for the last three years been amusing the world with his horror of the wickedness of railroad stock and bond holders, seems likely at last to be in some degree arrested by the law. In Illinois, as in other States, the holy man has for some time past made a practice of issuing town and county bonds for all sorts of purposes. Sometimes they were to help him to get railroads made in the vicinity of his farm, sometimes for other local improvements. After getting the railroad, he has been very apt to refuse to pay the bonds, on the ground that he had no right to issue them, that he did so thinking the railroads were public institutions, but, having found out that they were strictly private corporations, he felt awfully sorry, and must solemnly repudiate. Sometimes, if this plea did not avail him, he would begin to weep and wail and say that the stock was dreadfully "watered," and that he felt that he owed it to posterity to default both on his interest and principal. In other cases, however, in which he received the money, he has refused to pay a cent simply because paying is not pleasant. Several counties in Illinois actually refuse to pay their creditors, not because they are unable, or because they have any complaint to make of the manner in which the debt was contracted or the money spent, but because they won't. They have been sued and judgment obtained, and the supervisors have refused to levy the necessary taxes and set the creditors at defiance, to the delight of their pious constituents. At last an attempt is being made to hold the officers personally liable for refusing to do their duty. The supervisors of Macoupin County have been fined for failure to obey a mandamus. The county paid the fine, but the court handed the money over to its creditors on account, and attacked the supervisors again, and now civil suits for damages have been begun against them for negligence. There is thus a fair chance that the rogues will at last be brought to justice, and these extraordinary communities receive a practical lesson in ethics which may prove of inestimable value to them. We advise all bondholders or investors at home and abroad to watch these cases. They are really to them of vastly more importance than statistics about corn or hogs or coal-lands.

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The committee which has been investigating the affairs of the Chicago, Dubuque and Minnesota, and the Chicago, Clinton and Dubuque roads, have made another report, which will be of interest to bondholders generally. It will be remembered that these roads were dependencies of Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, and were built or half-built out of the proceeds of bonds which the directors of the main line offered to the stockholders, and which were taken by the latter on the strength of representations made by the former. There was, however, at the time a secret construction contract which was not made known to the purchasers, but which gave to the directors an interest adverse to that of the stockholders. The bondholders have taken the opinion of Judge Hoar as to the question whether this transaction can stand, and he says that it cannot. It appears to him, he says, to present a case of directors, entrusted by stockholders with the management of their property, offering to the stockholders certain securities on the ground that purchasing them would be for the common interest, and with the obvious understanding that these officers were prepared to join on equal terms with the other stockholders in making the purchase, while they were in fact jointly interested in those very securities, and the sale of them was for their own account and benefit. He cannot believe, he adds, that such a transaction would be supported by a court of equity.

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We published some time since a letter from Mr. Joy on this subject, in which that gentleman, who seems to have been mainly responsible for the peculiar system on which these roads were built, maintained that whatever mistakes might have been made (and he had no doubt that he, like other men, had made mistakes) everything had been done in good faith, and therefore it was very unfair to find fault with him. On this point the source of misunderstanding between shareholders and trustees seems to be a good deal the same as that between the public and the politicians. The politicians, whenever there are such exposures as the Crédit Mobilier or the Sanborn contracts, immediately bring forward the most conclusive proofs that their only object in the whole affair was the completion of a great highway, or the collection of the revenue, and so the stockholders generally find that their trustees have with perfect good faith invested their own funds in the same speculation, the object of which was the development of some "system," or the perfection of some "line of communication." But we hope that Mr. Joy will notice that the opinion of Judge Hoar declares that in a court of equity the absence of fraudulent intent will make no difference; for, says this cold-blooded jurist, "he who recommends and professes to join with another in a purchase cannot, I think, have an undisclosed interest as the seller without becoming liable to the consequences," which in courts of equity are the rescission of the contract and much pecuniary loss.

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This year has given a good many proofs of the genuineness of the reconciliation between North and South, and none of them have been more to the purpose than the gloomy laments and bitter denunciations indulged in here and there by what remains of the Southern irreconcilables. There are, it seems, a few of these gentlemen still scattered about the South—men who still keep alive the memories of "the lost cause," and who deeply regret not having been able to welcome with "hospitable hands" to "bloody graves" the mudsills of the North. One of these, Mr. J. S. Preston, has just been delivering a semi-centennial oration at the University of Virginia, in which he showed how irrepressible was the conflict between the gentlemen of Virginia and the Puritan outlaws of the *Mayflower;* how the South had fought for land, liberty, and self-preservation, and so on; and though at the end of his speech he tried to take a cheerful look at the future, saying in the strange, old-fashioned Virginian tongue: "But for you, nurselings of to-day, still at our mother's breast, I would change this sad and weird lament, this gloomy chant of woe, and strike the resounding chords which send forth the bold anthem of hope, and give to you a cheering and a living echo from the dark vault of the past," still it must be said that the general tone of his remarks is not enlivening or hopeful. Indeed, the future, if we are to believe Mr. Preston, is even blacker than the past, for he assures us that "not space, or time, or the convenience of any human law, or the power of any human arm, can reconcile institutions for the turbulent fanatic of Plymouth Rock and the God-fearing Christian of Jamestown," and declares that "you may assign them to the closest territorial proximity, with all the forms, modes, and shows of civilization, but you can never cement them into the bonds of brotherhood." So, too, the recent declaration of Semmes of the *Alabama*, that he will not come back to the Union until the foul blot of the Fourteenth Amendment is wiped off the Constitution, shows that here and there linger on at the South some of the old fanatics, ready to eat fire at any time at their country's call, just as there are a few kindred spirits at the North, who blaze forth every now and then with a fiery zeal on the subject of the wrongs of the negro and the Union man. But, to the nurselings of

to-day, their weird lament and gloomy chant of woe, as Mr. Preston finely says, have little meaning.

Mayor Wickham has addressed a letter to the "Short-Hair" laborers who have been clamoring for an exceptional rate of wages from the city, explaining why they cannot have it. He points out that when the times are better wages will probably be higher, and that the recent reduction is not only made necessary by the fall of the market rate, but by the condition of the municipal finances, and that the lower the rate of wages paid, the more laborers the city can afford to employ. He also very forcibly and pertinently says:

"Public moneys come out of the pockets of the taxpayers; the ultimate and real taxpayers are the tens of thousands of members of the great laboring class, of which the comparatively few men employed by the city upon public works are but a small part; the wages of that small part are really paid out of the pockets of the rest of the laboring class; and it seems plain, therefore, that that small part would, if their wages were largely over the market rate, be only a small *privileged class*, living, to the extent of the excess of their wages, upon the *enforced bounty of their brethren*, in the shape of a free gift from the public officials. Under those circumstances, the heads of Departments asked themselves these questions: If a public officer can give away a few dollars of public moneys, what limit is there to his powers in that direction, and what is to prevent him from giving away a million? But would that be anything better than stealing, and would an honest and enlightened public officer addicted to practices of that kind be anything better than a thief?"

He closes by declaring that neither John Kelly nor the Democratic Aldermen had anything to do with the reduction; on the contrary, they advised against it, showing themselves to be true popular "statesmen."

Ireland has been thrown into great excitement by the visit of the American Rifle Team, and still greater by their victory in the international match. The Irish Team, which seems to have been deficient in preparation, shot badly from the beginning, but shot worse as they went on, owing most probably to nervousness caused by the excitement and rage of the crowd, who could not submit calmly to the defeat of the native champions, but for a wonder did not accuse them of having "sold out." Nothing has occurred, however, to mar the pleasure and triumph of the Americans, and in later matches the Irish Team has shown more skill or had better luck, four of the members having defeated the four best of the Americans in the contest for the "All Ireland Challenge Shield" by six points. The probabilities are that the affair will give an immense stimulus to rifle-shooting, as the Irish club holds the Elcho Challenge Shield, which it has carried off from the English clubs. But much of the talk about the "international" character of these matches is sad stuff. One Dublin paper, for instance, apologized for the defeat of the Irishmen on the ground that the American riflemen were selected from a population of 40,000,000, while the Irish were selected from a population of only 5,000,000, the fact being that neither club is the product of any selection whatever, or of anything but an accidental love of this species of amusement on the part of a few individuals in each country. The work of preparation would have to spread through a much greater proportion of the community before any team could be taken as a fair expression of the national capacity.

Dean Stanley has been creating a good deal of amusement among the cynical in England by making a speech at the Newspaper Fund dinner, in which, in the course of a glowing eulogy on the press, he compared the effort of writing a leading article "to the tension and energy compressed into the attitude of the crouching tiger," and the articles themselves to the chapters in the Koran called "Terrific Suras," because Mahomet's hair turned white while he was composing them, and some other matter of the same sort. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, writing on his speech in its best style, suggests to him that he is probably impressed so deeply by the difficulty of writing for the newspapers because it is work to which he is not accustomed; that the facility which journalists have in writing on a certain class of subjects at short notice is simply due to the fact that the subjects are those which occupy most of their thoughts, or of which their minds are generally full, and, in short, closely resembles the facility a lawyer has in taking charge of a case in court after a very short examination of his brief, which so often strikes laymen as very wonderful. It resembles also the facility with which a politician in Parliament maintains himself in debate on half-a-dozen subjects, at which nobody seems to wonder. In fact, there are but few persons who write with as much deliberation, and with as much familiarity with their subject, as a journalist of the best kind. The other kind, which is what a great many people have in their mind when they talk of journalists—that is, the man who, knowing little or nothing of any subject, is always ready to write at a certain rate of pay on all subjects—is hardly worth analysis, and plays a much smaller part in the conduct of the better portion of the newspaper press than is generally supposed. Still, he receives from even the papers of the highest grade an amount of encouragement which is very discreditable to them. But, then, there are no "crouching tigers" in any newspaper office, and the composition of "Terrific Suras" is so rare that it may be said, for practical purposes, never to occur; though there is at least one morning paper in the city whose editorial articles occasionally bear marks of having been composed under terrible excitement.

The political news from England has but little interest. The incident which has attracted most attention of late is a warm suggestion of an Anglo-Russian alliance from the *Golos*, which thinks England and Russia could get on passably well together if England would only admit the right of Russia to push her frontier to the top of the Snowy Range, which, it maintains, would really strengthen English rule in India by removing all further danger of insurrection, and, by removing the last real ground of hostility or suspicion between the two powers, leave them free to act together cordially and without *arrière pensée* in European politics. Apropos of this, the *Economist* of the 19th ult., treating the subject on which we touched last week—the military capacity of England in relation to the Continent—maintains that the growth of population has carried her up much nearer to the level of the Continental powers than she was in 1815; that she therefore has no need, as she had then, to fear any one of them single-handed; and, consequently, does not need to trouble herself to effect and maintain the combinations in the interest of the balance of power which were necessary to her safety in the Napoleonic wars. This view, however, would need the extension of the Continental military system to England to make it sound. As matters stand, England is relatively weaker for military purposes than she was in 1815, and the comfort the *Economist* draws from the rapidity with which the North raised armies in 1861 is obtained by overlooking the fact that the North was arrayed against a foe no better organized than itself. In fact, the uselessness of mere size of population for defensive purposes under the modern system of warfare is well shown in the case of France at the present moment. It is calculated that it will take at least seven years from the present date to enable her to fight Germany with a chance of success.

On the Continent there prevails great calm. In France, the Assembly is still occupied with the prospect of a dissolution, which the Left begins once more to push vigorously, but the only recent breeze has come from the discussion over a bill to release the universities from state control, in which the Clerical party is intensely interested, for the same reason it is interested here in getting the common schools out of the hands of the state. At the same time, the state in France has been sufficiently unsuccessful as an educator to ensure the bill a considerable amount of support from parties who are not troubled about materialism. The principal debater on the side of the bill has been Bishop Dupanloup, who carried on the discussion, in characteristic French style, by reading materialistic passages from the theses of students, amidst groans and interruptions from the Left.

## "THE SCHOLAR IN POLITICS."

IT has become the fashion, and it seems to be becoming more and more the fashion, to give the speeches, addresses, and sermons which are called forth by the various commencements a distinctively political character. The part played by "the scholar" in politics, the part he might play, and the part he ought to play, are dwelt upon with increasing fulness and solemnity, and the series of Revolutionary anniversaries on which we have just entered have naturally given fresh attractiveness to the theme. Almost every college in the country, and many of the collegiate associations, have during the past weeks been calling the attention of graduates to their political duties with more than usual energy and power, and presenting politics to them as what it really is—one of the highest objects of human interest. It is true that most of these addresses are somewhat melancholy in their tone. They take a dark view of the moral condition of public affairs, and draw pictures of the morals of public men which make it plain that the duty they assign to reformers is no light one. They do not treat the political scandals of the day as merely the inventions of a "licentious press." After making all allowance for exaggeration and misrepresentation, they acknowledge the existence of much corruption and of a widespread corruptibility, and of a lowness of tone which verges on corruptibility, and prepares the way for it, and they call for the vigorous direction of the conscience of the nation to the work of political purification as a condition of national salvation. Most of this exhortation is very eloquent and acute, and the occasion which calls it forth is pretty sure to make it earnest. There is something in the annual collegiate reunions by which every man who attends them, whether he be a university man or not, is sure to be touched, and which is sure to infuse tenderness and solemnity into the tones of even the coldest speaker. The eager and joyous rush of the new graduates out into the world is to the older ones full of a stern suggestiveness. There is perhaps hardly any spectacle which reminds an old or middle-aged man so vividly of his own errors and shortcomings, of his lost opportunities, and his faded hopes; and even when he has a thoroughly successful life to look back upon, he is happy as few are happy who can return in memory to college-days without passing over the thorns of much sorrow and disappointment. And then the older men know, as the young do not, how much depends on a good start, and how much of the weariness and despair of later years comes of having turned off or rested at the wrong point. It is seldom, therefore, that anybody undertakes to talk either to the outgoing class or to the old classes, reunited as well as time and death and care will let them be, without having his blood stirred by visions of great possibilities and great responsibilities, and without fancying, not in pride either but in tenderness, that something he can say may make the journeying of the new generation a little easier and a little more fruitful than that of his own has been.

The most prominent among the addresses of this year has been that of Dr. Woolsey before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Harvard, and, apart from the matter, the speaker's years and experience and the austere vigor of his character gave it more than the usual interest of such discourses. He had the old story to tell of the condition of public life, but his remedy was still older. It consisted neither in the appearance of the "property-holders and substantial classes" at primary meetings, nor in the abolition of the caucus, nor in minority representation, nor in any other of the little modifications in machinery which have of late years been so persistently urged on the public attention as panaceas (although he did not wholly reject any of them), but in the cultivation by each man for himself of a higher standard of personal honor, in politics as in other things; and he showed very clearly that could a greater number of men be brought to think more seriously about the effect of their doings on their own souls, we should have a lever which would raise the whole body-politic to a higher moral plane.

Now, this is excellent and unimpeachable. We shall have no real reform in politics until the number of those who will neither do, aid, abet, or connive at dirty tricks, for any purpose whatever, is greatly increased. But then it does not go far enough. We might, in our opinion, increase the number of such men fifty or one hundred fold, and yet make no sensible impression on the tone of public life. As the work of political reform, or rather, as the work of interesting good men in politics, and of bringing personal purity to bear on politics, is now carried on, its main result—we will not say its only result—is to increase the number of preachers against corruption in the abstract. We must confess we think the work of denouncing corruption is already pretty effectually done. The hostility to corruption is already deep seated and widespread. You find it in cheering strength in every part of the country, and you find along with it a most encouraging determination to "elect none but good men to office." Nevertheless, corruption continues to exist, and penetrates deeper and deeper from year to year. The "licentious press" is blamed for painting it in too dark colors, but we may with confidence ask any man "inside politics" whether the pictures of the press are not on the whole rather under than over drawn. There are more articles against it in the papers, more sermons against it in the pulpit, than ever before, and yet in spite of sporadic risings against it in some of its most flagrant forms, nobody can pretend that it has so diminished of late that the popular ideal of the politician has undergone a marked change, or that any new or better spirit has come over the relations of our public men to the country. Look, to go no further, at the attitude of the late Congress towards the civil service! Could anything well be more selfish or more degrading?

Now, why is this? Why does the preaching bear so little fruit? Why is it that the improvement of tone about politics and the deeper sense of responsibility which have unquestionably shown themselves among educated men during the last fifteen years, do not produce more marked amendment? The reason we take to be this: Politics, like the rest of human life, is made up of one-fourth opinion or sentiment, three-fourths of conduct. Conduct is composed of the acts of particular men. All denunciation, therefore, which does not touch conduct is apt to be idle, and any attempts at reform in which allusion to persons, or criticism of persons, or illustration by persons, is avoided, are sure to fail or nearly fail; and that most of our attempts at reform by our high-toned men have this defect there is no denying. When things have reached the pass they have reached among us at this juncture, it becomes the duty of the reformer, not so much to preach purity as to give reasons why Smith or Jones must be got out of the way; and this is an unpleasant task, which the "scholar in politics," like other people, not unnaturally avoids if he can. He is willing enough to lecture against rascality, or even, on a pinch, to attend a primary meeting, or to distribute ballots at the polls, but he is not willing to single out a political rascal and pursue him night and day until he makes public life too hot for him. Every one, in fact, is so occupied in keeping his sentiments pure, and furbishing up his opinions on government, that nobody is willing to go down into the crowd and collar the knaves. The "practical man," who attends conventions, has just as little stomach for this sort of work as the scholar. In fact, in order to stay "practical," and get returned to the conventions, and have any influence on nominations, he has at least to pretend to be something of a knave himself, and not to be easily shocked. The consequence is that the knaves flourish, and are willing that the preaching should continue indefinitely. As long as the better men are so afraid of hurting their feelings or "embittering their sentiments"—are afraid, in short, of personal application—there is no reason why they should be disturbed by it. Good-nature, in all its ramifications, has been made so prominent a feature in our school and social training that the capacity for withstanding a trickster or intriguer or demagogue to his face has almost died out amongst us. A striking illustration of this weakness is in fact furnished by the relations of many of the most prominent clergymen to the press. They preach against its shortcomings and enlarge on its responsibilities nearly every Thanksgiving Day with great fervor, and exact from political

editors the loftiest heroism and devotion to the general good; and yet when a publisher who notoriously makes his paper an instrument of the grossest corruption, sends them a check for the copyright of a few sermons, or a slight bit of moralizing, that he may have the benefit of their name to help him in pushing his trade, how many refuse it? How many remember, when the case is thus brought home to them, that they too are bound in small things as well as in great, indirectly as well as directly, to shut out covetousness and deceit from helping to mould public opinion, and to reserve the prominent and influential places for men whom they would have their sons admire and imitate? When, again, we see, as we do see every day, men beginning a political career with trickery, achieving success in it through "management," climbing into one high public office after another without knowledge or even affectation of knowledge, without interest in or association with a single measure of useful legislation or one question of social reform, without even making the slightest contribution to political thought beyond an occasional burst of flatulent admiration for universal suffrage, how many men of culture are willing to come down and denounce, expose, or oppose them, until not only their hold on public life has been shaken, but until their way of succeeding has been made difficult and discreditable? We fear, very few. The dangers and temptations and difficulties of such work there is no disguising. It is apt to involve almost as much waste and injustice as war itself, and yet, in spite of this, will have to be done in democratic communities if democracy is to reach anything which rational men will be willing to call success. The race of ignorant political adventurers and intriguers has risen into power, and holds the government in its hands, because better men are content to paint political ideals, and refuse to make personal applications of their own teachings, or often to suffer a little personal inconvenience in order to abate at their own door the very nuisances they have been denouncing in the pulpit.

## THE PREVENTION OF LOCAL EXTRAVAGANCE.

ABOUT ten years ago, at the close of the war, the question of municipal indebtedness first began to attract public attention. Unfortunately, political discussion was then carried on on such a simple plan that the matter really failed to attract as much attention as its importance deserved. The publication of statistics showing that the local indebtedness of the United States must be counted by hundreds of millions and really amounted to a second national debt of no small magnitude, was met by the reply that the disseminators of these unpleasant facts were Copperheads, and that their statistics were in the nature of rebel lies. Since the settlement of the Reconstruction problems, however, the question has begun to attract more notice, and in hardly a State has there not been a movement of some kind to restrict or put an end to the power of local bodies, like towns, cities, school districts, and counties, to run themselves into debt. In Connecticut, a constitutional amendment prohibiting such bodies from giving any aid to private corporations has just failed; but the movement is to be renewed, limiting the restriction now to railroads instead of making it embrace all private corporations. The figures of the Connecticut municipal debts are $13,995,000, of which more than a third is said to have gone to railroads. According to the Census of 1870, the county debts of the United States amounted to $187,565,540, the city and town debts to $328,244,520, and the State debts to $352,866,698—making in all the sum of $868,676,758. It may fairly be assumed that these figures are under rather than over the mark, as local debts increased from 1870 to 1873 at an alarming rate, and if we had the true figures we should probably find them to be above $1,000,000,000—a sum which would make quite a respectable national debt for a sovereign state.

There can be no doubt that the extinction, or at any rate the enormous reduction, of this debt is a question which must sooner or later be met by the various States. The United States, alone among modern countries, has adopted a consistent policy with regard to its national debt—that of paying it off. But it would be a ludicrous piece of inconsistency if we were to start at the same time on a career of national economy and local extravagance. It is easy to see that with the double sovereignty of the States and the United States we might secure all the so-called blessings of a national debt without the nation's owing a dollar—a debt for which it would be just as difficult to find the interest, and which would cripple us just as much. If we really mean what we say when we talk of the policy of the country, we must not content ourselves with the monthly published statement of the Treasury showing the reduction in the debt, but must ask ourselves, how much has the total public debt, including the national, State, county, town, and school indebtedness, been decreased in that time—how much less are we taxed than thirty days, or even a year, before? If statistics of this sort had been published for the last ten years, we should perhaps see reason to modify our views as to the reduction of the total indebtedness of the country.

There are, at present, three modes of meeting the question of city and town indebtedness in the United States. The first is to ignore its existence; to trust, that is, to the virtue and economy of the various towns and cities to prevent extravagance. On the face of it, this seems the true solution. Theoretically, the people of a town or city are the best judges of whether it needs bridges, railroads, and other public improvements, and how much it can afford to pay for them. But, practically, it has been found by experience that this local self-regulation does not work. Political corporations, like individuals and like private corporations, are subject to sudden waves of excitement when everything seems smiling and prosperous, profits certain, returns quick, and danger of collapse so remote that it may be disregarded. At these times cities and towns launch out into wild speculations, and as they can generally muster credit enough to get very long loans, everything goes on swimmingly until some period of panic or monetary distress comes, when they suddenly find themselves no longer in a condition to pay. Then a new loan has to be made to pay off the old one; and so the obligation clings like a millstone about the necks of the unfortunate taxpayers, who can just manage to pay the interest on it and no more. In theory, of course, there is no more danger of this in a city or town than there is in a well-managed banking or shipping house; but in practice the affairs of towns and cities are not managed as banks or other private business are. The results show that the rule of local *laissez-faire*, even with the addition of the "sinking-fund" principle, has not prevented extravagance whenever the taxpayers have been inclined to be extravagant. The "sinking-fund" has generally been adopted in the United States much in the same spirit in which it was first introduced in the days of Law and the South Sea Bubble—as a sort of talisman by which debts pay themselves. Almost every large corporation in the country has a sinking-fund, which is supposed to be rolling up while the debt remains stationary. Unfortunately, however, since sinking-funds are managed by the same men by whom debts are contracted, there is often a slip between the cup and lip; and the very same carelessness, negligence, and improvidence which make the debt increase make the sinking-fund decrease. A sinking-fund is, after all, only a pretty way of accumulating savings; if there are really no savings to accumulate, it will do no good.

The second way is that which the Connecticut reformers are attempting to introduce now. This has the advantage of settling the question once for all, by forbidding towns to contract debts in aid of private corporations in any case. The objection to it is that it takes away the power of selection as to what the taxpayers may desire to spend their money on. With regard to small towns and cities, which, in the nature of things, ought not to undertake responsibilities of an extensive kind, it may be best to lay down a hard and fast line of this sort; but with large cities, which necessarily have expectations of future growth and hopes of future greatness, the case is different. Cities of this sort are apt to think that they can judge a great deal better how to develop themselves—whether by taxes or by bonds, and whether by bonds in aid of railroads or by building railroads themselves—than any one else can

judge for them. Besides, the restriction does not in any way prevent their launching out in any kind of extravagance they please so long as it has no connection with a private corporation. Parks, boulevards, water-works, and bridges may all be brought under the head of strictly public expenditures, whether in a city of a million inhabitants or a town of ten thousand, and the debts incurred on their account may ruin either.

The third way of dealing with the question is by restricting the *amount* of municipal indebtedness which may be incurred. This plan has been adopted by the Massachusetts Legislature, and consists simply in fixing a percentage of the valuation which is to be the limit of the indebtedness. This does not necessarily restrict the objects to which money may be devoted, but it assigns a rational and easily understood limit—not an arbitrary limit either, but one which advances or recedes with the prosperity of the place. A town which is growing in population and resources is also growing, under this system, in its means of utilizing these resources, and a town which is stationary has no legal power to run into hopeless debt; while the creditor who advances money to it can see for himself the exact value of his security. By a law introduced into the Massachusetts Legislature, and we believe passed, the system was completed by giving the Supreme Court jurisdiction in any cases of violation of the new law, in suits which may be brought by any creditor or by any single taxpayer in any city or town. This puts the enforcement of the system into the hands of those who are directly interested.

A law of this sort may, if it is carried out, have an indirect effect of an unintended sort which would none the less be very beneficial. It has been for the last ten years the great aim of those interested in tax reform to get an equal, just, and uniform valuation of property in the States. With regard to personal property this has always been a failure, and in this State has been given up. But in the nature of things there is no reason why there should not be an equal valuation of real estate. Nevertheless, in the cities it has been found that assessors are apt to fix the value of estates as high as possible, while in the country they follow the opposite plan and make them as low as possible. Of course, the reason is that, in the country, estates are valued by assessors who are themselves generally landholders, and expect in this way to escape part of the general taxes. Although it is for everybody's interest to have a fair valuation, and any undervaluation is a direct injustice to every one throughout the State at large, still what is everybody's business is nobody's, and the thing goes on. But if a relation is established between local indebtedness and valuation, and the maintenance of this relation is put into the hands of the courts, and an action at law or in equity is given to every aggrieved person, there is certainly something like a chance that the system of valuation may be changed. It would manifestly be impossible to go on year after year getting judgments and decrees which were founded in error, and yet this would be the result if the limit of indebtedness fixed by law were calculated upon the false basis furnished by an undervaluation. It would clearly be for the interest of all creditors and taxpayers to have real valuations; and, besides this, in towns which wished to contract debts, as every town does now and then, there would be every motive to give up the agrarian system now in vogue. With a uniform and just system of valuation, there would seem to be some opening for the reforms in our system of taxation proposed by Mr. Wells and others, the first step in which must be a uniform valuation of real property, as its object is to make the burden of taxation fall upon the land.

Of course, in the long run, economy in public expenditure and among a democratic people cannot be expected in the absence of an economical spirit in the people themselves. But of there being at this time such a spirit there is plenty of evidence—in the press, in the numerous passage of constitutional amendments limiting the power of the States and other local bodies to borrow money, and the cessation of the system of grants of aid by legislatures and Congress. This spirit, however, is certain, before many years, to be succeeded by one of extravagance, as a revival of business causes a renewal of the general feeling of prosperity. It is important, therefore, that this economical interregnum should be utilized, as far as possible, by the introduction of constitutional and legal safeguards such as have always formed the great barriers for us against waste and misgovernment.

## TILTON AGAINST BEECHER.

THE Brooklyn trial has ended pretty much as most people expected it would end from the beginning, that is, in a disagreement of the jury. It can hardly be said that this is a victory for anybody, but it is something very like a defeat for Mr. Beecher. Not to get a vindication from the jury is, under such circumstances, somewhat of a failure. That Mr. Beecher looks on it himself in this light we infer from his Friday-evening talk pending the verdict, which was that of a defiant rather than of a grateful man. He let the world know that its opinion was not of much consequence to him, that if he did not get an acquittal he could do without it. The reflection which this must have suggested to many was that it was a great pity that this courage and self-reliance and indifference to human judgments had not been displayed at an earlier period in this wretched affair. Had they been, the country would have been spared twelve months of absorption in a most repulsive scandal, which has been rendered all the more demoralizing by the fact that nearly all the actors in it are persons who have made loud professions of living on a higher moral plane, or nearer to God, than the mass of their fellow-citizens. Part of the shock, therefore, which the public received when this trouble was laid bare, came from the discovery that the lessons of fortitude and indifference to mundane standards and aims of which Mr. Beecher has been a powerful preacher, and by which Plymouth Church has been built up, did not, as they ought to have done, prove useful on the very first occasion on which the church and its pastor were threatened with serious misfortune or annoyance. It was, as the result has proved, of vastly more importance to the great interests of religion and morality that Mr. Beecher should have met this charge in the spirit of his teaching, than that the church should have been saved from turmoil or disruption, or Mr. Beecher himself from temporary eclipse. His bold public denial on the stormy night when Moulton first brought the charge to his knowledge, would have had tenfold the weight that it had four years later, when he was dragged miserably, like a criminal, before the Brooklyn Court; and, more than this, it would have sounded somewhat like a trumpet-call to his disciples. As it is, he has managed to save the church, with the pews and other appurtenances, by the sacrifice of some of the great interests for which the church is supposed to have been instituted. He has not had to "step down and out," and the congregation has not been rent into parties, but there is now, if not to the uproarious crowds who attend his prayer-meetings, to reflecting men all over the country, something hollow and perfunctory in the advice he still proffers so freely on the conduct of life. He must not deceive himself on this point, and his enthusiastic partisans must not suppose that their ebullient devotion makes any serious impression on the sober second thought of the community.

But there is a certain sense, and that an important one, in which it may be said that neither the disagreement nor the agreement of the jury is of much consequence to Mr. Beecher. Of course, when men submit their differences to a legal tribunal, and debate before it for six long months, the technical victory of a verdict becomes inevitably an object of eager desire. The trial, if it has no higher interest, has the interest of a game which each side seeks to win, even if the stake is only a dollar. But then it was never expected by anybody—and probably least of all by the plaintiff and defendant—that the decision of the jury would decide the issue for the public at large. The popular desire for a legal investigation of the case was mainly due to the feeling that it was only by the use of legal machinery that the facts in it could be fairly and efficiently brought out. That they have been produced in great abundance there is no denying, but of the millions who have read them we doubt if there are ten whose judgment would have been much affected by the finding of the jurymen. *Their* verdict could not seriously or permanently have cleared or clouded Mr. Beecher's fame. Another tribunal, which was not visible in Brooklyn, which did not stamp or cheer during the evidence or the speeches, which needs no usher, and for access to which no tickets are necessary, before which there is no use in taking exceptions or excluding testimony, has been sitting on the case all along, and it is by its judgments that Mr. Beecher must stand or fall. Now, we have no hesitation in saying that it seems unlikely that to this tribunal his defence can have been satisfactory, and

for the simple reason that it has been, what a minister's defence ought never to be, very technical; not certainly as technical as it might have been, not more technical than might have been proper in the case of a man whose reputation was less delicate, but too technical for a man who needs to meet all charges as he would meet them at the last great day. One of the penalties or inconveniences of being a great moral or religious teacher is, that when charged with anything which seems likely to lessen his influence he can seek refuge behind neither forms nor statutes nor precedents. He cannot call on his accuser to convict him under the rules, and tell him that this or that proof will be heard, but none other. His only safety lies in asking every man who has aught against him to bring it forward and tell it every word, and then meeting it as best he can. This may be a cruel ordeal, full of snares and pitfalls and possible injustices, but exposure to it is one of the chief conditions on which a prophet or apostle or evangelist claims the popular attention and holds his place in the pulpit. If he have the tongues of angels and of men, and yet have sought safety from even the humblest accuser behind Starkie or Greenleaf, or the Court of Appeals, or the House of Lords, he must expect to have men shrug their shoulders when he shows the way to heaven.

Against this disadvantage Mr. Beecher has had several important advantages. He went into the fight not only with forty years of unblemished character at his back, but with the enormous support which popularity as a preacher gives to character. Great numbers of persons all over the country—we have ourselves received letters from several of them—have believed in his innocence all through, on the *à priori* ground that a man guilty of such an offence, and guilty of the falsehoods by which it must have been covered up, could not possibly have preached and prayed with the fervor and efficacy which he has all along displayed; and we think there are few people in the religious world who are not more or less influenced by this consideration, although the records of criminal jurisprudence contain abundant proof that fervor and efficacy might, under such circumstances, be matters of nervous force as well as of spiritual purity or elevation. He has been served powerfully, also, by the position and antecedents of his principal assailant, who had pretty completely destroyed his own character before he made his charges public, and whose queer, disorderly career furnished abundant materials for a sort of moral set-off on the trial. Moulton, too, had, like most intriguers, enveloped himself so completely in his own web that it was impossible for him to make his way out, with any show of integrity, when the moment came to turn on his protégé. The very office he had undertaken to fill for Mr. Beecher, which was, in its nature, one of falsehood and evasion, inasmuch as it involved the deception of the public even in a greater degree than the reconciliation of the parties, helped to discredit him when he appeared as a witness. Aid came to the defendant, too, from another and somewhat singular quarter. His letters would probably, in the case of any other man living, have been accepted as of themselves proving his guilt. Their language points, according to all the moral and social experience of this country and of England, to one particular offence and to no other. We believe there is no case on record where a man has used similar language about anything else. An attempt on the part of almost any other person in the community, therefore, to give it a different interpretation, or make it point to something of less gravity, would have excited derision. Yet Mr. Beecher has succeeded in satisfying a great many persons that what he meant by his fierce self-condemnation was the giving of legitimate and proper advice to a wife and to an employer about a man of vicious habits, who had been making his home a hell and using a widely-circulated newspaper to debauch the public mind. He has been able to accomplish this by reference to the general extravagance of his speech and behavior on all serious occasions, and yet his profession is not only that of a moralist, but that of a casuist. He has, that is to say, for forty years made it his business not only to lead people in the right way, but to train their sense of moral proportion. It is reported, too, that this explanation of his conduct had most weight with those who saw him on the witness-stand, for his demeanor there made plain the readiness with which he was swept by emotional storms and with which he might fall into any sort of rhetorical exaggeration.

To say, however, that the public is completely satisfied with this explanation would be to say something for which nobody has any warrant. With a great majority, we fear, it only creates at most a favorable presumption. It must be added, too, that there has been in the defence a certain want of ingenuousness, or frankness—if any one likes the term better—for which, though technically fair enough, people were not prepared in a case of this character. The number of things which, it would seem, ought to have left a burning certainty on Mr. Beecher's mind, and which he either failed to remember or failed to explain on his cross-examination, was unpleasantly large. His answers, perhaps, suggested no thing positive against him; but they did not make all the dark places clear. It was, too, we are sure, painful to many to hear a minister of Mr. Beecher's standing defended on such an occasion by some of the pleas which—though regular enough professionally—Mr. Evarts thought proper to bring forward on his behalf. What, for instance, could have been more irrelevant in the forum of morals than the glowing account of Mr. Beecher's services to the Union in England? Is it ingenuous for a minister even to suggest that an eloquent and patriotic man is, *as such*, unlikely to commit adultery? Would it not be trifling of the most grotesque kind, if a man accused you of improper relations with his wife, to ask him, by way of reply, whether he had read your great speech to the rebel sympathizers in Liverpool? We might, if we had space, pick out from the defence a large number of similar specimens of uncandid dealing with the jury and the public. They are a kind of thing which one hears in court every day, but it was impossible for Mr. Beecher to avail himself of them without injury.

Though last not least, Mr. Beecher's demeanor during the trial has not strengthened the prepossession in his favor. His jollity, people have not unnaturally argued, in the situation in which he has been placed, can hardly have been due to consciousness of innocence, or this consciousness would have stood him in better stead when the charge was first made, and have saved him from the tortuous experiences of his alliance with Moulton, and its attendant "anxiety, remorse, fear, and despair." It therefore has been difficult to avoid ascribing it to a want of moral sensitiveness, which has naturally and inevitably lessened the weight of his denials. That an excess of animal spirits should at certain crises injure a man in the estimation of right-minded people will probably be somewhat incredible to many of the noisy brethren of Plymouth Church, but they must make up their minds to accept the fact that their modes of expression are repulsive to a very large and respectable portion of the Christian world, whose opinions neither they nor their pastor can well afford to disregard.

The general result of the trial must, therefore, on the whole be regarded as unsatisfactory. Mr. Beecher has not been convicted, but then he has not been acquitted. Whether he is guilty or innocent of the main charge, the history of his relations with Tilton and Moulton, even as told by himself, is a pitiful story, which must remain a permanent blot on his reputation, and must considerably diminish if not destroy his influence as a moral teacher. But the case will furnish a lesson, more effective than any number of sermons, of the danger of bad company and of all undertakings which involve in even so slight a degree departures from truthfulness. "Men of the world," even, play games of concealment with considerable risk; a minister who engages in one stakes his life on the result. As soon as there arise in his career any facts the revelation of which he fears, and which have found their way into other hands than his own, there is but one course open to him, and any minister who finds that his religion has not prepared him for such a crisis may well doubt the propriety of his continuing to preach.

## PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF.

PARIS, June 18, 1875.

THE part which Russia has taken lately in the preservation of peace in Europe increases the importance which at all times should be attached to the diplomacy of the Court of St. Petersburg. This diplomacy is still conducted in what I might call the old fashion. As there are no Chambers in Russia, the Czar has the complete management of the national interests, and practically the diplomatic business is centred in Count Gortchakoff. After the great German Chancellor, there is probably now not a man in Europe who has a more absolute and complete responsibility in his hands. I spent a few days last summer at Interlaken between two excursions in the mountains, and I saw every morning the old Russian Chancellor take a constitutional walk under the magnificent nut-trees of the avenue. He was not much altered. He still stood erect, and there was on his lips the perpetual smile which is the characteristic of his expression. His eyes shone behind his spectacles with their usual fire. He was, as in old times, very affable, gay, courteous, fond of a neat joke. The Chancellor goes every year to some German watering-place—to Ems, to Baden-Baden—and spends a few weeks in Interlaken since his son Michael has become Russian Minister in Switzerland. The great notoriety of his name dates from the Crimean war. His brother, Prince Michael Gortchakoff, showed in the defence of Sevastopol the most stubborn courage. Another brother of his, Peter,

fought at the Alma and at Inkermann. The Gortchakoffs belong to the oldest nobility of Russia. Few people are versed in the mysteries of the famous book called the *Velvet* Book, which is the Russian peerage, but everybody knows that the Gortchakoffs belong to the first class of the nobility. They claim direct descent from Rurik, from St. Michael of Tchernigov and St. Vladimir. There are now only thirty-one families in Russia which can prove their descent from Rurik, and among them the Gortchakoffs hold the third rank in the line of descent. Their betters, in a genealogical point of view, are the Odoievskis and the Koltsoff Massalskis, quite unknown in Western Europe. After them come the Dolgorukis and the Gagarins. If you happen to speak on this subject with an old Russian you will soon learn that these families were far superior at one time to the Romanoffs, who were mere boyards. But the Romanoffs ascended the throne. The actual dynasty's real name is not even Romanoff—its name is Holstein-Gottorp. The institution of the *Tchin*—that is, the hierarchy founded upon public services and controlled by the Imperial will—has created an official aristocracy in Russia, but the people still have much reverence for their old princes, and a number in the *Tchin* is not the same in its eyes as a pure descent from the children of Rurik.

The present Chancellor, Prince Alexander, is the eldest of his family—he was born in 1800. Since 1862 he has been the Chancellor of the Foreign Affairs Department, the highest and most important dignity in the Empire. He alone belongs to the first class of the *Tchin*. The Russian people look upon him as the representative of Muscovite Russia ; his predecessor, Prince Nesselrode, came from a Westphalian family, and the Russians have a secret aversion to the Germans. Prince Gortchakoff took early an important part in what may be called the Russian renaissance ; he favored Russian literature, Russian art. He professes, however, a great liking for the French language, and prides himself very justly on the purity of his French. There is probably now in Europe not a single man, not even among the ablest *rédacteurs* of our own Foreign Office, who can write a despatch in French with the neatness, the elegance, and the perfection of Prince Gortchakoff.

The first post he occupied was Stuttgart ; he negotiated there the marriage of Princess Olga, the daughter of the Emperor Nicholas, with the Prince of Würtemberg, a marriage which greatly displeased King Wilhelm. He remained eight years in Würtemberg, as he had promised the Empress to stay with her daughter as long as she might need him. He was sent after 1848 to Frankfort, and there became intimately acquainted with Prince Bismarck. His real importance dates from the Crimean war. Count Nesselrode retired after the Treaty of Paris, and Prince Alexander received his succession. Let us try to remember what he represented at that moment, when he entered the Foreign Office as the adversary of Germany, and more particularly of Austria. Russia had expected the good offices of Austria when the Eastern difficulties began ; she considered herself betrayed by her ; she resented the conduct of Austria even more than the defeat which had been inflicted upon her by France and by England. Everybody looked upon Gortchakoff, a Russian of old descent, as the man chosen to renovate Russia, and to allow free play to the old Muscovite and national elements, which had been crushed by the German bureaucracy. Gortchakoff had played a great part as ambassador to Vienna in the Conference of the Great Powers in 1854 ; he understood early that France would soon direct her efforts against Austria, and he strongly advised Alexander II. to send an old Russian, Prince Orloff, to Paris to negotiate the peace with Napoleon III. He was already fifty-six years old, but he had quick perceptions, and he threw himself, at the very moment when his country had been defeated by France, into what I might call the French movement. He foresaw that the old treaties of 1813 would no longer be respected, and he chose for his ally the power which at that moment seemed the most likely to keep victory on its side. His attraction to France did not take the form of a positive alliance, but he gave Napoleon to understand that he would not find Russia in his way. Germany had abandoned Russia in her hour of trial ; Russia would now remain quiet, would make reforms at home. "La Russie se recueille" was the happy phrase in which he defined his policy. Austria felt the danger, but she could not avoid it. Russia folded her arms, and not only did she look with equanimity on the destruction of the Austrian rule in Italy, but she used her influence to hinder Germany from giving any help to Austria. In the East, Prince Gortchakoff adopted a policy of temporization; he remained strictly within the Treaty of Paris, believing that what the Czar Nicholas could not do by force would some time or other be done by necessity, and in consequence of the natural decay of the Ottoman Empire.

The passive attitude of Russia could not, however, last for ever. The insurrection of Poland forced Prince Gortchakoff to adopt a more decided tone in speaking to the Great Powers. The new dogma of nationalities, which had freed Italy, was adopted with enthusiasm by the Poles. Prince Gortchakoff was constantly reminded by France and by England that Russia had not fulfilled the agreement into which she had entered in 1815 with regard to Poland. But he would never condescend to treat the Polish question otherwise than as an imperial question. He wrote boldly to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, at the time when Napoleon III. was at the height of his power: "We believe that we anticipate the wishes of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France if we abstain hereafter from continuing a discussion which would not fulfil the conciliatory views which we entertain." Napoleon did not press the question any further. Some time before, answering some observations made on the misfortunes of Poland, he wrote : "The evil from which the kingdom suffers is not an isolated fact. The whole of Europe is afflicted with it. The revolutionary passions, the scourge of our time, are just at present concentrated in Poland, because they look there for the focus of a conflagration which would soon extend over all Europe."

What was the secret of this change ? why did Russia challenge England and France ? why did she dare to say that she would allow nobody to interfere between her and her Polish subjects ? The secret is now well known. This was the time when Prince Bismarck approached Prince Gortchakoff and offered him a close alliance against Europe ; and why did Prince Bismarck make the offer? Because he wished to use the Russian alliance against Austria. Galicia had become the centre of the Polish agitation. Prussia knew very well that the partition of Poland had formed a permanent tie between Prussia and Russia ; and he only made the tie stronger, and promised to use the combined force of Russia and Northern Germany against Austria, who, though she had received her part of Poland, had never kept a very strong hold of her part of the spoils. This unfortunate Polish question has really been the centre and the nucleus of all the political combinations which have been developed since. This made Russia, so to speak, the accomplice of Prussia in whatever Russia should attempt ; and, by a strange change of fortune, Gortchakoff, who had risen to power as an anti-German, a Slavophile, became the instrument of the greatness of Germany. I have been acquainted with some of the men of Russia who were connected with the great movement which was falsely represented as a conspiracy at the beginning of the reign of Nicholas. These men belonged to the highest nobility of Russia ; they were all enamored of liberal ideas ; they dreamt of the emancipation of the serf, of a better administration of justice, of various social reforms, and also of constitutional institutions. They were the most quiet of citizens, though they were considered as the accomplices of a military conspiracy of which they were quite innocent. They were subjected to the hardest fate, but their dream is now accomplished, with the exception of those constitutional institutions which are still unknown to Russia. I only mention this in order to add that I have often talked of Poland to the men of that generation whom I have seen, and though they were good, humane men, I always perceived that the independence of Poland was not a part of their dream. To their mind, the independence of Poland means the subjection of Russia, and they were intensely Russian in their aspirations. The anti-Polish passion is a note which Prince Bismarck knows he can always touch at the proper time with the certainty that the cord will vibrate.

Late events have shown the two Chancellors in a new light ; it has become apparent that Prince Gortchakoff does not wish to become a mere tool in the hands of his friend and rival. He has played a very prominent part in the preservation of peace, and now at Ems he says to those who see him, "Il faut que la France soit grande et forte" (France ought to be great and strong). He is very fond of political maxims of this sort. They are, as it were, the medals on which he stamps his thoughts. Alas ! France is neither great nor strong at present, but she ought to be thankful to those who wish her well. It has also been lately one of Prince Gortchakoff's maxims to say : "La France est trop découragée" (France is too much discouraged). It is perhaps felt that France, even in the days of her greatest infatuation, was not a stern and hard master ; that she could be more easily dealt with than the new powers of the day. It is quite true that France is discouraged : we have not paid our ransom, we have only borrowed it ; it will take ten years of the country's net revenue to pay it back, as the net revenue of our agriculture is not more than five hundred millions a year. The time of personal slavery is past ; conquerors do not force the conquered to work for them individually, they force them to do so as a nation. Nations will become slaves if this new method of gigantic fines and ransoms, instituted by Prince Bismarck, becomes the rule of the coming times. We have indeed made a step towards a new kind of barbarism ; and the aphorism of Prince Gortchakoff is but a small consolation for our misery : "Il faut que la France soit grande et forte."

## THE SEMI-OFFICIAL PRESS IN GERMANY.

BERLIN, June 14, 1875.

LONG after the storm has ceased to blow, the ship continues to be rocked violently by the waves. If one looks upon the quantity of articles still published by the European press on the late war-rumors, one could almost believe a regular typhoon had been raging on the political seas. It is certain that these rumors have not been a "swindle," as Count Andrássy is reported to have called them, but it is as certain that they do not deserve the amount of ink still wasted on them. You have, with great clearness, pointed out what there is—I purposely do not write, has been—of real importance in them, viz., the uneasy state of the public mind in Europe, which is inclined to see in the smallest cloud a portentous forerunner of a tremendous storm. A great part of the press in Germany, as well as in the other European countries, has considerably aggravated the evil, and still continues to do so, partly from sensational tendencies, partly for want of other subjects to write upon. We are fast approaching the dead season of politics, and (though the legislative bodies are yet everywhere in session) are already to some extent in it, and, consequently, have begun to suffer under the curse of the press being obliged to fill so many columns every day. Swarms of *canards* are let up from every quarter, to be shot down the next morning by fearful volleys of *démentis*. One could fill a whole library with the interesting stories about what has been said, and what has not been said, in Berlin, in Paris, in London, and in all the other European capitals down to Darmstadt and Gotha. Yesterday we got a full report of the decisive two-hours' interview between the Emperor Alexander and Prince Bismarck in the latter's palace in the Wilhelmsstrasse. To-day we are informed that the Prince, at the risk of getting an asthmatic fit, hurried down stairs to meet his guest at the threshold. The whole conversation lasted about two minutes, and was within the hearing of the coachmen and footmen, in whose faithful bosoms the great secrets of state will be buried for ever. That most unfortunate being, "the future historian," will have some trouble in disentangling this Gordian knot prepared for him by merciless reporters. Thus far, the positive knowledge to be derived from the mass of contradictory revelations can be easily put into a nutshell, yet it is not valueless.

The *entente cordiale* between the three Emperors is as firm as ever, and the Emperor Alexander and Count Andrássy have formally testified to the fact that, to their knowledge and belief, there has never been any disposition in Berlin to trouble the peace of Europe England's valiant resolution to intervene in favor of peace has therefore, in a certain sense, been a blow in the air. There has from of old been a certain animosity against England in Germany, and public opinion chuckles with some satisfaction at seeing the kind offices of England politely declined, there being no need whatever for them. Yet those who are wont to make their political calculations with some soberness do not fail to recognize the truth of Lord Derby's assertion, that England's good-will may any moment become of the utmost importance. Not only by her money she may now, as she has done so often in former times, exercise a powerful influence, but, her own territory being protected by the sea, her army, though comparatively small, could be thrown into the scales as a great if not as the decisive weight. We therefore would heartily welcome a firmly uttered resolution on the part of England to use, with the utmost energy, all her influence against whosoever should attempt to disturb the peace of Europe ; for, as you do us the justice to believe, the great majority of our people are sincerely desirous to see it continued. Her late offer, therefore, to serve as mediator would not have awakened the recollections of our old supposed or real grievances against her but for one reason : we are far from being convinced that she is in earnest. Ere we shall be brought to believe that, she must prove her willingness to live up to her old and most solemn engagements. During the late apprehensions of war, every eye in Germany was turned towards Belgium ; for if France is ever again to attack us, it is from there we have to expect the first onset. England has guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium ; let her satisfy us and the rest of Europe that she is determined to back this guaranty with her money, her navy, and her army, and the reporters will have infinitely harder work to conjure up any war-clouds on the political horizon. As long as she fails to do this, her Cabinet ministers may pinch the tail of the British lion as vigorously as they like to make him roar, no one in Europe will mistake his angry grunting for the roar of bygone times, which used to shake the nerves as much as the crowing of the Gallic cock. Until she makes up her mind to this, she cannot leave her position of a second-rate power, which she has voluntarily assumed. We won't be paid any longer with words we want to see deeds. I do not know whether you and your readers will endorse this opinion, but, whether it be well founded or not, it is the all but universal opinion of Germany, and as such it deserves to be mentioned.

Happily, France—whose desire for revenge England would be principally called upon to keep in check—is not in a condition to attempt anything without allies. One therefore quite frequently hears experienced diplomatists express the opinion that it is not the Western but the Eastern horizon which should be the most carefully watched, since it is from that quarter that the *entente cordiale* between the three Emperors is the most likely to be disturbed. If this opinion be well founded, the friends of peace should be gratified by it, because there is certainly at present neither in Russia nor in Austria any desire to make the Eastern Question the order of the day, and we have every reason to say with Sumner, in his celebrated speech on the Johnson Treaty : "If there necessarily must be a war sooner or later, for God's sake let it be later," though we, unfortunately, cannot conclude with him—"and I am sure it will never be."

In the inky war which is about to be terminated, if not by a peace, at least by a truce, the worst defeat has been suffered by the reporters, for it is most positively and without contradiction asserted that Bismarck has ordered "the press bureau" of the Foreign Office to be dissolved. What this exactly means it is not easy to say, for a "press bureau" has never existed in the Foreign Office, and Mr. Aegidi, who has been the only speaking-trumpet through which the Chancellor has sent his hints to the press, is retained in his old office. Bismarck is undoubtedly very far from having entirely and for ever renounced this means of communicating the views of the Government to the public, and thereby of forming public opinion ; no government on this continent ever will or can do this. Yet a new régime in this respect is certainly about to commence. Henceforth there will be no reason for believing every sentence in the semi-official papers, or even in those which are reputed to enjoy the good graces of the Government, to be "inspired" by the highest authorities. It was high time to put a stop to this. Though the secret funds for press purposes have been principally employed in foreign countries, and though the Ultramontanes have done their best to paint in black of the deepest dye what in reality was only gray, still the Government has sinned even with regard to our own press more than enough to alarm seriously every true patriot. Public confidence in the press began to be shaken, because everybody knew that the "reptile fund" was a dire reality, and because none could tell with certainty what papers fattened on it. Wherever the Government was supported by a paper, its enemies raised the cry of the "reptile fund," and no denial could be wholly effective, because there were no means of distinguishing the innocent from the guilty. So this business at last turned out to be of a kind to make every party a heavy loser. The public began to ask whether they had any longer an organ in the press ; the independent press demurred, because they could not prove their independence, and were at every moment exposed to calumnious attacks ; the Government felt a decrease in the support it had derived from public opinion, because it had become impossible to tell how much of this public opinion was genuine, and how much of it had been fabricated. Finally, even the very purpose which the "reptile fund" was to serve was frustrated by the excess with which it had been used. As the public had been led to see "inspired" articles everywhere, a horde of second and third rate reporters learned quickly enough to set up on their own hook manufactories of inspired revelations. The article remained in demand, and so much had been furnished of the genuine one that the professional man did not find it difficult to fabricate his counterfeits with sufficient skill to palm them off as genuine on many a dupe. Only an opportunity was required to bring a perfect flood of them down upon us, and this opportunity was offered by the war-rumor. Our semi-official press has been wrongly accused of having pushed the excitement to a dangerous height by its indiscreet zeal. Bismarck and Mr. Aegidi are clever enough not to say more than they want to say, and they know how to select the people they want to employ. The trouble was that the semi-official press had become such a wide and vague thing that nobody, not even the best initiated member of the profession, could tell where it commenced and where it ended. To this circumstance we owe it that Bismarck has come to see what a double-edged weapon the "reptile fund" is, and if he sticks to his resolution we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the late war-rumors. However much it may have cost us that the excitement was raised fifty or even ninety per per cent. higher than it need have been, we shall have made a good bargain if we have bought with it the certainty that a stop will be put to the systematic poisoning of the press. Whether the promise will be kept, only time can reveal. We must take care not to judge this question prematurely, for we already have swallowed too much of the poison not to feel the effects of it for a long time to come. Reporters and a certain class of politicians

will be slow to give up the practice of bestowing inspired revelations on the public, and members of all parties will continue to be engaged in the unclean business. The Ultramontanes have been the first to prove that they are unwilling to give it up. Before the Convent Law (the latest blow in the war against Rome) was introduced by the Cabinet in both houses of the Landtag, they asserted with great assurance that the Emperor had refused to give his consent to it. And now they set afloat the story that the Emperor had declared to Dr. Falk that no other law against Rome and the Ultramontanes would be approved by him. It is hard to tell what they expect to gain by these manœuvres, for the Convent Law was signed by the Emperor, and Dr. Falk at once pronounced the latter story an absurd invention.

# Correspondence.

## BOATING ETHICS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The *Evening Post* has an article entitled "A Word to College Oarsmen." The article contains much good advice, and sets forth with strength the importance of honorable conduct, command of temper, courtesy, and decent manners, and the scandal of the reverse, under whatever excitement. All this is well; but, after an observation of many years, I am satisfied that there is more need of a word to editors than of a word from them to college oarsmen. I am not a boating man, for boating came in after my day; but I have watched the regatta system with deep interest, not that I care to know which of a dozen boats came in a few feet ahead in the vicissitudes of a three-mile course, but to observe the effect of regattas upon the physical and intellectual condition of the rowing youth, and especially on their morale.

Amid the excitements of Springfield or Saratoga, the few quiet spots are the quarters of the crews. They live there under strict rule as to hours, diet, exercise, and sleep, careful above all to avoid excitement, and to exclude all its causes. They do not (I speak of the best, but I think it is true of all) read the newspaper reports and letters, and they have as little as possible to do with the correspondents, reporters, and interviewers of the press. If a reporter applies, tape in hand, to measure their arms and chests, they refuse to be treated as prize oxen; and if he tries to draw from them how they feel about this or that crew, they give him no light, and discourage a prolongation of his attentions, at the risk of "our correspondent's" being down upon them as "aristocratic." They are not to be seen at the hotels, betting-places, or gatherings of gossipers. Let any fair judge seek an opportunity, and he will see that they show the least excitement of all who are at the races. It is the crowd of betting men, of reporters and correspondents, and of light-minded boys and girls, and graduate children of older growth, who create and minister to the intensity of excitement, and spread over the land exaggerated partisan accounts or sensational descriptions, and, worse than all, mean insinuations of dishonest, unworthy conduct, feared or intended. When letters from the agents of our leading papers contain such passages as these: "It is currently reported that Yale, hopeless of winning, intends to foul Harvard, and Harvard has been put on her guard"; "it is understood that Harvard, seeing her defeat inevitable, is negotiating to sell out her race to Princeton, to spite Yale"; "Williams has a double watch over her boat at night, having been warned of sinister designs by Dartmouth"—I do not quote *verbatim*, but in substance—do not editors need a little caution? The truth is, as these are not intellectual occasions, editors are too apt to think that it is not worth while to send a first-class man, if the man they send is only busy in picking up items and can describe vividly, and do not trouble themselves to learn whether the applicant they employ is a pledged partisan or what is his moral habit or structure. Consequently the press, and even the best papers, spread before the reading public an amount of unworthy gossip before the race, and of heated, partial, ill-considered, and untrustworthy imputation and scandal after the result, against umpires as well as crews, with exaggerated commendations of favorites, with the worst effect upon public feeling and opinion. This goes abroad, and Europeans say, "If these are not true pictures of what American colleges are, they at least show what their countrymen think of them"; and they have a right to say so.

This is unjust as well as unworthy—no occasion has been given for it. College races and ball matches have gone on for twenty years, amid excited crowds, and yet there has been no instance of a personal collision, and but one instance of offensive language, and that was confined to a single crew, and to a few in that crew, under high excitement; and the affair has since been settled and adjusted, as I learn, in a satisfactory manner. There are frequent exchanges of favors and courtesies between crews. It is here, as it was in our civil war, not the combatants who are the most violent and irreconcilable, but the women, the editors, and the spectators and friends of the combatants.

Editors should remember that they are dealing with sensitive men—men who are taught to be sensitive as to everything touching their honor or reputation. If they have not learned to feel an imputation as a wound, what is their education worth? They must not be treated like hackneyed Ring politicians or case-hardened jockeys. Yet they have been treated in that way by the press so largely as to wound their feelings deeply and make them dread the reports and letters in the papers, written by men who are often their moral, intellectual, and social inferiors, more than any possible accident or result of a race. A leading journal of an adjoining State more than once made onslaughts on a college crew—the rival of the crew it favored—which its sturdy, kind, brave, and patriotic editor would not have allowed against an adverse caucus manager or Ring politician. He doubtless knew nothing about it. It was "only boating"; and he probably left it to some one whose partisanship was too intense or whose notions were too low.

My "word to editors," on behalf of collegians and their parents and kindred, and of all interested in their truest nobleness, is that they shall take great care in selecting their correspondents and reporters, excluding strong partisans and men of low tone, and then keep an oversight over what they print. If the press does not improve over 1873 and 1874, the best collegians will not expose themselves to its criticisms.

A word to presidents and officers of colleges. They have been in fault—a few of them; there are conspicuous exceptions. They ought not to add fuel to the flame of excitement. If college presidents and teachers identify the boat with the college officially, go out to meet the returning victors, head their procession amid public cheers, put their flags and oars in solemn official keeping, and turn their heads with flattery, and lead them to believe that they have done more for their college than its scholars, moralists, statesmen, and founders, what degree of self-control can they expect of their pupils? The extract from President Porter's address on opening a new boat-house at Yale is very good, and may be well laid to heart, but, with the most entire respect for him, I must say that it will hardly balance the effect of his officially receiving the Yale crew returning from Springfield, and not limiting himself to eulogy of the crew he received. The official course of the president and some of the officers of Columbia, last year, has perhaps been sufficiently censured, and I do not believe that the grave and venerable alumni of another college, which need not be named, will so lose their heads as to give a banquet in a city, with fulsome eulogies, to the winners of one race.

Nothing of this sort takes place in English colleges, nor at Harvard. I trust that whoever wins next week, no college faculty will chant Te Deums or put on sackcloth.

A word to the "fair cousins" and the "fellows" of our college, or club, or year would, I suppose, be wasted. Their *brevis furor*, their reckless gossip, are after their kind—"it is their nature to," as says Dr. Watts. But, surely they may take in the idea that there is, or ought to be, such a character as the American gentleman. In England, the ideal of an "English gentleman" is high. All feel it, or at least affect to. English girls or young men, whether their colors be Oxford or Cambridge, Eton or Harrow, would resent an imputation upon the honor of the other crew as a national insult to the best the kingdom has to show. Have we no such ideal? Have our young ladies and young gentlemen no such feeling about our collegiate youth, as a class, whether they be of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, or Amherst, and whatever colors they themselves may wear?

If editors will take care how their columns gossip, impute, and slander, and see that their writers treat the collegian rowers as gentlemen of honor; and if the college officials will keep their heads cool, and take no official notice of the results, unless to correct or censure privately those in their charge, and will try to see that their crew accept the decision of the umpire, and that justice, or at least fair treatment, is given to rival crews in the college journals; and if the young men and young women who attend the races and wear their colors will remember that the character and fame of the educated American gentleman, of whatever college, should be a national treasure, and that the tongues of giddy girls and light-headed young men may create wounds as poisoned arrows, and bring the class of collegians into disrepute—if something may be done in these directions, it is my belief that the young gentlemen who pull the boats may be pretty safely left to themselves.

Middle-aged Alumnus.

# Notes.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. have in press 'Prose Quotations from Socrates to Macaulay,' with indexes, by S. Austin Allibone; and the following reprints from English works: 'The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon,' by Thomas Wright; 'Log-book of a Fisherman and Zoölogist,' by Frank Buckland; and 'Notes on Building Construction.'——D. Appleton & Co. have reprinted, in one volume, the latest edition of Darwin's 'Descent of Man.' The print is rather close, but the convenience of having one volume instead of two is considerable.——A new genealogical magazine, which will concern itself with unpublished pedigrees, wills, grants of arms, monumental inscriptions, extracts from parish registers, etc., is announced in England, to be called the *Genealogist*, and to be issued quarterly in parts of not less than 48 pp. 8vo. The editor is Dr. Geo. W. Marshall, the well-known Secretary of the Harleian Society, and editor of two of their best books. He may be addressed care of Messrs. Mitchell & Hughes, 24 Wardour Street, London, W.——Whatever improvements one could wish in the administration of the Astor Library, there is no denying its great public usefulness; the increased attendance in its reading-rooms has been very noticeable of late years. The Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the trustees shows an addition of 2,666 books, of which 1,938 were by donation—upwards of 700 volumes coming from the Astor family alone. The total number of volumes is now 150,306, and 127,579 were delivered to readers, who in 1874 numbered 34,854, against 29,438 in 1875. Twenty-five years ago there were only 20,000 volumes in the library, Fifteen years ago, only 59,516 volumes were consulted. More than two-sevenths of the alcove readers frequented the department of patents. The endowment of the library is now $775,336, against the $400,000 of John Jacob Astor's will.——The Fifth Annual Report of the trustees of the Metropolitan Art Museum tells of increased public attendance, especially on the free days, of a respectable addition by gift to the collections, and of proffered loans of art-objects beyond the Museum's capacity to receive and exhibit. The experiment of evening admissions proved a failure. Hereafter there will be two free days. The plan of annual membership has been found a valuable source of revenue and support, and the present total, 531, might certainly be doubled without exhausting the ranks of art-lovers in this city.——We have already announced the holding of the twenty-fourth meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Detroit, August 11. An important feature of it promises to be the organization of permanent sub-sections in all the branches, as has already taken place in Chemistry. Members intending to be present should notify Mr. Frederick Woolfenden, secretary of the local committee at Detroit.——In No. 521 of the *Nation* we erroneously called the Chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln—who decided against the Wesleyan minister's right to the title of Reverend—"the Bishop's son." The Bishop is, of course, Bishop Wordsworth, and the Chancellor Mr. Walter Phillimore.

—This time it is peas which have been "found in a sarcophagus containing a mummy, in the course of certain excavations going on in Egypt." If the *Popular Science Monthly* does not mean to vouch for the story, it would have been better to introduce it with the saving distich,

> "I cannot say how true it be;
> I tell the tale as 't was told to me."

Instead of that, it adds, by way of corroboration, "the fact so well known to the farmers of Monmouth Co., New Jersey, that the greensand marl, sown upon land almost sterile, brings in white clover where it was not known before"—the implication being that the clover-seeds are survivals of the tertiary period. Popular science should dispel rather than propagate popular illusions (not that we doubt the coming in of the clover, but only that its seeds came with the marl), or at least cite authority for shaky statements, as is wisely done in a succeeding page: "The writer in the *Garden* asserts that Paris has now so large a number of parks, and its streets and boulevards are so profusely planted with trees, that the death-rate has been *thereby* reduced from one in thirty-four, as it formerly was, to one in thirty-nine, as it now is," through the action of these trees in decomposing carbonic acid. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc* is popular but not exact science.

—The one creditable periodical in the English language, not the organ of any society, devoted to geography, is the *Geographical Magazine* (London: Trübner; New York: John Wiley & Son); but it is a source which appears to be wholly ignored by our editors who look abroad for select reading-matter with which to make their weekly or Sunday editions attractive. There is not an issue of it, however, from which something interesting and instructive might not be quoted. Of this we are forcibly reminded by the June number, which opens with an article on the late Captain Sherard Osborn that would well repay reprinting either entire or judiciously abridged. We should like to have the average Congressman read it, because it might soften his heart towards that navy whose uselessness he is so prompt to perceive when war is over, and whose inefficiency he is so prompt to denounce on the unexpected looming up of war. We should be glad also to have every officer in the navy, and every cadet in the Naval Academy, read the life of a fighting commander whose aim was, nevertheless, "to find noble and worthy employment for our [British] naval officers and seamen in time of peace," maintaining (and setting the example in his own person) that "they should take a lead in great enterprises for the benefit of commerce, in surveying, and above all in daring achievements connected with geographical exploration and discovery." Of this spirit there is, of course, no lack in our navy, nor is the capacity wanting: the surveys of the Isthmus and the soundings in the Northern Pacific will occur to every one as instances of recent most honorable activity. We only mean that there cannot be too much of that spirit, and that the training of officers should foster it as much as it fosters pride in our naval victories, and that a career like Osborn's should be held up as an example which adorns not alone the British navy, but the profession in all civilized countries. Moreover, on one occasion, his discretion and personal sacrifice at a critical moment in his own affairs and in our national distress during the civil war, should cause him to be long and gratefully remembered by Americans. Having been engaged by the Chinese Government to assist it in creating a navy to put down piracy, at his own risk he collected in England a squadron of vessels of the right sort, and took them to China, only to be denied what had been promised him—direct communication with the Emperor and his Prime Minister. Declining to be the servant or the tool of any mandarin, he withdrew his fleet, which, as it had not been delivered, was not paid for, and was a formidable burden on his hands. The rebellion had just broken out, and the Confederate agents in China pressed him to sell them his vessels, one of which was reputed to be one of the swiftest steamers afloat, and was armed besides with a Whitworth gun. As Sir Bartle Frere tells the story:

> "Large sums were offered Osborn either to transfer the squadron himself or to wink at its transfer by the Chinese. . . . The temptation was a great one to a very poor man, saddled with the cost of the whole squadron, and quite uncertain whether he could get rid of his responsibilities without utter ruin. But he was proof against the temptation, though put to him in a form which, to a man of less sensitive honor, might have seemed free from objection, and he sailed . . . to India. . . . At Bombay the offers of the American belligerents were repeated with such persistence that Osborn felt it would be unsafe to follow out his plan, which was to leave his vessels at Bombay and go to England himself to arrange for their disposal. The risk of the sale of the vessels to private parties leading to a serious breach of neutrality was made so clear to us, that we strongly recommended to the Government of India the purchase of the squadron, and Osborn thus by his foresight and noble disinterestedness prevented a second and more serious edition of the *Alabama* claims."

—Shakspere, without naming him, introduces in his play of Henry IV. the Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench as "the nobleman that committed the Prince [Henry V.] for striking him about Bardolph," and, later in the same play, represents the new king as forgiving the judge for the courageous performance of his duty. This judge was anonymous in the earliest account of his action, viz., in 'The Governor' of Sir Thomas Elyot, a work dedicated to Henry VIII. and published in 1544; but as the King's Bench was the court mentioned both by Elyot and by Hall in his 'Chronicles' (1548), subsequent writers, following these authorities, came to give the credit to Sir W. Gascoigne, who was its chief-justice from 1400 to 1413. In a late number of the *Academy*, Mr. Clements R. Markham, after reciting these facts, goes on to say that if there is any reason for believing a story told at least 140 years after the date of its alleged occurrence, there is less ground for regarding Gascoigne as the hero than his own ancestor, Sir John Markham, a puisne judge of Common Pleas from 1396 to 1409. In the first place, Sir Richard Baker states, in his 'Chronicle' (1641), that the prison to which Prince Henry was committed was the Fleet, in which case the outrage must have been on a judge of the Common Pleas. And secondly, in the two families of Cotham and Sedgebrook, founded by the two sons of the judge in question, "there were traditions, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that Sir John Markham committed Prince Henry to the Fleet for contempt of court." Two MS. attestations of this tradition exist: one, a book written in 1601, but never published, by Francis Markham, of the Cotham family; the other, a diary of Sir Robert Markham, of Sedgebrook. The latter document is in the British Museum; the former, in the possession of the writer of the letter in the *Academy*. But of neither Gascoigne nor Markham can it be true that Henry V. forgave him on his coronation; for Gascoigne he

dismissed March 29, 1413, eight days after his accession, and before his coronation, while Sir John Markham died in 1409.

—Many young artists will grieve over the termination, by his death, of M. Barye's admirable lectures, in the *Jardin des Plantes*, on comparative art-anatomy. Delivered with the authority of his almost octogenarian age, these discourses, prepared with very exceptional knowledge of animal structure, with unsparing thoroughness and constant illustration from living nature, were quite unique for the solid and minute aid they imparted. The special advantage of M. Barye's courses of lectures lay, necessarily, in the fact that they were delivered in the midst of a rich zoölogical garden, where the animals pacing the cages all around were the Professor's books. Besides his demonstrations from these living authorities, the knowledge of whose anatomy had been the labor of his life, and the study of whose movements had endowed him with a mass of facts quite apart from mere anatomical science, his teachings were illustrated from the museum of preserved specimens so abundantly laid up since the days of Cuvier and Buffon, and so completely digested in his mind. M. Barye engaged in the demonstration of these collections in 1859 ; since 1850 he had been employed in teaching, at Versailles, the art of designing subjects in natural history. The career of this aged sculptor, medallist, aquarelliste, oil-painter, and metal-founder is typical of his country, showing how skilled talent, by a course of terribly hard work, is improved into something like genius and emerges from industrial art into fine art. Born in 1795, and educated with the die-sinker Fourier, the sculptor Bosio, and the painter Gros, the recipient besides of the second grand prize of 1819 for his statue of Cain, his thirtieth year saw him a workman rather than an artist, and a disappointed contestant for the contract of making the coinage of Charles X. He was several years in finding his niche, and exhibited publicly busts, statues, painted portraits, and cases of medals successively. His earlier works were quite different from those on which his reputation now rests. In 1831, he made a St. Clotilda for the Madeleine, and a St. Sebastian ; in 1833, a bust of the Duc d'Orléans. His animal subjects began to attract connoisseurs when he was about thirty-five years of age. The Duc de Luynes bought his "Panther and Gazelle," the Duc de Nemours his "Asiatic Elephant," and he made to the order of the Duc d'Orléans a superb table, decorated with nine hunting scenes. His "Lion and Boa" was placed in the Tuileries garden, and popularized his fame. Government patronage began with his superintendence of the plaster casts made from the Louvre collection in 1848, and culminated with the Second Empire, when he assisted largely in decorating the new pavilion of the palace. Simultaneously with his official occupation, he utilized his thorough and historical knowledge of old styles of metal-founding by multiplying copies of his works in *cire-perdue*, opening an atelier, and dispensing copies of his statuettes to the parlors of the whole civilized world. His tigers and jaguars, his reduction of the "Lion of the July Column," his various beasts of prey pursuing their instincts with all the energetic grace of nature, are known to everybody. It is stated that a nearly complete collection of them is to be found in the Corcoran art gallery at Washington. The key to an understanding of his art is his confining himself to the expression of anatomy and movement, rejecting as a hindrance the veil of mere texture which is formed by the hide of an animal. M. Barye died on the 28th ultimo. He was born at Paris, September 24, 1795.

—We have in our hand a copy of No. 2 of the *Antikritiker* (see the *Nation*, No. 515). Though it calls itself an "organ" of literary vindication (*Vertheidigung*), its dress is suggestive rather of bushwhacking than of anything more disciplined and coherent ; and its motto of passive resistance—"Right is Truth, and Truth is Right"—pales before the bolder lettering of the head-line, apparently drawn with a marking-brush by a hand not averse to daubing with black. "If," says the editor to a correspondent, "the Right were always the Truth in critical periodicals, we should have no need in the *Antikritiker* to help the Truth to its Rights." To another he says that principled hostility to criticism is by no means the attitude of his publication, which he soberly believes merits the good wishes of critical journals, since it promises to relieve them hereafter of expectations that they will print corrections or rejoinders. To a third correspondent, who had thrown up to him Jean Paul's maxim that "critics ought never to be answered" (*Auf Kritiken muss man niemals antworten*), he replies that this, like so many of the sayings of great men, must be taken with a grain of salt. He announces that contributors to the *Antikritiker* will be allowed to preserve their full individuality in the matter of orthography—a license which it would certainly be rash to encourage under similar circumstances in this country. As the "organ" appears in unlimited numbers (*in zwanglosen Nummern*), he recommends his subscribers to pay for six numbers at a time ; and this, which is perhaps as long a term as the most sanguine victim of the reviewers would concede to the *Antikritiker's* existence, is doubtless the limit of safe investment at 1 Mark 70 Pf., postage included. The price of vindication, on the other hand, is 4 Marks a page, so that No. 2 brought in 80 Marks to Herr Nehring over and above what his subscribers paid him and his charges for extra copies to the two contributors who occupy the number. One of these defends against adverse judgments his Nepos, and makes the plaintive confession in a foot-note that "the following *Antikritik* was composed a year and a half ago, but could find no organ that would publish it." At the close of his article he gives the whole of a favorable review of his text-book. The second contributor, Dr. Dorr, starts with an ominous title—"Noch ein Wort" ; and, in fact, he informs the reader that a certain work of his (in physical geography) was published in 1873, and was criticised by Kirchoff in May, 1874 ; Dorr's rejoinder followed immediately ; in October Kirchoff returned the compliment, and without delay was answered again. Acting on the French proverb that a door must either be open or shut, Kirchoff made a third effort to silence his antagonist, in December, and here we have, in April, 1875, "another" but not perhaps the last "word" from Dr. Dorr. One might infer that this debate had been carried on in a literary journal till the bore became so great that the editor was obliged to interpose with—"No more letters will be published on this subject." It appears, however, that while Kirchoff had the benefit of the *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, Dr. Dorr's replies were in pamphlets printed at his own expense.

—The approaching Michael Angelo festival has renewed the interest always taken in this great man by his fellow-countrymen, and led to the discovery of some interesting facts concerning him. The examination of the Roman criminal archives revealed the existence of the official inventory made by order of the Governor of the city immediately after Michael Angelo's death. In this document are mentioned not merely the furniture, clothing, money, and horse belonging to him, but various unfinished statues and several cartoons. Some information is also given concerning his illness, domestic arrangements, etc. Another interesting circumstance is the discovery, or rather deciphering, of a heretofore unpublished sonnet by Michael Angelo. It is written on the back of an original design by the artist which forms part of the collection made by Sir Thomas Lawrence, and purchased by the University of Oxford. The drawing represents a study of horses and sketch of a battle, and on the back are five sonnets and madrigals, four of which are printed in the last edition of Michael Angelo's poems (Le Monnier, Florence, 1863) ; the fifth, a sonnet, has heretofore baffled all attempts to decipher it. In the June number of the *Rivista Europea*, A. de Tivoli, professor of Italian in the University of Oxford, has solved the problem, and given an intelligible reading of the poem and an interesting copy in the original spelling, with the author's corrections, etc. The sonnet is erotic in its character, and by no means among its author's best, and was probably suppressed by him on that account, just as when a statue did not correspond to the ideal he wished to represent he broke it in pieces with his hammer. Those who would know the care with which Michael Angelo polished his poems (resembling, in this respect, his predecessor Petrarch), and the great difficulty of reconstructing and editing them, will find an interesting article on the subject, by Karl Witte, in the first number of the *Romanische Studien* (Halle, 1871).

## SOME RECENT WORKS ON MUSIC.*

THE four little books which we have grouped together below have no further resemblance to each other than is implied in their all treating of music. They treat in very different ways four different parts of a very wide and complex subject. Mr. Sedley Taylor's 'Science of Music' deals entirely with the acoustical principles which underlie the sensations of harmony in its various phases of consonance and dissonance. It is, in the main, an exposition of the physical side of Helmholtz's speculations and discoveries contained in his 'Lehre von den Tonempfindungen,' a work of which Mr. Taylor justly says that it has done for acoustics what Newton's 'Principia' did for astronomy. But while it is thus not in the highest sense original, Mr. Taylor's work is far from being a mere epitome of Helmholtz's theory. There are some expositions which deserve to be ranked among original works, because they are the product of independent investigation, and because their method is such as to throw new light upon the subject expounded.

* 'The Science of Music ; or, The Physical Basis of Musical Harmony. By Sedley Taylor, M.A.' New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1875. 12mo, pp. 169.
'What is Music? By Isaac L. Rice.' New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1875. 12mo, pp. 94.
† Piano and Song : How to Teach, how to Learn, and how to Form a Judgment of Musical Performances. Translated from the German of Friedrich Wieck. By Mary P. Nichols.' Boston : Lockwood, Brooks & Co. 1875. 12mo, pp. 189.
'Praktische Harmonielehre in 54 Aufgaben, etc., von Ludwig Bussler.' Berlin. New York : L. W. Schmidt. 1875. 12mo, pp. 208.

Mr. Taylor's belongs to this good class. It may be read with pleasure by those who are familiar with the great German work, and to the majority of readers who feel incapable of grappling with the latter it will give a very lucid and thorough account of the acoustical facts upon which modern harmony rests. The most essential feature of the new theory is the discovery that our seemingly simple sensations of musical tone are in reality highly compounded. When C-string is struck on the piano we really hear something more than C, and for a simple physical reason. It is well known that a vibrating string does not merely vibrate as a whole, but that its half-length, quarter-length, etc., also simultaneously vibrate as minor wholes. The bass C-string not only gives out bass C by the vibration of its whole length, but the vibration of its half-length simultaneously gives out middle C, and in similar wise there come out the upper tones G, C, E, G, B♭, D, etc. With sufficient practice these can be discriminated by the ear, but on different instruments, such as the piano, violin, and flute, they come out with different relative intensities. Some instruments are richer than others in overtones, and in some the lower overtones, while in others the higher ones, come out with greater distinctness ; and to these differences in the intensities and grouping of overtones the differences of timbre in various instruments are wholly due. The piano, violin, and voice are rich in overtones, while in the flute there are but few, and the thin and colorless quality of some of the stopped pipes of an organ is owing to the almost entire absence of overtones. The C or G of a piano, therefore, which we formerly regarded as a simple tone, is really a composite *clang;* and every clang is a kind of chord in which the fundamental tone is relatively powerful enough to obscure but not to extinguish its companions. From this discovery flow very important theoretic consequences. In the first place, it appears that harmony and timbre are at bottom so closely related as to be nearly identical, so that, for example, our enjoyment of a rich concord has the same physical justification as our preference for the clang of the violin over that of the flute. But, secondly, this view comes in to modify our whole theory of harmonic combination, and gives us for the first time a scientific interpretation of the rudiments of musical pleasure.

At first, the theory of harmony seems to be extremely complicated by the consideration that every chord is a combination of composite clangs, instead of simple tones. For, obviously, when three notes are struck together, as in the tonic triad of C major, it is not simply necessary that C, E, and G should be in concord, but it is also required that the overtones of the three notes should not be dissonant with each other. But in this requirement Helmholtz, with keen insight, finds a simple and beautiful explanation of the causes which regulate consonance and dissonance. When two or more series of waves of very different lengths enter the ear at the same time, they behave like a single series of compound waves, and there is no interference. But when two series of waves, very nearly equal in length, are received by the ear, a phenomenon occurs quite analogous to what is known as the interference of light. The one series of waves tends now to reinforce, now to diminish, the nervous effect wrought by the other series. There are successive rhythms of greater and less intensity of tone, and this effect is commonly known as "beating." In some cases—usually where the pulsations are very slow—this effect is not unpleasant to the ear, but in the great majority of cases it is intolerable, in much the same way that the flickering of light is intolerable to the eye. The jarring sensation is familiar to every one who has heard a piano out of tune, or two church-bells struck together of nearly the same pitch. It is by the disappearance of this "beating" that the tuner of a musical instrument is guided in his work.

Bearing this in mind, let us observe how all musical dissonance is explained by the discovery of overtones. When A and A♯, being struck together, make a horrible dissonance, it is because they are "within beating distance" of each other ; but a hardly less powerful dissonance arises when A and G♯, at an interval of a seventh, are sounded simultaneously. This is obviously because the first overtone, or octave of A, is within beating distance of G♯, and in this simple instance we have the type of all musical dissonance. Perfect concords are those in which none of the overtones come within beating distance of one another, or of any of the fundamental tones. From this extreme, attainable only in the case of the octave, there is an infinitely subtle gradation of jarring effects, increasing with the number and prominence of the beats, until we reach decided discord. The root of the whole matter, therefore, is that consonance is due to continuous, dissonance to intermittent, stimulation of the auditory nerve-fibres. To go further would be impracticable in the space here at our command, else we might point out how kindred considerations apply to the case of pleasurable melodic sequences. But enough has been said to indicate the interesting character of Mr. Taylor's book, and its value to all who are engaged in the scientific study of music.

Mr. Rice's book is far more ambitious than Mr. Taylor's. While the latter seeks to point out some of the acoustical principles on which harmony depends, the former seeks to give us a "cosmical theory" of music. The book is a conglomerate of irrelevant historical items, and unintelligible because ill-conceived speculation. "As a final result" of this speculation, the author holds "that music is not accidental and human, but dynamical and cosmical." This is as hard to understand as some of the conversations in Margaret Fuller's 'Memoirs.' One does not altogether see what is meant by cosmical, as distinguished from human music, unless we are to suppose, with Pythagoras, that the spheres sing ; nor is the sense of the antithesis between "accidental" and "dynamical" any more apparent. Whatever theory be held concerning the nature of musical utterance, one would suppose that all must agree in regarding it as a mode of giving expression to human feelings. Mr. Rice would appear to dissent from this, but from the language he uses it is very hard to tell what he does mean. His style is made up of that misty kind of declamation in which words seem merely to serve as the indices of vague emotional states rather than as the symbols of distinctly-framed ideas. What is really meant, for instance, by calling music "the beautifier of time"? And what point is supposed to be gained by the assertion that "when Schubert wrote his songs, which penetrate into the very depth of our hearts, he certainly did not arrange the intervals and cadences in the manner Mr. Spencer describes (?). They poured from his brain clear and fresh as the water pours from this mountain-spring"? As if Mr. Spencer, or any other man of common-sense, would deny this, or as if such a remark could have any real bearing on the theory of music regarded as a kind of expression of feeling. "Music is natural—language is artificial. The original man sang long before he talked. All nature taught him to sing," says our author. To what sources of information, inaccessible to Tyler or Darwin, has Mr. Rice had access, that he should know that primitive man sang before he talked ? In point of fact, music is neither more nor less artificial than language. Music is "artificial" since it has been made by man, as a means of emotional expression ; and it is also "natural," since it was undoubtedly in accordance with the nature of man that such a means of expression should be adopted. But such disquisition as this is neither philosophical nor profitable.

The late Herr Wieck's reflections on singing and piano-playing should of course be read by all who are interested in such matters. Herr Wieck was one of the most successful teachers of the present day, and whatever the father and teacher of Madame Schumann might have to say about the art of the pianist could not fail to be interesting. For the general reader who has not tried to get a "singing touch," or who has not worked his fingers to weariness over some lovely but exasperating doubly-compound trill of Chopin's, such a book will no doubt have little interest. But any one who understands the beauties and the difficulties of piano-playing will find the book full of valuable practical suggestions and truly wise æsthetic reflections, none the less attractive for a certain coloring of naïve elephantine humor such as our good German friends sometimes indulge themselves with.

Herr Bussler's little practical treatise on harmony seems to be just the thing for beginners in the art of musical composition, and would no doubt be well worth translating into English.

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*Our Next-Door Neighbor:* A Winter in Mexico. By Gilbert Haven. (New York : Harper & Bros. 1875.)—Mr. Haven takes his reader upon an interesting journey, but he is an insufferable travelling-companion. We have read many narratives of travel in which the manner has been cruelly detrimental to the subject ; but we remember none in which this has been so fatally the case as in Mr. Haven's singularly diffuse, ill-written, and vulgar record of his observations and opinions. He went to Mexico, as an agent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to arrange for the establishment of a mission in the capital, and he informs us that he was successful, in so far as that a building suitable for a meeting-house was purchased and opened, in spite of much perfidious counter-plotting on the part of the Catholic authorities. This establishment is now in operation, and with "its dear, delightful prayer-meetings," as the author has it, is hastening on that immediate millennium which he promises the depraved Mexicans at the end of each chapter—"a city holy unto the Lord, with sanctuaries filled with grateful, joyful, holy, intelligent, prosperous worshippers. No rags, no beggary, no Sabbath-breaking, no superstition." In gathering literary materials, Mr. Haven's success was by no means proportionate. His work is mere crude, unconsidered, unrevised scribbling. Its diffuseness exceeds all tolerable bounds, and a good half of it, we should say, might have been suppressed without our knowledge of Mexico suffering a jot. There is page upon page of incoherent chatter about wholly irrelevant things thrust at us without rhyme, reason, or grammar, interspersed with witticisms of a style peculiar

to the author, and garnished with his views upon Darwinism, Tyndallism, the lager-beer question, the tobacco question, the female suffrage, the tombs in Mount Auburn Cemetery, and the opinion of the "Misses Warner" regarding them, the stability of the Prussian army, the merits of "Mr. George L. Brown" the artist, the criminality of Mr. Bryant in not leaving Homer to Mr. Longfellow to translate, and other topics equally interesting in themselves but equally wide of the reader's actual care. If we add that Mr. Haven's tone is inordinately ignorant, bigoted, flippant, conceited, and ill-conditioned generally, we perhaps complete the sketch of the most offensive literary personality it has lately been our fortune to encounter.

He entered Mexico at Vera Cruz, spent, apparently, the greater part of the winter at the capital, and then journeyed northward past Queretaro, the scene of Maximilian's execution, through the silver mines of Guanajuato, to San Luis Potosi, and thence to Matamoras, by a three-weeks' stage-drive, which, for reasons of the author's own, figures in his pages as a sea-voyage, the long chapters devoted to it being entitled "Out at Sea," "Mid-Ocean," "Nearing Shore," and "Into Port." For a serious book of travel this is misleading, but it is a specimen of Mr. Haven's irrepressible humor. Here is another: "It is a baby landscape, and all the more charming for its infantile littleness. The sun goes down as we go up, and by the time the top is reached the baby, in its cradle of lofty hills, has gone into shadow and approaching sleep." Here is yet another: "You have heard of the silver mines of Mexico? Who has not? Curiosity and churchianity led our first steps to these treasures." The following should perhaps also be interpreted as a genial pleasantry addressed to that large and respectable section of the community who confess to a relish for malt liquor: "I tasted it [the pulqui], and was satisfied. It is only not so villanous a drink as lager, and London porter, and Bavarian beer, and French vinegar-wine, and Albany ale. It is hard to tell which of these is stinkingest of the stinking kind." It is true that here is another passage which seems to re-establish Mr. Haven's gravity at the expense of his politeness: "How glad I was to read in Monterey last Saturday that Massachusetts had repealed the Beer Act, and by such a grand majority. The fall of '66 is the rising again of '73. Though she may fall again, it will only be to a perpetual struggle until she shall attain a permanent deliverance. How far shines that good deed in this naughty world! Away across the country and into this land, that no more dreams of prohibition than it does of Protestantism, burns this ray of the coming sun that shall renew the face of all the land and of all lands." Here is a touch which the reader may interpret as he chooses: "I think some of the most scared anti-agrarians would be almost as fanatical and wise as Wendell Phillips, the wisest man as well as the most eloquent of his generation, could they but look on these Mexican pictures." "Take heed in time," the author eloquently adds, "and let Christianity have its perfect work, or anti-Christianity will have its."

Mr. Haven was apparently an active traveller; he used his eyes sharply and saw what there was to be seen. He appreciates ungrudgingly the extraordinary beauty of the great Mexican table-land and its extreme charm of climate—though he judges the people from that exclusively hostile and contemptuous standpoint which sacrifices discrimination to self-complacency. Mr. Haven does not appear to have come in contact with Mexican society and manners at any point whatever—an unfortunate shortcoming in a missionary. But were his merits as a traveller very much greater than they are, they would be quite swallowed up in the unqualifiable vulgarity and flippancy of his narrative. We do not think with him that the Mexicans are going to leap into civilization through the forswearing of beer or the erection of Methodist conventicles; but we nevertheless have the cause of civilization at heart, and we should feel as if we were rendering it a very poor service if we recommended any one to read Mr. Haven's thoroughly ill-made book.

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*The Morals of Abou ben Adhem.* By D. R. Locke. (Boston: Lee & Shepard.)—During the struggle between Andrew Johnson and Congress at the end of the war over the Reconstruction policy of the former, special prominence was acquired among American political humorists by "Petroleum V. Nasby," the Postmaster at Confederate Cross-Roads, in the State of Kentucky. Mr. Locke, who under this disguise exposed the morals and policy of the unregenerate Democracy, has now made his appearance again, as a social satirist, in a book called the 'Morals of Abou ben Adhem,' but not so successfully as in the first case. In the political field he was more at home, and, like Mr. Thomas Nast, had that perfect conviction of the moral superiority of his own party to any other which is so necessary to make literary warfare of the satirical kind successful. There were many good hits, local, to be sure, and not likely to occupy a high place in general literature, but still palpable hits, scattered through the pages, in which the Postmaster, and his whiskey-drinking friends at the Cross-Roads, revealed in their frank, chivalric way all their meanest, lowest, and foulest aims, thoughts, and hopes, their solemn detestation of the negro, and their resolute determination that under no circumstances should he "invade their homes" or marry their daughters. The 'Morals of Abou ben Adhem' show a deplorable falling off from the spirit shown in the letters of Nasby. The book consists of a series of parables addressed by Abou ben Adhem, who is represented as a sage, an emigrant at some extremely remote date from the East, now residing in the wilds of New Jersey. His age and wisdom are supposed to be beyond those of man, and to his tent repair the old and the young of New Jersey and the neighboring States for advice on such well-known topics as the mutability of human affairs, the faithlessness of woman, the desirability of riches, and the attainment of happiness. The answers they receive are a strange mixture of nonsense, and what we must call, honestly speaking, very ribald wit, jumbled together in an absurd way, and pointed now and then with not very recondite local allusions as, for instance, to the morality of the New York Legislature or the size of the New Jersey mosquito. The lessons conveyed by the sage are not very distinct, and the humor altogether is somewhat of the order which flourishes among police-court reporters. At the end of the book it is discovered that the sage is nothing more nor less than a counterfeiter, who retires on the approach of the police, leaving his dies, wig, beard, and other property behind him. Altogether, the aim of the volume is rather incomprehensible to us; but it might be translated into some foreign language, French, for instance, and in a popular magazine would no doubt attract attention, as illustrating the more recent tendencies of the school of humorists founded by Artemus Ward—though we should be rather at a loss to say what these tendencies are beyond a laudable desire to raise a laugh at whatever expense.

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*The Satires of Persius.* Edited by Basil L. Gildersleeve, Ph D., LL.D. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.)—In this edition of Persius we have Otto Jahn's last (1868) recension of the text; an elaborate introduction, which treats of the life of the poet, the sources of his culture, his style, his relations to other Roman satirists, his philosophy, etc.; an extensive commentary, preceded and accompanied by synopses of thought, a critical textual appendix, and a full index to the notes. The plan of Prof. Gildersleeve is an excellent one, and it is in the main so well worked out as to increase our regret at the risk which he constantly runs of wearying his readers by frequent repetitions and by a general over-fulness, and of repelling them by his own peculiar style. The introduction contains what would naturally be sought there, but much also that is quite irrelevant. Thus, the peculiarities of Seneca in thought and style, and the amount of onomatopœia and of conscious motive in the build of Homer's verses, are no doubt interesting subjects, but their discussion here is purely gratuitous and makes the whole essay read like a farrago. Much of the introductory matter, too, reappears further on in the book; thus, after the text comes the life of Persius in the ancient Latin and much less diluted form. Again and again in the commentary recurs the question of Persius's indebtedness to Horace, though the question had before been discussed through four or five pages. Along with the notes the editor's view of the satirist's line of thought is thrice stated: the general scope of each satire is first given, then expanded into a minute analysis, and then the analysis is broken up and in a somewhat reduced form distributed throughout the body of the commentary. The deviations from Jahn's text, and the differences between Jahn's readings in 1843 and 1868, are given at the pertinent points in the notes, though the critical appendix at the end was especially designed for that purpose.

The literary style of a book prepared for educational purposes is only less important than its matter. Though Prof. Gildersleeve ordinarily expresses himself in a dignified and racy manner, at times he trifles with words, at other times he certainly appears pedantic. After reading in the Introduction of the "chipped chips" of Lucilius, and of Juvenal as "snubbed snob," we are less surprised to come, among other trivialities, upon the wretched (and misspelled) pun in the note to II. 51. In his endeavor throughout the commentary to find colloquial parallels to his author's quaint expressions, the editor seems to us to go altogether too low down in our language. Persius was a satirist of austere moral earnestness, and to treat him as if he were a comedian is but to travesty him. Many of the remarks and notes must be entirely lost upon the average student, so surcharged are they with untranslated passages from and tantalizing allusions to a wide range of authors in several languages. The note on V. 91 is useless to those not familiar with Hebrew. The grammatical and philological notes evince the editor's ripe scholarship in this field, and his exegesis of knotty passages will, we think, generally commend itself. Here and there the stu-

dent will wish that the conflicting views of commentators had either been entirely omitted or more judicially balanced, but no Latin poet justifies so little positiveness of exposition as the enigmatic Persius.

While taking these incidental exceptions to this edition, we cordially welcome it as a valuable addition to our means of advanced Latin scholarship, and we hope it may enlarge the little circle of Persius's readers and admirers. It cannot of course make Persius popular, even in that limited sense in which the satires of Horace and Juvenal may be called popular. The question will still be widely asked whether the slight contributions that the young Etruscan preacher made to practical ethics from the more humane side of Stoicism, the unique phase that he constitutes in the history of Roman literature, and his own virgin modesty, really compensate for the narrow range of his ideas and figures, the bookish view that he took of society, the meagreness of his poetic gift, and his extremely crabbed style.


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*LIST OF ARTICLES TO APPEAR.*

GENERAL PLAN OF EDUCATION AT EXPOSITION. By Gen. John Eaton, jr., U. S. Com. of Education.

EDUCATION AT VIENNA EXPOSITION. By Baron Swarz-Senborn, Austrian Commissioner.

PROPOSED EDUCATIONAL CONGRESS. By Hon. Newton Bateman, of Illinois.

PUBLIC SCHOOL-WORK—ARCHITECTURE, ETC. By Hon. J. D. Philbrick, Boston, Mass.

COLLEGES AT THE EXPOSITION. By J. M. Gregory, LL.D., Illinois Industrial University.

SCIENCE AT THE EXPOSITION. By Prof. W. P. Blake, U. S. Commissioner.

ART AT THE EXPOSITION. By Prof. Walter Smith, of Boston, Mass.

100 YEARS OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS. By Rev. J. C. Stockbridge, D.D., of Mass.

GENERAL PLAN OF THE WHOLE EXPOSITION. By Dorsey Gardner.

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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1875.*

## The Week.

OHIO still continues to be the most interesting State of the year from a political point of view. The election there in October will settle, it is supposed by politicians, two important questions: 1st, whether the "reaction" of last year was the real genuine, original Democratic tidal wave. If it was the tidal wave, then of course it must go on till it carries the ship of state into the centennial harbor; if it was not, the election this year will certainly show it. Then Ohio seems to have been selected, too, as the great inflation "stamping-ground," and many a wise old chieftain is now keeping his lips very tightly closed on the subject of the currency until he shall see by the result of the Ohio vote whether the American people approve the doctrine of Judge Kelley, who says that if the "bullionists" carry the day, "labor will take capital by the throat" and "the scenes of the French Revolution be re-enacted"; or whether they mean on the contrary to stand by the "bullionists." Then, besides this, there is the question of how much the people will endure in the way of candidates; for if the Democrats can elect Mr. William Allen on an inflation platform and "General" Cary on a "free rum" platform, there is no saying what they will not stand, and the 13th of October next they would, among other results, probably draw even the Essex Statesman out of his retirement, and place him once more in the van of reform. It must be said, however, as Mr. Halstead declared at the Schurz dinner, that it begins to look as if the people of Ohio were making up their minds that "as reformers the Democratic party could not be considered a success."

In the other Western States there are some signs of political activity, particularly in Wisconsin and Minnesota. In Wisconsin the Republicans have gone to the length of avowing their "unalterable adhesion to the indissoluble Union of the States," and declare that parties "are only deserving of support" so long as they "advance wise and patriotic principles, and promote the honest and efficient administration of public affairs." This is sound, but it is a little general in its character. It is necessary to examine some of the other planks in order to see exactly what is meant by the "honest and efficient management of public affairs." One of these is a declaration in favor of "the doctrine of legislative control over railroads and other corporations deriving their powers and franchises from the State, . . . which policy was inaugurated and will continue to be fostered by the Republican party of Wisconsin," etc. So it seems that Granger laws are, in the opinion of the Wisconsin Republicans, among the things necessary to honest and efficient administration. They also denounce fraud and war, and are in favor of that kind of resumption which consists of "continuous steps" of a "gradual" character "in that direction"—not a loud, noisy, bullionist tramp, but a quiet, undisturbing movement. It seems strange, considering how widespread is the interest in this kind of resumption among the politicians, that they cannot agree to introduce it. The Minnesota Democrats have also had a convention, and adopted a specie-payment resolution of a different kind, but otherwise the platform is not remarkable in any way.

The *Railroad Gazette* points out that cheap transportation, though we have certainly been having it, has not produced all the results which were expected to come from it. The cheap transportationists have always maintained that if any farmer in the West could have a double-track steel-rail line from his door to deep water, carrying his products to the sea-board for him at a little less than cost, there would be nothing more to ask for. Now, this is exactly what every farmer in the West has had during the recent railroad war. During the month of June the farmer could have every bushel of his grain transported from Chicago to New York for about ten cents, and there was nothing for him to do, on the cheap-transportation theory, but to summon his maid-servants and man-servants and his sons and daughters together, and gather in all the corn and wheat and oats, and send it to the East, and sell it for a great price, thus relieving the hunger of man and beast, and at the same time accumulating wealth. Strange to say, the farmer did not send on his grain to the East, and the Chicago elevators are still full, and the country about Chicago has a large surplus. What is the explanation of this sad state of facts? The cheap transportationists omitted one thing from their calculations: in order to sell, there must be a market. As the *Railroad Gazette* puts it: "Never before could grain move so cheaply, and not often has there been more grain to move at this time of year, and yet the shipments have been unusually small. Evidently there must be something more than low rates of transportation to ensure a large traffic; something even more than low rates and a large supply: there must be a demand also, and in the case of grain this year the demand is just what has been lacking. The farmers have got low prices, the carriers have got lower ones, and they have sold little and carried little." If we should proceed further, and enquire why there is no market, we should find that this was owing to a general depression, which was caused by a panic, which, again, came from an over-speculation in railroad-building, which the farmer had himself fomented by mortgaging his farms and taxing himself, and giving this money to the monopolists who were building roads for him. It seems a bad case altogether. He has done his best to become rich, he has mortgaged, and he has repudiated his mortgages; he has aided roads, and he has swindled them; he has tried inflation, and contraction too; and yet he cannot make more than seven or eight per cent., and the worst of the whole is that even that pittance has to be made by honest industry.

Summer dulness has characterized the Wall-Street markets. Gold has fallen over one "point," the decline having been started by sales for the account of a weak and overloaded speculator, and been maintained by the favorable tenor of the foreign news. The Bank of England reduced its minimum discount rate to three per cent., and raised its reserve four per cent., without having added largely to its stock of bullion. Mercantile failures in London continue to be reported, but they are of houses involved in previous suspensions. No new weakness has been discovered, and it is the impression outside as well as inside the Bank of England that there will be nothing to impede seriously the tendency of the London money market to extreme ease. Gold continues to be exported from here in large amounts; the shipment for the week was about $3,000,000, and the total for the year over $55,000,000. This gold is not now sent to strengthen accounts, but merely to pay debts which can be paid in no other way. The foreign-trade statistics of the United States for the first eleven months of the fiscal year which ends June 30 show a decrease in imports of $28,586,672 compared with the next preceding year, and a decrease in exports of $69,556,083, or, reduced to gold value, of $58,917,474. These figures do not include transactions in securities, which are an unknown quantity in all estimates about the foreign trade.

There is reason to believe that while the gold exports may be large for six weeks they will not come up to the amounts sent in the past month, since there is a growing disposition in Europe to take first-class American bonds. The New York money market is overflowing with loanable funds, and the best mercantile paper, not

maturing until December, can be sold easily at 4 per cent. For some unexplained reason the New York banks reported a loss in legal tenders during the week of over $3,000,000, but the amount held is still over $70,500,000. The money writers of some of the papers seem to have just awakened to the fact that the "Finance Bill" of last session has thus far been working contraction. It has many ridiculous features, like that which directs the substitution of silver for fractional currency, which the Government never agreed to redeem in anything except U. S. notes, and which makes "silver resumption" the grand point of the Treasury policy; but it may be said in its favor that as yet no inflation has been caused by it. The error in it is in not making it the first duty of the Treasury to redeem its dishonored promises to pay gold for the Treasury notes which, by the Legal-Tender Act, were made the standard currency of the country, into which all other kinds are redeemable, whether U. S. fractional currency, bank-notes, checks, or private written promises.

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Gen. Frank P. Blair, who died last week at St. Louis, was born in Kentucky; his father was a Marylander, his mother of Virginia descent. It was not singular, therefore, that he should volunteer to serve in the Mexican war, and if he came out of it a free-soiler he had the example of his equally erratic townsman, Cassius M. Clay. Blair's field of action was Missouri, and from fighting for the spread of slavery in Texas he returned to fight against its extension westward. As a member of the State legislature, he engaged in a border warfare for which he was peculiarly fitted, and in which his courage was displayed as conspicuously as ever before or afterwards in battle. His death at that time would have been a national calamity; and later, when the civil war broke out, his personal activity in raising forces to defend St. Louis and rescue the State from the secessionists, was the main cause of the success of both these endeavors, so essential to the circumscribing of the Rebellion in that quarter. As colonel, brigadier, and major-general, he won a high distinction among volunteer officers; he fought gallantly at Vicksburg, and accompanied Sherman in his march to the sea. He was first elected to Congress in 1856, and in proposing a measure which looked to the colonization of the blacks in Central America he manifested what we may call the Southern phase of abolitionism—an opposition to slavery in which sentiment for "niggers" found no place, and which was accustomed to boast that in any conflict between the slaves and their masters a white man had no choice but to take sides with his color. To this habit of mind is doubtless traceable the attitude of both the Blairs in the days of Johnson and Reconstruction. Their hostility to the carpet-bag governments was first of all based on their abhorrence of the spectacle of black men as voters and office-holders, while white men, no matter how worthy of disfranchisement, were disqualified from going to the polls. Gen. Blair's recklessness culminated in his famous Broadhead letter, advising, with much violence of feeling and language, the forcible undoing of the whole fabric of Reconstruction, and restoring the whites to their legitimate supremacy. The Democratic nomination of him for Vice-President on the ticket with Horatio Seymour had the natural effect of politically killing all the parties concerned. With the exception of an insignificant brief term in the United States Senate, Gen. Blair has since been withdrawn from public notice, and has been forgotten as a "dangerous character." He was a graduate of Princeton, and was in his fifty-fifth year.

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We hear a good deal already of the preparation of organized expressions of continued confidence in Mr. Beecher on the part of the ministers of his own and other denominations. There is talk of a widely-signed testimonial of this character, and of a great clerical meeting in the fall for the purpose of giving him what the reporters call "an ovation." We do not know how true all this may be, but it is at least very probable, and it therefore calls for one or two observations, which may not occur to all ministers. The only and the main reason for getting up these testimonials to Mr. Beecher, as for the publication of the sympathetic letters or telegrams he receives, is the fact that doubts still prevail as to his innocence. Had the trial resulted in his complete vindication, they would not have been necessary, and he would not have cared about them. Nor would he care about them now except in so far as they may help to establish his innocence in the public mind. If they meant, "Guilty or innocent, we love you still"; or, "Guilty though you be, we love you still," his friends would not solicit them, and they would not be welcome, because they might be mere expressions of Christian pity for a very bad sinner. He invites or enjoys them because they mean or will be taken to mean, "We love you because you are an innocent and persecuted man." In other words, they are put forward as quasi-proofs of his innocence.

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Now, what the portion of the public which doubts his innocence will say when these demonstrations begin is that ministers, as such, are no better judges in a matter of this kind than other people; that they have no special training or skill in the weighing of proof in a controversy over a question of fact; and that to offer their judgment as something which ought to decide an issue over which laymen of all classes and conditions have differed, is an attempt either to make a deceptive, confusing use of their official position, or to claim for them special qualifications which they do not possess. In either case, the attempt would savor of dishonesty, and would hinder rather than serve the cause which ministers have at heart, and which, after all, gives them most of their interest in Mr. Beecher's case. But the public of which we speak would not only not give them credit for being specially qualified for such a task, but thinks them specially disqualified by professional bias. It knows that it goes hard with ministers to believe another minister guilty of immorality, especially if he is eminent, and that they are apt to dread the effect of his conviction upon religion in general. Their interference, therefore, in such cases is apt to bring comfort to the accused at the cost of things more valuable and important than any man's reputation. If we might venture to offer advice to ministers in this business, it would be to keep out of it, to sign no manifestoes or testimonials, and join in no hurrahing or other exculpatory uproar. What the highest interests of church and state now demand is that it should be allowed to drop for good.

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The way in which the American riflemen have been received in Ireland is, for some reasons, very surprising, however gratifying it may be to their countrymen on this side of the water. The gentlemen composing the American Team, however worthy, were entirely unknown to fame here before they started, and in fact are only distinguished as good shots. They have, however, been received in Dublin and Belfast with honor and enthusiasm which, we believe, no Americans, however eminent in their own country, have ever called out, and which indeed indicates, or ought to indicate, that the people and officials of those cities consider rifle-shooting one of the highest of human arts, and have lately conceived so extraordinary an affection for the American nation that the sight of any American possessing any accomplishment whatever calls forth the wildest display of it. We must confess honestly we would rather have seen the two mayors and corporations and the Fellows of Trinity College and the population going crazy over an American poet or orator, or soldier or statesman, and think it would have been a little more becoming. The demonstration, too, suggests the question, What species of welcome has been reserved in Ireland for representative Americans who are really distinguished in the higher regions of human endeavor? If four or five such persons now went to Ireland, would not decency require a gladiatorial show or human sacrifices in their honor? The result of the various matches which have taken place since the international one seems to prove conclusively what one of the Irish Team—Mr. Thompson—asserts in a letter to the papers, that as a team the Americans are, as far as Great Britain and Ireland are at present concerned, invincible,

owing to their drill and discipline and the evenness of their shooting. That is, they work excellently well together, and have no shots markedly inferior to the others. Taken individually, however, they can be matched with more or less success. A picked four of the Irish Team, for instance, are probably as good marksmen as a picked four of the American Team. The fact that the competition for the Elcho Shield is restricted by the terms of the gift to native clubs, excludes the American Team from the forthcoming contest at Wimbledon. There is offered instead a match, to come off afterwards, between the American Team and a team selected from the three English teams (English, Irish, and Scotch), but this the Americans have refused.

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Messrs. Moody and Sankey have been the means of creating no small disturbance at Eton, and of producing an amount of correspondence in and out of the newspapers between high dignitaries which, considering everything, seems at this distance rather ludicrous. They determined, it appears, to go down and hold a service at Eton for the benefit of the boys, and had a large tent erected for the purpose in one of the meadows, whereupon Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, author of the well-known fairy tales and a member of Parliament and father of an Eton boy, hurried down, and remonstrated vigorously with the Provost for proposing to permit the boys to attend such services, to which the Provost replied that he had proposed nothing of the kind, and that the affair was entirely within the jurisdiction of the head-master. Hurrying to the head-master, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen learned that Dr. Hornby proposed to pursue the same course with regard to the revivalists' services that he pursued with regard to horse-races and fairs in the neighborhood—that is, not interfere, but leave the boys their liberty. Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen published the correspondence, and, the excitement increasing, seventy-one members of Parliament signed and sent to Dr. Hornby a solemn protest against the attendance of the boys at the meeting, and were met again by the Doctor's old argument in favor of liberty. The boys then took the matter up, and split into two parties, and signed remonstrances on both sides. The chief of the local police then intervened, and gave notice that he could not preserve order in the tent. The revivalists then asked for the use of the Town Hall, and the Mayor granted it, but subsequently got frightened, and refused it. Finally, Messrs. Moody and Sankey determined to celebrate their awful rites in an enclosed garden in the rear of a linen-draper's house. There were one hundred and fifty of the boys present, and four or five of the masters, and about four hundred other persons, including several men of rank. Mr. Sankey sang some of his hymns, and Mr. Moody delivered one of his usual addresses, and was attentively listened to. His exhortation to seek safety from death and sin and judgment, and to qualify themselves for the high positions which many of them would doubtless fill in church and state by conforming themselves in all things to God's will, apparently did the boys no serious harm and left the Church of England unimpaired. This fuss, and that about Mr. Keet's claim to the title of "Rev.," seem to indicate a great, and in these days dangerous, deficiency in healthy commonsense among many active and pious members of the English Establishment.

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Little is talked of in France beyond the inundations. The report of the Committee of Thirty on the constitutional bills has been under debate in the Assembly, M. Laboulaye being the principal spokesman for the Committee; but none of the speeches were remarkable except that of M. Louis Blanc, whose residence in England does not seem to have taught him much political wisdom, and who cried out for government by delegates, untrammelled by a constitution, and charged with the special care of "the rights of man," somewhat to the disgust of Gambetta and the main body of the Left, who are now very moderate, and would hardly be recognized by the old Reds of 1848. But then politics seems a trifling affair compared to the awful devastation wrought in the southwest by the overflow of the Garonne and its confluents, such as the Tarn. The southern portion of France has for the last century suffered terribly from inundations, but principally through the streams rising in the Alps and their spurs. The valleys and plains adjoining the Pyrenees have suffered less, but are perhaps, owing to their richness and fertility, more capable of damage than any other part of France. It is estimated that the late rise in the Garonne has destroyed $60,000,000 worth of property. The estimates of the number of lives lost are of course wild; but in Toulouse alone more than 200 perished, and as the rise in the river was very sudden, the loss has doubtless been very heavy also in the smaller towns and villages. This is the fourth serious inundation by which this district has been visited within the last fifty years, and it will doubtless give fresh zest to the discussion of the forest question, which has so long occupied French engineers and statesmen, and which Mr. G. P. Marsh has expounded so fully in his book on 'The Earth.' No effort of engineering can, it is now admitted, save these great southern plains and valleys from these terrible visitations, nor anything else except the revival of thick forests in the mountains. A curious and characteristically French feature of the crisis has been the prompt appearance of Marshal MacMahon and his staff on the scene to represent the Governmental Providence. Louis Napoleon did the same thing on a similar occasion, and rode about among the ruins with a bag of gold pieces hanging to his saddle-bow, with which he "succored the unfortunate."

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The close of the last session of the Prussian Parliament has witnessed two important additions to the constitutional system of the kingdom: one is a diminution in the powers of the administrative officers in the country districts, which is, however, of comparatively little interest to foreigners; the other is neither more nor less than the establishment of the citizen's right of appeal to the courts against the decisions of the bureaucracy, on the Anglo-Saxon model—a right which it has always been hitherto impossible to persuade Continental legislators would not prove anarchical in practice. To this day, a proposal to give a citizen the right to sue a Government officer for an illegal exercise of power makes even a liberal Frenchman almost shudder. There is little other news of importance from Germany, beyond talk of the springing up of a coolness with Russia, owing to the Emperor Alexander's having foiled the designs of the military party against France.

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The Belgians are having almost as much trouble with the Catholic question as the Germans. In no part of Europe are the Liberals more anti-Catholic and the Catholics more bigoted, than in this little kingdom. Nowhere else are the priests so influential among the peasantry. Under the influence of the recent wave of enthusiasm which has been passing over Catholic Europe, the Catholics have begun to give their public processions unusual prominence and splendor, which has led the Liberals to attack them in the streets, and bloodshed has only been prevented by the interference of the troops. In the midst of these domestic broils a fanatic named Duchesne wrote to the Archbishop of Paris, offering to kill Bismarck for a consideration, and there being apparently no means provided by the Belgian statute-book for the punishment of an offence of this sort, the German Government called for more legislation, to which the Belgians replied in substance that they would legislate as soon as they, Germany, set the example. A bill has, however, been introduced into the Chambers, and passed by a heavy majority, making a proposal to kill persons outside the kingdom a penal offence, and the German Government expresses itself satisfied. There is a good deal of discussion in the European papers as to the causes of Belgian fanaticism—why it is, for instance, that the belief in the grossest kind of miracles should be widely spread among the middle class of one of the most flourishing manufacturing countries in Europe; but we have seen nothing that can be called light yet thrown on the subject.

## POLITICAL MELANCHOLY.

THE orations of the last month in all parts of the country have been delivered in about equal proportions by the hopeful and the despondent, or, to put it differently and perhaps more correctly, by the satisfied and the critical. Looking over the reports, we find that as a general rule the ministers and professors and "gentlemen of culture and refinement" who have spoken take a gloomy view of things, while the politicians see everything in the best light. Dr. Woolsey, for instance, is by no means content, while Mr. Boutwell wonders what there is to trouble any reasonable man. A foreigner who landed in the country for the first time in June would in fact find the various addresses called forth by the anniversaries very puzzling reading, and would find it impossible to reconcile views so opposite emanating from men apparently equally sensible and patriotic. How can the condition and prospects of the country, he would say, look so dark to one set of persons and so bright to another, both having been brought up under much the same traditions, and political and religious ideas, and with much the same social surroundings? I see why the Duc de Rochefoucauld, he would add, does not agree with Gambetta about the way things are going on in France, and why Lord Derby should take a very different view from that of Bradlaugh about the needs of England; but why are Dr. Woolsey and Mr. Adams sad about the United States, and Senators Boutwell, Wilson, and Morton gay and sanguine?

The difference is of course in part one of temperament, but it is in part also the result of a misunderstanding, which is not without its humorous aspects. Men look at the affairs of the country, as they look at their own affairs, through an atmosphere colored in greater or less degree by their age, the condition of their health, and the course of their personal fortunes. But then there is nothing which causes more difference of opinion about politics than difference of ideal. Mr. Boutwell probably thinks, and doubtless would say, that a state of society in which a man like him could rise to the highest offices of the Government, and, after managing the national finances, pass to the dignity and responsibility of Grand Councillor, was as good a state of society as any one could desire. If, on the other hand, we asked Dr. Woolsey's opinion, he would, if he chose to be frank, treat Mr. Boutwell's rise as a very discouraging symptom, indicating the existence of great evils. In fact, each man, when he is discoursing about the condition of his country, has in his mind a different ideal, or, in plainer English, is talking about a different thing, and there is, therefore, little profit to be got from comparing his discourse with that of his neighbor. As a general rule, a successful politician of the class to which Mr. Boutwell belongs thinks, like every other successful man whose imagination has received no cultivation, that the state of things in which he has succeeded is as good a state of things as any one ought to look for, and he may think so with perfect honesty. A successful manufacturer who has made a great fortune is not apt to be troubled about the state of the revenue laws, or to fret over the relations of labor and capital. A soldier who has risen to power in the midst of revolutionary anarchy is not apt to sigh over the want of settled government. A great orator who is able to sway large crowds at will is not apt to be an advocate of sobriety and caution in the management of political affairs. Most prominent American politicians, like the politicians of all countries, are the product of the existing state of society, whether it be bad or good, and they naturally and inevitably admire the soil on which they grow. Wondering that Boutwell, or Morton, or Logan is not afflicted by the evils of the present day is like wondering that Lord John Russell liked government by Whig peers, or that Prince Metternich thought well of absolutism, or that the French marshals of the First Empire enjoyed war and supported Bonapartism.

But it is not the politicians only who are satisfied with the actual condition of the country, and feel proud of it, and hopeful about it. The great body of the people share their feelings, and with solid reason. Sentiment apart, every man likes the political system under which he is happy, and the American people are happy as no other people is, in that the average man feels, as he feels nowhere else, that he is part of, and exercises a direct and appreciable influence on, a great and successful political system, in which nobody is any greater or more powerful than he is. There is no use in trying to convince him that he ought not to get supreme comfort out of this, that he ought to prefer a system in which the work of government is better done by men of higher training and without so much of *his* interference. To get him to prefer Charles Francis Adams to Boutwell for high offices of state, you have to do more than prove Adams's superior qualifications; you have to make him feel as comfortable with Adams as with Boutwell; and to secure this you would have to take him young and train him to love a different ideal of government from that which he now loves. He prefers, as at present advised, a blundering and ignorant statesman, provided he does not blunder too badly, to a trained and accomplished one, because the former does not wound his self-love or make him feel his disadvantages of fortune or culture; and just now he gets a good deal of his happiness out of the absence from prominent positions of people who give themselves airs of superiority to him and are probably not in entire sympathy with him. It is not wonderful that under these circumstances the politicians try to persuade him that he is right to consult his feelings in the matter; that, after all, ignorance and incompetency are not the most serious defects in a politician; and that a statesman really needs "magnetism" more than training.

What, in short, makes the scholars and "gentlemen" so melancholy, and what separates them so much in feeling from the masses on these occasions of popular rejoicing? The fact that they have preserved an ideal of the state which, though undoubtedly the true one and the only one that will last, is one which this democracy, like all modern democracies, has for the moment laid aside. That the ideal will be taken up again, and that all culture and progress tend to bring it back, we have no sort of doubt. For the present, however, as for the last fifty years, the thing on which the popular heart has been set is the possession of rulers like the common run of people, who do not pretend to be any better or wiser than their neighbors. That the popular heart should be set on this just now is a very natural bit of reaction from the class rule of several preceding centuries. It was sure to come whenever and wherever the government passed into the hands of the majority. The tendency of democracy thus far has everywhere been of late to make character and training of less consequence as qualifications for office, and this not so much through hostility to character and training as through hostility to exceptional persons, or persons who, for any reason, declined to be numbered with the mass. That this has brought with it great evils there is no denying. Most of the attempts to show that it has not done so are wretched pieces of sophistry. The only thing for an honest man to say about it in answer is that these evils are not so great as some people think, and are not irreparable, and that the social instincts of the race tend constantly to bring people back to the old standards of excellence in government. That men who cultivate their imaginations, however, by the contemplation of perfection in all departments of human activity, as men of reading and reflection usually do, and whose main interest comes to lie not in making things do, but in considering whether they cannot be improved, should be troubled by the present state of things here, is nothing either to be wondered at or regretted. That once a year they should be tempted to lift up their voices, in pulpit or on platform, and declare their discontent, and give their reasons, is something for which the country ought, on the contrary, to be very thankful. There never has been an age or generation more self-satisfied, more prone to find its happiness in meat and drink, than this one of ours, and anybody who reminds it strenuously that a government which fills the belly and counts the ballots is, after all, not the highest result of civilization, and that making one man as good as another is not the sole or the chief end of political society, does the state an inestimable service.

## A NEW KIND OF VETO.

IN all the State constitutions which have been adopted within the last five years, special efforts have been made by the reformers who drew them up to prevent fraudulent or tricky legislation. That this evil exists, every session of every State legislature gives renewed proof in the shape of bills passed in the absence of a quorum, bills containing clauses smuggled into them and not voted upon at all, bills passed so hastily as to prevent proper consideration, bills passed in the guise of amendments or joint resolutions. As a general rule, these fraudulent acts are to be traced to one or two interested persons, and do not by any means necessarily imply that a majority of the legislative body approves or countenances them. Like any public body, the legislature *qua* legislature is interested in having its proceedings orderly and honest; and no doubt if our legislatures to-day, as formerly, had that feeling of permanency which comes from the re-election, year after year, of a considerable number of veterans, they might be relied upon to protect themselves against fraud. But from causes which are so well known and understood that there is no need to recapitulate them, the modern legislature is a body of a most fluctuating character, possessing so few men of legislative experience that these count for nothing, and sitting for so short a time that their proceedings attract small attention. There are few among them who know anything more than the rudiments of parliamentary law; while to the shrewder and more cunning the nice and complicated system elaborated in Cushing's and other manuals seems designed to confuse the unwary, and to offer opportunities of the richest kind to the wise. Parliamentary law, in fact, in modern times, affords just the weapon which the dishonest legislator needs to impose on the body of which he is a member.

Recognizing these facts, the new constitutions undertake to provide against the dangers to which they point by minute directions as to the precise steps which legislation shall follow. A convention now sitting in Missouri, for instance, has adopted an article on legislative proceedings which contains no less than eighteen clauses on this subject, providing, among other things, that "no law shall be passed except by bill"; that no bill shall be amended so as to "change its original purpose"; that every bill shall be read on three different days in each House; that no bill shall contain more than one subject, and that clearly expressed in its title; that amendments must be incorporated in bills by engrossment, and the bills, as thus engrossed, printed under the supervision of a committee, who are to report upon the regularity of all these proceedings; that no bill shall be considered for final passage unless it has been reported upon by a committee and printed for the use of members; that no bill shall become a law except on a yea-and-nay vote, entered on the journal, the record showing a majority of the members elected as voting in its favor; that no act shall be revived or re-enacted by mere reference to the title, but shall be set forth at length; that no act shall be amended except by setting forth in full the provision amended and the amendment itself; that when a bill is on its final passage, and, failing to pass, a motion to reconsider is made, the vote on the motion to reconsider shall be taken immediately, before the House proceeds to any other business.

Provisions like these, or designed to effect the same end, have been introduced in Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New York. They indicate more strikingly than even the provisions with regard to special legislation, now so common, the prevailing tone and temper of our period of constitution-making; for they proceed not upon the theory that certain subjects have been proved by experience improper for legislation, but on the much simpler theory that the legislature is a body which cannot be trusted to act honestly. We are so accustomed to the dishonesty of legislatures that we do not think much about it, but we can get a glimpse of how it ought to look to us by reflecting on the tremendous change that would have to come over a country before constitutional checks like these could be imposed on the judiciary. Imagine a judiciary article, for instance, providing that no judgment or decree should be valid unless the judge should append to it a statement under oath that during the argument he had been continuously present, that his attention had not wandered, that he had remained awake throughout all the discussions which had taken place, that citations of authorities contained in the decision were all genuine, and that it contained no perversion of law or fact.

Of course the difference between any such provisions with regard to the legislature and the courts is that in our system the courts are above the legislature, and we long ago adopted the plan of enforcing restrictions on legislative excesses through their agency. And this brings us to the question suggested by a writer in the current number of the *North American Review*, whether in these new constitutions we are not showing some signs of a tendency to forget what are the limits of this sort of restriction. In the older constitutions, like that, for instance, of the United States, there is no difficulty, or comparatively little, in enforcing constitutional restrictions through the courts. If a law is passed, for instance, every lawyer can tell with tolerable accuracy whether or not it violates the obligation of contracts and is therefore unconstitutional. This is an extreme case, too, and most of the restrictions are much simpler. No State can very well help knowing what making anything but gold and silver legal tender means, or what an *ex-post-facto* law is. But, as the article to which we refer points out, some of the new restrictions are of a very different order, and it is important to know whether they are restrictions which are to be enforced by the courts or not. With regard to such acts of the legislature as on their very face violate the constitutional restrictions, there is of course no difficulty. An act, for instance, reviving another act by the title, would be clearly void and not enforcible in any court; but, with regard to restrictions upon the parliamentary proceedings of the legislature, what are we to say? Suppose two readings of a bill take place on the same day; suppose it is alleged that the copy of a bill printed "for the use of members" was really kept out of their way—as, for example (to take an instance of legislative proceedings, not from any manual, but from the history of the Pennsylvania Legislature), by turning off the gas; suppose that a "majority of the members elected," as the returns have been decided by the legislature, do actually vote for a bill, but that they do not constitute a real majority, owing to election frauds—in such cases as these, will the courts investigate the proceedings, and in an ordinary suit will the parties be at liberty to summon the whole of some old expired legislature into court or bring in all the election returns to decide the question? If this can be done, it clearly gives the courts an enormous power, for it makes them virtually the judges of the qualifications, elections, and returns of the legislature, and the sole judges of the regularity of its proceedings. Hitherto the very reverse of this has been the case, and the courts have carefully refrained from interfering with what have been supposed to be the sovereign attributes of the legislature. There are, however, other objections more serious, viz., that if the courts are to execute these provisions in the ordinary way, it will involve all legislative proceedings in much greater uncertainty than they now are in; for after any excited session of an evenly-divided legislature, we shall not know until every one of the acts passed by it has been through the courts—a process which may take a lifetime—what are the laws passed and what are not. In such a legislature as that of Louisiana, for instance, even before the Wheeler Compromise was settled, how could it ever be told what was meant by a "majority of the members elected"? Indeed, we have lately seen that, without going so far away from home, the same sort of difficulty may arise in a Northern State. In New Hampshire, the courts expressly declined to interfere, on the ground that it was not their business. On the other hand, if the courts in States such as Missouri decline to interfere, all these constitutional provisions become mere empty forms—a conclusion to be much deprecated. We have never in this country adopted the pernicious system of European constitution-making, which makes the "higher law" consist so largely of vague generalities incapable of enforcement because no penalty is attached to their violation.

In this dilemma the Missouri constitution-makers have boldly taken the bull by the horns and solved the question in the only way it seems to us capable of solution. Proceeding upon the supposition, probably correct, that there will always be in any legislature a minority of members opposed to any scheme of fraudulent legislation, they have determined to put it in the power of this minority to obtain what amounts to a judicial veto of the bill, by summary proceedings in the courts. They have not by any means abandoned the executive veto, but they have reinforced it by another. They provide, in the first place, that if in either House the objection is made that any of the provisions we have been considering have been violated, the House shall pass upon it, and if the objection is sustained the presiding officer shall not sign the bill; but if it is not sustained, then any five members may make a written protest, under oath, which must be annexed to the bill, to be considered by the Governor in connection with it. If, however, the bill is signed by the Governor or passed over his veto, any three of the protesting members may within thirty days carry their case into the Supreme Court, and have an immediate enquiry into the facts of the alleged violation. If the court find the facts alleged in the protest to be true, the bill is null and void.

No such provision as this has as yet been tried in the United States, or, if it has, it has not been in force long enough for us to appreciate its effects. It undoubtedly marks the furthest possible limit of restraint which can be imposed on legislative bodies, since it adds to the veto of the Governor that of the courts, and there is no power beyond to which to appeal. It confers a power upon the courts which they have never hitherto had, and in doing this at the same time that it imposes the gravest restraints upon the legislature, it is in the direction of all the recent changes. The great danger of it will of course be that, so far as it makes the courts judges of the elections and returns of the legislature, it tends to involve them in political decisions, which they have always hitherto wisely avoided. On the other hand, in nine-tenths of the cases which arise, the minority's right to protest will be quite enough to prevent the consummation of a fraud, and the supervision by the courts of the "ways and manners" of such bodies as meet at Jefferson City, Albany, or Harrisburg cannot be productive of anything but good. It is a novel experiment, but it is one which seems founded on correct principles, and, to put it in its most extreme form, it seems hardly probable that authority over what may be called the administrative machinery of legislation will be likely to undermine the independence of the courts any more than their authority over legislation as to property and contracts. As we have already said, any authority over questions purely political, such as seems threatened by one or two of the Missouri provisions, would be clearly dangerous.

## BASKET BURIALS.

London, June 28, 1875.

THE Duke of Sutherland is the largest land-owner in Britain. When I tell you that in one county alone—namely, Sutherland—he owns no less than 1,176,343 acres, and in the adjoining county—namely, Ross—his wife owns 149,879 acres, you will have some idea what his influence is likely to be in a country like England, in which the possession of land gives a factitious importance even to the humblest and poorest possessor, such as no amount of stocks and shares and banker's balances can ever give. This great potentate—to his credit be it said—has had the hardihood on various occasions to take a line of his own on social questions, and not unfrequently a line which, but for his rank and wealth, would have brought upon him the odium of his order. He is no politician. Having nothing to get from any party, he does not give to any party. I suppose he would call himself a Liberal, but he would be the last man to ally himself with the Liberal party, and a professional Radical he would probably abhor as profoundly as the keenest Tory. His energies find scope for themselves in practical mechanics and in redressing social and domestic grievances. At one time he interested himself in fire-engines. He would get up at any hour of the night and go any distance to see a good fire and work the hose. At another time he took to driving locomotives, and even now he may be seen in his northern principality working his own steam-engine on his own line of railway. Some years ago he braved the righteous anger of an influential body of men—the domestic servants of the nobility—by insisting that those who were in his service should live upon their wages, and not by an elaborate and finely-adjusted system of robbery and thieving, which they had carried on for generations, upon their employers and their employers' friends. Again he appeared as the champion of the oppressed nobility in a protracted warfare against the extortions of the West-End shopkeepers. This warfare culminated in the establishment of co-operative societies, which have created a revolution in the tradesman life of London. The year before last, having no social birds of prey to war against, he devoted his wealth and influence to bolster up the attenuated hospitalities of the Court when the Shah of Persia was over here; and he did this work most royally. This year he has joined forces with Mr. Seymour Haden, and has commenced what promises to be a not inglorious campaign against a necessary but extortionate body of men—the undertakers. Mr. Seymour Haden is a well-known medical practitioner, and perhaps a better-known artist, being considered the most original and accomplished etcher now alive in Britain. About a year ago cremation was much talked about in this country as the most sensible and wholesome means of getting rid of a necessary evil in civilized communities—the mortal remains of our friends. Mr. Seymour Haden, though a liberal-minded man, is opposed to this innovation on our traditional customs, on the ground that by cremation we rob the earth of what undoubtedly belongs to it after our death—to wit, our bodies. But he is also opposed to the traditional custom of using oak or lead coffins and sealing them hermetically, so as to prevent the natural process of assimilation with the earth from going on; and in a series of able and graphic letters to the *Times* he has combated the present mode of sepulture and the extortions of the undertakers, and has advocated a simple and economical mode of being buried in wicker-baskets. This mode, he maintains, does not impede the process of assimilation with the earth; it costs a mere trifle if reasonably carried out; and it does not shock the sensibility of those who are left to mourn, as the suggestion of cremation cannot fail to do.

The Duke of Sutherland has entered keenly into Mr. Seymour Haden's plan, and, with the warmth of a convert from cremation, he is pushing it with all the energy which of yore he expended upon fire-engines and locomotives and thieving men-servants and extravagant shopkeepers. The nobility and gentry of the metropolis were startled and—in the case of the smaller gentry especially—pleased to receive early last week formal cards of invitation couched in the following terms:

> The Duke of Sutherland
> requests the honor of the company of
>
> .....
>
> *at Stafford House,*
> On Thursday, the 17th, and Saturday, the 19th of June, to see a collection of models of basket and other perishable coffins constructed on the principles advocated by Mr. Seymour Haden.
> Garden entrance. Four to six o'clock.

Of course everybody went—some to see the coffins, some to see who went to see the coffins, some to see Stafford House, not a few to see how a duke looked in his own house among the coffins, and some to please Mr. Seymour Haden. The Park, and Rotten Row, and even Prince's Skating-rink, which during this hot season has especial attractions for Belgravian mothers and their daughters, were deserted for the day, and St. James Park, in the vicinity of Stafford House, was crowded with carriages bustling each other in the anxiety of their occupants not to lose any part of the show. At the "garden entrance," when you got to it, you found a policeman—no exhibition in London can go on without a policeman—and a boy in buttons. The policeman asked for your card of invitation or your visiting-card, and the boy in buttons gave you this programme:

> "Stafford House, Thursday, 17th, and Saturday, 19th June.
> "It is necessary, perhaps, to explain that the models shown are merely suggestive, and that the majority of them do not, as yet, fulfil all the conditions essential to their practical use.
> "1. The Mesche in most of them should be larger than it is, and as open as is consistent with strength and the perfect retention of their contents; which contents, again, should consist of the larger ferns, mosses, lichens, herbs, fragrant shrubs, and any of the coniferæ, willows or evergreens, which are always to be had.
> "2. The Osiers composing the baskets should be light (two thin ones being better than one thick one), and no more solid wood should enter into their construction than is necessary to preserve their form.
> "3. They should be of white or stained willow, without varnish or other preservative covering.

"4. Accompanying each of them should be a narrow leaden band or ribbon, pierced with name and date of death, to be passed round the chest and lower limbs, and through the sides and over the top of the basket: (I.) For retaining the body in its position; (II.) For the subsequent identification of the bones; (III.) For sealing the coffin, as a guarantee that the contents have not been disturbed.

"5. In special cases linings of some imperishable material for a few inches upwards from the bottom will be necessary; and in other cases, such modifications of the ordinary form as may ensure a complete inclusion of the body in wool, charcoal, or other disinfectants. Of these exceptional models No. 3 would seem to be, on the whole, the best for its purpose.

"6. Other materials which are light, strong, perishable, inexpensive, adapted for carriage, and favorable to the dissolution of the body, may do as well, and possibly better, than these wicker baskets. Readiness of carriage and the insurance of resolution being the main objects aimed at, several such materials do, in fact, suggest themselves, and may afterwards come to be employed."

On the terrace of Stafford House there were an assemblage of elderly ladies and gentlemen and an assortment of basket-coffins, and in the gardens of Stafford House there were groups of younger ladies and gentlemen and an assortment of basket-chairs, leading an observer to the conviction that the affairs of life were quite as present to their imaginations as the affairs of death. It perhaps would be an exaggeration to say that the gardens of Stafford House and the basket-coffins for those two afternoons took the place of Prince's Skating-rink as a charmed centre of fashionable flirtation. Yes, it would be an exaggeration, but not a gross one.

As for the show itself at which we were invited to assist, it must be confessed that there was very little of it. There were from a dozen to twenty specimens of wicker-work, most of them shaped like coffins, but not a few like ordinary bassinets for babies. One was circular in form, like a saucer-bath. One lot formed a sort of pyramid of coffins, fitting into each other after the manner of a Chinese puzzle. A label was attached to this, from which it appeared that the pyramid in question was "a model of a nest of coffins as they will be kept in stock, from the smallest to the largest." Two large-sized, simple-looking baskets, suggestive of the washerwoman rather than the undertaker, were labelled, "Forms of coffins for ordinary use," and in clear, firm handwriting these expressive words, "The best are very inexpensive." I saw the cheeks of two professional-looking gentlemen dressed in sombre colors blanch as they read these words, and I also remarked that the Duke of Sutherland seemed to regard these two coffins with especial, almost with paternal, interest; and this interest did not seem damped, but on the contrary rather strengthened, by the blanched cheeks of the professional gentlemen. Here and there a basket ornamented with black or blue and gold was lying about, and seemed to restore the equanimity of the undertakers. Such ornamentation might easily be developed at first into a reasonable and soon into the good old unreasonable expenditure. Two baskets lined with moss received the especial favor of these gentlemen, and even enlisted the sympathetic interest of another class of observers who, rightly or wrongly, were supposed to represent a not unimportant trade or profession in London, who style themselves "artistic florists," a superior class of market gardener or costermonger, who supply West-End houses with plants and flowers for dinner-parties and balls. To the imagination of these gentlemen, an almost boundless expenditure for flowers and herbs for the burials of the future presented itself as they looked down approvingly on the moss-lined coffins. Besides the undertakers and the artist-florists—if the conjectures as to the professions of the gentlemen alluded to were accurate—there were a good many medical and learned men who were genuinely interested in the subject from a scientific point of view. There was also a sprinkling of the real world, and a considerable representation of that section of the community who hang on to the skirts of the real world, and run after any new sensation at this period of the year, from the revival services of your compatriots, Messrs. Moody and Sankey, to the latest exhibition of the twin-headed nightingale.

But so far as this movement has gone, it does not seem to me that the undertakers have very much to fear or the artist-florists very much to expect. Mr. Seymour Haden has no doubt a good case, and he has stated it with ability and taste. He has, moreover, been strengthened by the support given to him by so important a personage as the Duke of Sutherland. But he has strong battalions arrayed against him. Self-interest, the preference of centuries, horror of innovation in any matters affecting the dead, British pride and British snobbishness—all these are hostile to him. If he overcomes the dead-weight of this passive resistance, and persuades the public in these islands to adopt his enlightened views, he will deserve well of his countrymen and countrywomen, both of the present and of succeeding generations.

# Correspondence.

## THE IRISH MEMBERS AND THE COERCION ACT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Although I often have occasion to regret the manner in which Irish subjects are treated by your London correspondent, I have not hitherto troubled you by writing on the subject, principally because I am so satisfied that what is right will in the end prevail, that I am apt to pay too little attention to current opinion or individual expressions of opinion upon any question. However, there appears to me so much misconception of Irish affairs—so much that looks like presumption on the inevitable ignorance existing in all countries concerning foreign politics—in a letter entitled "Scotch and Irish Legislation," in your paper of 27th May, that I feel tempted now to address you. I will give the gist of your correspondent's statements with reference to the Irish members, mainly in his own words, and answer the same as far as possible:

1. "That the Irish representatives compare most unfavorably with the Scotch; that 'they could no more settle their measures and resolutions at . . . a caucus of Irish members than they could do so at Donnybrook fair . . .; when, therefore, Irish business comes into the House of Commons, it is as often as not the signal for a free fight all round.'"

It is not reasonable to expect the same union amongst members returned from a country divided in religious belief, as Ireland is, as from Scotland, which is almost united in faith; and Ireland appears to me the only country from which unanimity is demanded as a condition for granting its desires. A few years ago, our representation was indeed in a degraded condition But now, under the ballot, and thanks to increased educational intelligence, the people have largely taken the matter into their own hands, and returned men who really represent them—men who can expect nothing in the way of place or pay from Government, and from whom the people can expect little in the way of assistance to jobs or situations. Debauched for years by fawning place-hunters, the Irish representation has now been, to a large extent, purified. I know of few spectacles in modern history more encouraging than the manner in which the mass of the Irish people have put aside material considerations in the selection of their representatives, and chosen men who represent their higher aspirations. It is my privilege to be acquainted with a large proportion of these representatives. I differ from most of them in religion; I differ from many of them on economic questions and their estimate of the extent to which government can influence the material well-being of our people; I differ from the views many of them take regarding foreign (especially Italian) politics. Doubtless some of them may yet be found wanting, but in the main I am convinced of their honesty and single-mindedness. I am at one with them on the great question of home-rule (so little understood in England and America); I see nothing but what is reasonable in any claims put forward by such of them as are Catholics; and, after an intimate intercourse of years, I am satisfied that the most ultra-Catholic of them mean nothing but what is fair by Protestants. Your correspondent is apparently unaware that our home-rule members have an office in London, that they meet regularly, are amenable to discipline, and adopt a distinct policy under the guidance of recognized leaders. This policy may not be acceptable to the two great British parties, but it is none the less an honest and, in our view, a reasonable policy.

2. "A short bill of five clauses for the amendment and continuation of certain acts for the preservation of the peace in Ireland has been before them in committee, and they have actually consumed no less than nine protracted sittings in the consideration of this little bill. . . . There is no novelty in the bill . . . this wretched little bill."

This "little bill" (unhappily passed) is a bill that has deprived five and a half millions of people of the most dearly-prized political rights—the right to carry arms—the right of habeas corpus. We are deprived of the last right none the less effectually because it has been insidiously managed, not as applying to the whole country at once, but to such portions as the Lord-Lieutenant may desire. There are other provisions in this bill almost equally objectionable, but so insidiously worded and veiled that it would take up too much of your space to expose them. If it was attempted to pass such a bill for any corner of England, we should soon know whether there was any "novelty" about it or not. An overwhelming majority of the Irish people considered this bill unnecessary, uncalled for, and degrading. There was, indeed, one main improvement on former bills, besides some minor ones—the Irish press was no longer to be placed at the mercy of the Executive. It was none the less incumbent on our representatives to oppose it. Were ten sittings too much to devote to the consideration of such a bill? Can there be any more awful and suggestive commentary

upon London legislation for Ireland than the evident expectation in Great Britain that our representatives should permit it to be passed at a canter? They would have been less than men—they would have shown the spirit of the wretched race of place-hunters who so long battened on the political vitals of our country—had they not opposed it by every means in their power.

3. "A minority of an assembly of human beings constituted as the British House of Commons is, can never get its way by irritating and vexatious tactics. . . . Forty-one amendments were threatened. Pressure was put upon those of the home-rulers who were supposed to be amenable to reason, and the threat of forty-one divisions was not carried out."

Factious opposition was possible. Our members could have delayed the House two months; for I understand that, without infringing any rule, they could have forced about 300 divisions. But, well disciplined as they are, they wisely adopted a series of amendments which carried with them a large measure of British support. No pressure was put upon our members. The occasion was too solemn to make them amenable to anything but what they owed to their constituents. They took exactly their own course. The contemplated "irritating and vexatious tactics" existed only in the imagination of your correspondent.

If the Irish members did not propose 41 amendments, they proposed 35, which were all reasonable. Particulars of these amendments, and a statement of the numbers voting on each division, would make this letter too prolix; suffice it to say that this bill, *relating solely to Ireland*, was carried against an average majority of 45·4 Irish members to an average minority of 21·4 Irish members. It was not carried by argument or reason, but by a brute Government majority, rushing in from the dining and smoking rooms and library of the House, at the sound of the division bell, and from the adjoining Club of St. Stephen's on receipt of telegraphic news of the impending divisions.

4. It was, "in the eyes of all but the Irish members, amply discussed on the motion for the first reading."

An average of 48 English and Scotch members voted in favor of the amendments, with the Irish majority, amongst whom we often find the names of T. Burt (Morpeth), C. Cameron (Glasgow), Alderman Carter (Leeds), Joseph Cowen (Newcastle), Sir C. W. Dilke (Chelsea), Sir H. Havelock (Sunderland), F. Herschell (Durham), E. Jenkins (Dundee), Sir W. Lawson (Carlisle), E. A. Leathem (Huddersfield), D. McLaren (Edinburgh), G. Trevelyan (Hawick). Altogether, 160 different British members voted with the Irish majority in the different divisions.

5. "They have got nothing by all this."

In consequence of the bold front shown by our party, they obtained the following alterations in the bill as introduced by Government: 1, That the police should be bound to grant a license to carry arms to any person who can produce a certificate of suitability from two justices of the peace (see Division No. 31); 2, That the police should give in annual public returns of names of persons who applied for licenses, specifying whether the application was refused or granted; 3, That searches for arms should take place only between sunrise and sunset; 4, That search-warrants should not be executed except in the presence of some responsible officer; 5, That cases, under portions of the Act, should be dealt with summarily by magistrates only with the consent of the accused; 6, That imprisonment, in certain cases, should be reduced from six to three months; 7, That prisoners should not be subject to hard labor; 8, That no presentment for compensation to the relatives of a man murdered from agrarian motives should be fiated, unless it could be shown that the people of the district withheld material evidence.

With us the franchise is limited to 223,500 out of a population of 5,400,000, or 1 voter to every 24 of the population—only 1 man in 5 having a vote, while 2 men out of every 5 have votes in Great Britain. If the franchises of the two islands were equalized, the world would be shown still more strikingly than at present the depth and intensity of Irish feeling concerning the Coercion Act.

In conclusion, let me express my conviction that, much as the political dishonesty and looseness prevalent in many departments of government in the United States (as portrayed from week to week in your columns) is to be deplored, it will be found infinitely less demoralizing in the long run—infinitely less repressive in its effect on the political education of the masses—than the present system of governing Ireland by the United Kingdom (clear as it may be from political jobbery) against the clearly expressed wishes of an overwhelming majority of Irish electors.

Very faithfully yours,
ALFRED WEBB.

DUBLIN, June 17, 1875.

## PAUL VERONESE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Permit me to correct one or two points in your friendly notice of my communication, published in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of June 2, on the "Marriage of St. Catharine," by Paul Veronese.

My suggestion about the parallelogram was intended to illustrate a point in chiaroscuro, and not as an "exact mechanical recipe for enjoying Paul Veronese."

By the "student" I meant the person who has some active and true interest in art, who understands that faithful, prolonged, and thoughtful study are requisite to the apprehension of artistic language, but who, in consequence of more or less ill teaching, is not yet capable of appreciating the refined and masterly qualities of execution in the Veronese without some such aid as I suggested. With regard to just characterization of form, I think it is not so true that "some painters find it in one mode of representation and some in another" as that *some perceive and characterize some things and some others.* The greatest painters perceive much—all the heights and depths of their subjects—and they characterize completely. The lesser painters perceive less, and are content with characterizing partially. The greatest painters are always safe guides in expression—the lesser ones may be partially so when you know how to discriminate; but, taken as models without discrimination, they are harmful. It was to point out and illustrate this fact, while a rare opportunity for verification offered, that I wrote briefly on the subject.

CHARLES H. MOORE.

CASTINE, Me., June 23.

## THE WHIGS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am and have been for many years an interested reader of your paper, and do not often dissent from the views it advocates. But I cannot help thinking that you are strangely unjust to the old Democratic party and to General Jackson, and by consequence unduly partial to the old Whig party.

In your review of Sargent's 'Reminiscences' you exhibit an instance of this bias. After speaking in terms of just severity of the system of proscription for opinion's sake, which (originating, as *I* say, in the days of the elder Adams; as *you* say, in the days of Jackson) is so bad a feature of American politics, you suggest that "efforts" were "made in 1840 to put an end to this mischievous practice. Probably they would have succeeded but for Mr. Tyler's accession to the Presidency and to the Democratic party."

You mean, of course, in 1841; for Harrison was not President until 4th March, 1841, though elected in 1840. Every one whose memory goes back to those years can recall that the most unqualified *promises* were made by the Whigs "*in* 1840 to put an end to this mischievous practice." But 1841 came, and with it the old story:

> "When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be;
> When the devil was well, the devil a monk was he."

Every promise made *out* of office was laughed at by the Whigs when *in* office. Mr. Granger was made Postmaster-General at once, and everywhere he displaced every postmaster occupying a place which any Whig wanted. I only allude to him thus particularly (for, in fact, all of his colleagues were his worthy compeers) because the earnest and ruthless course of this official drew from Mr. Clay the admiring exclamation—addressed in March, 1841, I think, to Mr. Thomas Ewing—"G—d! how he nicks 'em!" I will not pause to detail the performances of others; but nothing can be clearer than that the pledges made by the Whigs in 1840 were shamelessly violated in 1841, before the death of General Harrison.

Neither did Mr. Tyler "accede" to the Democratic party in 1841. It is very clear that the matter on which Mr. Tyler separated from some of his party in 1841 was concerning a National Bank, and all candid men must admit that the Virginia Whigs in 1840 declared their hostility to a National Bank. This was acquiesced in then—*i.e.*, before the election—just as the profession of protective-tariff sentiments by Democratic Pennsylvania has always been a venial sin. But when Mr. Tyler, acceding to the Presidency in 1841, remained constant to the professions he had made in 1840, he was denounced as a traitor by those who in the previous year had loudly shouted for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too"—a war-cry which, if it meant anything, meant that the opposition to Van Buren's Administration embraced all the shades of political opinion which characterized the extreme divisions of the country, and that the candidates represented all their diverse opinions.

I strongly sympathize with you in your efforts to reform the civil service. Unless this can be done, all other reform will be nearly hopeless.

But, for Heaven's sake, let us be just. The old Whig party was the party of protection, of bounties, of special legislation, of rag money and irredeemable paper, and, in one word, of loose construction of the Constitution. The old Democratic party was the party of free-trade, specie currency, and strict construction. Both parties fell lamentably short of what they should have done in promoting the purity of the civil service, so that at least the inferior places of that service might be held on the tenure of honesty, capacity, and fidelity to the Constitution. So long as these places are the prize of periodical political contests, politics will be corrupt and corrupting.

I grant that the modern Democratic party is as latitudinarian and as heretical as the old Whig party ever was. In fact, the modern Democratic party contains and embodies the worst sentiments of many of the old Whigs.

Very respectfully, * * *

St. Louis, June 30, 1875.

# Notes.

ROBERT CLARKE & CO.'s Catalogue of Theological and Religious Books, alphabetically arranged by subject and author, fills 80 pages octavo. It includes chiefly the literature (or the editions) of the past twenty-five years.——Macmillan & Co. have in press a work of a class which is growing more and more in favor or in fashion: 'An Account of the Old Streets and Homesteads of England,' with illustrations on wood by Alfred Rimmer, of Chester, and an introduction by Dean Howson.——Poe's 'Raven' has been published in France with an accompanying translation by S. Mallarmé, and original fantastic illustrations by Édouard Manet.——The contention over the art-frauds in Italy has led at last to a libel-suit brought by Mr. P. F. Connelly against Mr. S. W. Healy and the *Touriste*, a sort of organ of the latter gentleman. The newspaper begs the public "to note that we have stood in readiness from first to last, and that neither ourselves nor Mr. Healy have ever asked for an hour's delay. This fact alone demonstrates our sincerity."——We have received from Prof. Ch. Fred. Hartt, at Rio de Janeiro, a monograph on 'Amazonian Tortoise Myths,' some of which the author printed a number of years ago in the *Cornell Era*, as we noticed at the time (*Nation*, Feb. 23, 1871). Prof. Hartt seems fully convinced that the *jabuti*, or tortoise, is by turns the sun and moon of the Tupí mythology. He dedicates his paper to Major Oliver Cromwell James, of Rio, and the reasons he assigns for this compliment show that to Major James not only Mr. Hartt but science is deeply indebted.——From Japan there comes to us a report by Henry S. Munroe, Professor of Geology and Mining in the Imperial College at Tokio, on the 'Gold Fields of Yesso.' The result of the survey was not very encouraging. Tests made by means of the Japanese mode of gold-washing proved it far superior to the Californian "long tom," or short sluice.——No. 27 of Stieler's Hand-Atlas (New York: L. W. Schmidt) has three new plates by Dr. Petermann, of the usual high quality, viz., a South Polar map, with a number of side-maps of the principal islands; the Mediterranean and North Africa west of the 18th meridian E., with side-maps of Malta and Gibraltar; and Southernmost Africa—Cape Colony, the Transvaal Republic, etc., etc.

—The 'Genealogy of the Families of Payne and Gore' is the latest publication of the Prince Society of Boston. It has been compiled by Mr. William H. Whitmore, printed at his own expense, and presented by him to the Society. The record is mainly a transcript of that prepared for family purposes by the descendants of Tobias Payne, including his autobiography; but Mr. Whitmore has from his abundant knowledge added very valuable notes and a partial genealogy of the Gore family, which, in the person of Gov. Christopher Gore, intermarried with the Payne. A heliotype from a painting of this eminent Massachusetts statesman is prefixed to the elegantly-printed volume. Not a few other Boston families of distinction are also inosculated with the Paynes, so that Mr. Whitmore's labors are sure of at least local appreciation. The Prince Society, however, is not local in its membership, though its stronghold is New England, and Massachusetts particularly. This is its sixth publication, and as the Society was founded in 1858 it has certainly been deliberate in its issues. The following list shows that this deliberation has gone hand in hand with sound judgment in selection: (1) Wood's 'New England Prospect,' reprinted from the London edition of 1634, with a preface by Mr. Charles Deane, 1865; (2) 'The Hutchinson Papers,' in two volumes, edited upon the edition of 1769 by Mr. Whitmore and Mr. W. S. Appleton, 1865; (3) John Dunton's 'Letters from New England,' 1686, edited from the original MS. in the Bodleian Library, by Mr. Whitmore, 1867; (4) 'The Andros Tracts,' reprinted from the original editions and MSS., with a memoir by Mr. Whitmore, in three volumes—Vol. I., 1868; Vol. II., 1869; Vol. III., 1874; (5) 'Sir William Alexander and American Colonization,' edited with a memoir by the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, 1873. A circular of March 30 announces that as many fresh works are in preparation, and that the Council intend to issue at least one volume annually. 'John Wheelwright,' edited by Charles H. Bell, is already in press; the others treat of Capt. John Mason, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Champlain's Voyages to New France, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

—As the Prince Society is the earliest American book club, and indeed the only surviving one if the Bradford and Narraganset Clubs do not form an exception, our readers may be glad to have some account of its constitution. It derives its name from the Rev. Thomas Prince, a native of Sandwich, Mass. (born May 15, 1687, O. S.), who was forty years pastor of the Old South Church in Boston (1718–1758). He collected and left to the church a precious collection of books relating to New England history, which is now deposited by itself in the Boston Public Library. He was also an annalist of New England events from the year 1682, and delivered a great number of sermons on memorable occasions, which are now much prized for the information contained in them. His birthday (May 25) is the time of holding the annual meeting of the Prince Society. The first rule of this association is that it "shall be administered on the mutual principle, and solely in the interest of American history," and its activity is restricted to the publication of one volume a year. Editorial and official work is without compensation, and the price of each volume is fixed at a hundredth part of the cost of the edition. No other assessments are levied on members, and no expense for publishing is incurred without specified contracts on vote of the Council. The selection is among "rare works, in print or manuscript, relating to America." Membership is obtained by a majority vote of the Council, on recommendation of a member. With the economical management indicated by these provisions, it is not surprising to find the Society not merely out of debt, but in pocket by a sum sufficient to meet current printers' bills without calling on members for pay in advance. It prints only what it considers valuable, it divides the expense equally among the associates, it keeps true to its aims; and so long as it can command the disinterested service which it has had from the beginning, there seems to be no reason why it should not prosper indefinitely. Of course a few men take most of the burden on themselves. The names of some have been already mentioned; others, like the late S. G. Drake, Mr. John Ward Dean, Mr. J. Wingate Thornton, and Mr. W. B. Trask, are well known for their devotion to the objects of the Society.

—Many of our readers may be aware that the "Industrial League" of Philadelphia a year or two since sent a circular letter to the colleges of the country, wishing to know what text-books of political economy were used in instruction. We have just received a second circular, in which we are informed that the answers to the first disclosed much dissatisfaction with the text-books in use, and expressed a desire for one "which should fairly discuss the opposing doctrines of protection and free trade," and that Professor Thompson's work (reviewed in our Number 515) "seeks" to accomplish this desire. We are glad to see that the conscience even of this League does not permit it to assert that the work it recommends really does fulfil this desire; and if he had said that it only "seeks" to treat of political economy at all, we fancy its president might have slept more soundly the night after penning his circular. The fact is that all the more important parts of that science are passed over without any adequate consideration, and that many vital ones are not even referred to. The three great divisions of political economy are production, exchange, and distribution. To show how completely the first is ignored, we have only to remark that there is nothing about the growth and function of capital in production at all. The law of supply and demand, the causes of the different rates of remuneration in different employments, the effects of monopoly rights upon price, and the enumeration of the various elements which enter into the price of products, are all of prime importance, yet we cannot find that they are even alluded to. Protection is the burden of the book, and, in the view of the Philadelphia economist, the best way of proving protection to be necessary is to enumerate all the evils which have befallen the human race, and inform the student that they are the result of foreign trade. From an educational point of view, there is a more serious objection to the recommendation of the Industrial League than anything the book teaches or does not teach. At the present time there is nothing more important in the education of the young than teaching them to think clearly and accurately on topics of public interest, and we can hardly conceive of anything more destructive to all clearness of thought than the attempt to digest mentally such a mass of crude speculation and vague assertion as that contained in the work recommended by the League.

—In an incidental allusion the other day to Alexander Campbell, we carelessly spoke of him as the "founder of the 'Christian' denomination." The following correction which has been sent us appears to be worth printing for the general information :

"There are two minor denominations in the United States that are often confounded by those who are not intimately acquainted with them—the 'Christians' and the 'Disciples of Christ.' Alexander Campbell was the founder of the latter, which arose about the year 1828. The Christians arose about the beginning of this century. The local churches of the Disciples very often take the name *Christian*—as 'First Christian,' 'Central Christian,' etc. Also some of their denominational corporations take the same name—as 'Christian Missionary Society.' Hence, for instance, as one of this body, when questioned, might truthfully answer that he belonged to the Central Christian Church, there is often confusion of names, and the denomination is called by the name of a local society. The Disciples are often nicknamed 'Campbellites,' but call themselves 'Reformers' and 'Disciples of Christ' (individual churches often calling themselves *Christian*), though Campbell considered the name *Christian* 'appropriated.' They are inclined in sympathy to the Baptist denomination, from which their founder came forth, having been a Presbyterian before. The Christians are often nicknamed by pronouncing the *i* in the first syllable long, but are never called Campbellites, and never respond to the name Disciples or Reformers. The Christians established Antioch College, of which Horace Mann was President during the latter part of his life, and their sympathy is rather with the Channing wing of the Unitarian body and with Congregationalists. They have no friendship whatever for Alexander Campbell. Indeed, in this case the *odium theologicum* is somewhat intense, the habits of thought of the two bodies not being harmonious."

—A movement is on foot in England to build a memorial theatre to Shakspere in his native town. The immediate occasion of it was the destruction of the old theatre at Stratford-on-Avon by its purchaser, Mr. J. O. Halliwell Phillipps, for the purpose of restoring the site to New Place. The proposed building is to be erected by subscription, and to be made without and within as ornamental as possible, and completely equipped for dramatic representations. A site has been already given for it, and from the grounds about it, which will be laid out as gardens, beautiful views will be obtainable of the river and the church. The capacity of the theatre will be proportioned to the population of the town, but with an arrangement permitting a considerable enlargement of the auditorium on occasion. In connection with it there will be a library and a gallery for pictures and statuary of Shaksperian subjects, of which a number have been promised already. Donors of £100 and upwards will be governors and managers of the property. The subscriptions already amount to some $15,000, ranging from £100 to one guinea. No sum, however small, will be refused, and all English-speaking peoples are invited to share in the memorial. The total amount required is not stated. Contributions may be sent to the Shakspere Memorial Fund at the Old Bank, Stratford-on-Avon, and communications for further particulars should be addressed to the local secretary, Mr. Charles Lowndes. Any surplus over the necessary outlay, and the income from ordinary rental of the theatre, will be applied to the celebration of the poet's birthday and to the promotion of legitimate acting, by means of prizes, and ultimately a training-school or college.

—The London *Times* of June 21 contains an interesting letter from a correspondent in Rome concerning the *Mafia* in Sicily. His information in regard to this secret association is derived from the reports of the prefects of Palermo, Catania, Messina, and other cities, laid before the Italian Chamber by the Minister of the Interior. The *Mafia* is a comparatively new thing, having had its origin apparently in the confusions of 1860. It has reached such a point of influence as to be no longer a mere scandal, but actually to threaten the continuance of civil order and responsible government in a large part of the island, and to compel the Ministry to appeal to the Chamber for a grant of special and exceptional powers to enable them to deal effectively with an institution so threatening to public prosperity and individual security. The prefects agree as to the immense power of the association, the extent of its operations, the solidarity of its members, and the extreme difficulty of ascertaining the precise machinery by which the system is worked, and of tracing home its crimes to their perpetrators. In fact, the *Mafia* is a vast *Ring*, composed of the most unscrupulous and ignorant members of society. The Prefect of Caltanisetta says :

"The *Mafia* may be defined as a speculation made by one upon the cowardice of another with the intention of despoiling him of his substance under threats of death, or to compel him by similar threats to perform whatever action or commission may turn to the profit of the speculators. The first origin of this evil is the abhorrence of work or labor of any kind, and the consequent avidity to obtain the means of living without them. The *Mafioso*, therefore, endeavors by intimidation and fraud to strip his neighbor in order to supply himself. He is influenced by the spirit of imposition and domineering united to that of rapacity and idleness. The *Mafia* is divided into high and low. The low—*bassa Mafia*—is rough and shameless ; any blackguard who feels himself endowed with a little extra courage can go in to be a *Mafioso*. He threatens to kill this person and that, and thus is obeyed and served with the greatest humility ; nor can his victims deny him anything till they are reduced to poverty. The high—*alta Mafia*—makes an ostentation of polished manners, but is at the same time in accord with the bravos and *Mafiosi* of the lower class, by means of whom he carries out his system of intimidation or the execution of his vengeance ; whether to steal with impunity the cattle from the estates surrounding his own, to obtain possession for a miserable price of a piece of land or a property he may covet, or to marry a richly-portioned girl into his family. So much for the country ; in the city or village he works in the same manner to obtain power, to push into some municipal office with the object of robbing the communal treasury, or of turning the means of the commune to his own private account, or even to get rid of some relation whose heir he is. He seeks, as far as he can, to corrupt the magistrates and other functionaries, to deceive them, twist them round his fingers ; and by bestowing his protection he strives to enrich himself and obtain influence and importance."

—The Pope, it appears, has not given up his notion of making a *beato* if not a saint out of Columbus. The *Unità Cattolica* says that the beatification of Columbus was favorably received by a majority of the bishops at the Vatican Council, but "the invasion of Rome having rendered a reunion of the bishops impossible," the cause remains for a time suspended. We have already noticed (*Nation*, Vol. XX., p. 174) the Comte de Lorgues's life of Columbus, and his tract in favor of beatification. He finds a mysterious link between the discoverer of the New World and His Holiness in the fact that Pius IX. is the only pope who ever saw America (in 1823, when he visited Chili). There are two or three St. Columbas, and there seems no good reason why there should not be at least one St. Columbus. He would find not a few companions in discovery and voyaging among the brotherhood, but the old-fashioned saints used to make their voyages with less expense of reason and less cost of patience and of will.

—The past year has been prolific in works relating to Italian history. We have already noticed the admirable monographs on Lucrezia Borgia and Lorenzo de' Medici by Gregorovius and Von Reumont ; but these are excelled in interest and extent by Guio Capponi's splendid history of the Florentine Republic, 'Storia della Republica di Firenza' (two vols. large 8vo ; Florence). There is something singularly appropriate in the history of a state by one whose ancestors rendered it such noble services as did Guio Capponi's, and this work crowns very fittingly a long life of honorable activity in the state and in the world of letters. The author's object was not, he says, to write a learned history of his city, but a popular work—that is, popular in the sense in which the older Florentine histories are popular. He has nevertheless examined minutely the most important authorities, and availed himself of the results of the most recent investigation. His own family archives have contributed much valuable matter, and he has had at his disposal a large amount of inedited material, which enables him to throw new light upon the occurrences of the period from the middle of the XIVth to the end of the XVth centuries. For the early history of the city he follows in the main the chronicles of Malespini and Dino Campagni, and gives in an appendix his reasons for believing them genuine (for the opposite theory see the *Nation*, No. 490). Interspersed through the work are chapters giving, at the close of important periods, a résumé of the state of letters and arts, beginning with Dante and his contemporary writers and artists and ending with the sciences, letters, and arts under the republican government of the Medici. The history ends, of course, with the fall of the commonwealth in 1532 ; but the final chapter contains an admirable sketch of the fate of the city under the Grand Dukes and down to the present day. The style in which it is written is clear and elegant, and for this, as well as for its impartiality and spirit of freedom, it has received abroad the highest praise. We may add that there are already two excellent original English histories of Florence. One of these, Napier's 'Florentine History' (London, 1846–47, six vols.), is too extended for the ordinary reader ; the other, by T. A. Trollope (London, 1865, four vols.), is, in spite of some blemishes of style, an excellent work, not so popular in this country as it should be. It is noteworthy for its outspoken denunciation of Lorenzo de' Medici. One may still be permitted to hope soon to see a complete translation or a careful abridgment of Capponi.

—The amount of protection which authors are nowadays receiving is among the signs of the times. As a refuge against the reviewers, they have a special organ in Germany ; in England they have begun to cut loose from the publishers in the matter of copyright ; and in Spain they have concluded to dispense with publishers altogether, and to forego all risk at the same time. The *Sociedad Bibliografica Peninsular*, of Barcelona, is an association which, as we learn from *Polybiblion*, is designed to assist authors in putting forth their works without resorting to publishers, and without expense of any kind, and without prejudice to literary property. How the society is

originally composed we are not informed, but any author becomes a member of it whose work it accepts for publication. The book is then got out at the society's charge, and 50 per cent. (of the profits apparently) goes to the author and 50 per cent. to the society to meet the cost of its administration, etc. After the third edition the book becomes the author's sole property. Moreover, every member is entitled to a discount of 50 per cent. on all the society's publications. The delicate point is obviously the acceptance of works offered, since this implies rejection; and Spanish authors will be exceptions to the irritable tribe if the adverse decisions of the Council of the *Sociedad Bibliografica* do not provoke denunciation of the enterprise as a close corporation. Nothing more natural, in that case, than to see started a new organization on the principle of the *Antikritiker*, for the purpose of publishing exactly the works rejected by this mutual-admiration clique, whose censorship denotes either ignorance of true merit or personal jealousy, etc., etc. At this stage, however, the author will have to put his hand in his pocket, and it will by-and-by occur to him that he could always secure publication by paying for it, and that on the whole his chances with a hundred more or less uncritical publishers for getting the cost of manufacture assumed are better than with a more or less critical directory of fellow-authors and rival littérateurs.

## BLACKWELL'S 'SEXES IN NATURE.'*

A SINCERE desire for the amelioration of women—for a greater advancement in the same direction in which the progress of civilization has already carried them—ought to have inspired a very different line of argument from what Mrs. Blackwell has seen fit to follow in the principal essay of her book, that "On Sex and Evolution." The practical good sense and skill in accomplishing desirable ends by appropriate means, which is naturally a true feminine superiority, would have dictated a different course. Like too many of the more prominent feminine leaders of the movement, our author seems to aspire to rival, not men in general, but that small faction among them who are called philosophers, and, by showing how a woman may even cope with these, to demonstrate superiority to all the rest. But men of the Anglo-Saxon race are not in the habit of acknowledging the superiority of philosophers. Even Mr. Herbert Spencer, with whom Mrs. Blackwell ventures to dispute on some points, though apparently in her view the type of this kind of superiority, and though the first genuine universologist and omniscientist which the race has at all honored for more than two centuries, has not hit upon lines of argument likely very soon to subdue the masculine prejudices of this race.

Proofs of superiority or inferiority or equality, as general theses, from profound principles and the nature of things, make small impression on the unsubtle Anglo-Saxon mind. Such minds are apt to challenge a question of this sort, to apply the Socratic *elenchus*, and demand first of all what the question really means; as by asking, in respect to the assertion of the abstract attributes of superiority, equality, or inferiority, about *what* these attributes are maintained? Superior in *what* is the male or the female? Or equal in what are they? To attempt after a French or German philosopher's fashion to establish the main unqualified thesis, and then freely deduce from it any desirable consequence, has not yet become the philosophical habit of the unimaginative, slow-minded Anglo-Saxon in respect to any question of science or politics. If Mrs. Blackwell had contented herself with simply challenging the meaningless thesis of masculine superiority as an absolute one, trying to find out what kind was claimed, and why or in what respects superiority is maintained, she would have shown the quality which most of all distinguishes the sound feminine mind of her race. But, unfortunately, she has allowed that the general thesis of masculine superiority has a meaning, and she has attempted to oppose it by what appears to us the equally meaningless thesis of the natural equality of the sexes.

Mr. Darwin, as a naturalist, has enquired in his treatise on 'Selection in Relation to Sex' (without the least conscious approach to any political or sociological sentiment on the subject) into the origin of the most conspicuous differences between closely allied species or races, on the theory of a common descent; namely, those through which it appears, as a very general rule, that the males of closely allied races differ more than the females (differences which are, therefore, to the naturalist the more noticeable and important characters for classification). In doing this, he has, it seems, though it must have been unwittingly, given testimony against the essential equality of the sexes, by "fixing attention, as he does, upon masculine characters only" (p. 59). In thus noticing secondary sexual differences, he seems to Mrs. Blackwell to maintain that there is "no equilibrium of sex." And she adds that "the two leading philosophers of evolution [Darwin and Spencer], each after his own method of investigation, being intent upon explaining the wider equilibrium between organic nature and its external conditions, it becomes fairly credible that they may have failed to give satisfactory attention to the lesser equilibria, of sex, of each individual organism, and of every organic cell." It appears to us very unjust, not only to Mr. Spencer's originality but to his independence, to credit Darwin with any share in the explanations of "equilibria," since the latter has only undertaken with the inferior intelligence of a naturalist to account for diversities in organic nature, without undertaking at all to weigh them in the scales of absolute science. To do this approximately—for she claims no more—with reference to sex, has been left to the deep insight of our author.

We have studied with care Mrs. Blackwell's "Tabular View of Equations in Organic Nature" (p. 55), and we confess ourselves completely baffled by its mathematics. Under insects, fishes, cetacea, birds, herbivora, carnivora, and man, she has set down certain characters for comparison, putting *pluses* and *minuses* against them for both sexes, according as in each character the one sex exceeds or falls short of the other. Thus, for insects, we have comparison of the sexes in "structure" (a rather vague character), "size, color, activity, products, sexual love, and parental love." To these, in the class of fishes, "nurture" is added. And further, "strength" is substituted for color in the order of the cetacea. And still further, in the class of birds, "color" is restored in the place of "strength," and "ornaments" and "pugnacity" are added. Similar lists are given for higher divisions of animals, including man, who has a long list of nineteen characters by which fairly to compare the sexes. The author thinks that by thus "holding the feminine character up beside the others in a balanced view the equilibrium is restored" which Mr. Darwin's partial view of the matter has disturbed!

In drawing up this "table of comparative equations, the *mean* of characters in each class is taken as zero." We are much puzzled to understand what is meant by a "mean of characters," when these are not to be compared in quantity. How much size does Mrs Blackwell suppose to be equal to a given amount of color? Or is it the importance of these to an animal's existence that is thus measured; and does she mean that the characters are so chosen that they are of equal importance to the welfare of the race? Perhaps, however, the solution is (and this may account for the inequality of the number of *plus* and *minus* signs, notwithstanding her final estimate of "sex = sex" throughout nature) that the signs affixed to characters, together with the author's estimate of the comparative importance of them, will foot-up zero. This, however, does not appear from the tables themselves, and must be an estimate by one or the other of the two mental powers which the author sets down in her list for man and counts among feminine superiorities, namely, "direct insight of facts" or "direct insight of relations"; for it is certainly beyond the power of ordinary masculine mathematics.

Such a mode of approaching the practical questions of the coeducation of the sexes and the political and professional qualifications and legal rights of women, is, we venture to believe, rather aside from the usual feminine methods of thought. The soundest intellects, whether feminine or masculine, are not apt to be caught by such meaningless propositions as that of equality between things not at all comparable in quantity, either by themselves or in common influences and effects. That "the male is superior" among the higher animals has, however, a real meaning, independently of the importance of characters in the classifications of natural history, in the common understanding of this elliptical phrase—a meaning which does not refer to any such grounds of comparison as those presented in this book, except where the author has incidentally referred to the quality of "pugnacity" in her lists of characters for birds and mammals. This quality also belongs to certain male fishes and to reptilian males. That the author should have omitted it also from the list of characters for man is remarkable, considering how combative the masculine man is, not only for a cause, but from the love of battle; in how many directions an active competitive disposition urges him; and how his very superiority in reasoning power, which our author allows, is of the nature of belligerency, since arguments are the weapons of the mind. Superiority in the sense of imperiousness, consciousness of the power of victory—a superiority incessantly sought, if not attained, in that *active rivalry* which is a better name than "pugnacity" for this generic masculine quality—is what we believe to be generally referred to in speaking of the male as the superior. It is not a superiority in the number nor in the importance to life of the qualities that distinguish him, nor a superiority in unconscious endowments of nature—which only science could estimate—but only in those issues of conscious activities which kindle masculine ambitions and *active* rivalries most readily, and urge the male to battle and to the ultimate arbitrament of the

* 'The Sexes throughout Nature. By Antoinette Brown Blackwell.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.

"Laws of Battle," on the basis of which all his more refined and civilized rights and superiorities (like the suffrage) really rest. This, which is the greatest mental difference between the human sexes, is probably not so great, however, between the averages of the two in civilized races as is the range of mental difference in either sex. It nevertheless gives a marked tone in connection with the differences of education and occupation, so that men generally gain with greater readiness through this urgent internal impulse what are commonly but wrongly regarded as natural endowments, the power of abstract reasoning, and that sentiment of justice (through a keener observation of the conditions of effective competition) which are allowed by our author to be among possible masculine superiorities (p. 140). Masculine justice is, however, in itself only the sentiment of fair competitive dealing, and distinguishes the active rivalry of the male from that quarrelsomeness which has by some thinkers been mistaken for it, and which the name "pugnacity" does not exclude. The superiority of conscious victory, for which the male is at least the most ardent candidate, determines to so great a degree the competitive exercises and studies of youths that it would be a great loss to them, however beneficial coeducation may be to the other sex, if its use as an incentive to study were abandoned. The boy declines by a true masculine instinct to compete with the girl, half conscious that he labors under a disadvantage for present display, as he instinctively converts his exercises and acquisitions into a firmer command of powers which are to serve for subsequent trials and more important struggles.

No doubt a sympathetic, mutually-aiding aspiration for excellence is a more refined motive, and, though much less effective, is gradually becoming in the progress of civilization a substitute for the motives of active rivalry which are more distinctive of sex. Many most important interests and pursuits have lost in this progress their association with the overshadowing category of sex, the former extent of which even to inanimate objects is indicated by the grammatical genders of the languages which barbarians have transmitted to us. To further this progress, the best thinkers have contended for the *irrelevancy* of sex to much that is still traditionally associated with it, and for the rights and duties of adult human *individuals* independently of sex. The absurd metaphysical, unqualified thesis of the equality of the sexes, for which this book contends, is, even with the Spencerian calculus of evolution, a barren argument, quite beyond the comprehension of the masculine arithmetic of justice. Our author adds to the passage we have quoted above on "equilibria" of sex, organism, and cell, that "if these are not each moving points of simpler adjustments within wider and wider systems of more complex adjustments, then I fail utterly to comprehend the first principle of organization." We fail to comprehend it even if these "equilibria" *are* what is thus defined. Such a discussion of a practical question has to us the appearance of a wretched affectation of profundity, rather than of a real interest in the advancement of women.

## RECENT POETRY.*

IT appears from a notice at the close of the 'Undivine Comedy' that Mrs. Cook "did not live to oversee the issuing of the work" on which she had bestowed disinterested labor and unusual pains. Her translations bear the mark of her interest in the peculiar literature of Poland, and of considerable literary skill in rendering into English compositions remote not alone in form, but also in spirit, from the usual modes of English thought. If we are to believe the testimony of the author's compatriots who have written of his works, and whose essays Mrs. Walker translated to serve as the introduction to his poems, his writings exercised, and still exercise, a remarkable influence upon his people. In this respect they are interesting. They serve as a measure, however imperfect, of the intellectual culture and moral ideals of the Poles. But we suspect that something too much is ascribed to them in attributing to them great effect in determining the course of Polish action and in maintaining the ardent emotions which have underlain the Polish struggles for independence. However this may be, the impression left upon the reader of the translation of the 'Undivine Comedy' is not so much of the healthy power of mature and cultured genius as of the morbid energy of faculties untrained by actual experience of events, and of an intelligence that mistook spasm for passion, mysticism for profundity, and aspiration for rational effort. If such works as those of Count Krasinsky have really exercised much influence in Poland, it is but a proof the more of the retrograde condition of the people in civilization and of the prevalence of semi-barbaric modes of feeling and of thought. The volume may be commended to all who would acquire some acquaintance with the stage of mental development at which the Poles have arrived.

Mr. Morris's poems would, if they appeared for the first time to-day, seem anachronistic, and would not give strong evidence of a new and genuine poetical gift. In other words, Mr. Morris has had the success or the ill-success, as it may be, of, if not founding a school, at least giving motive and impulse to a number of followers. There is a certain literary interest in now reading these poems under the light thrown on them by Mr. Morris's later and better-known productions; and those readers who have found delight in the 'Earthly Paradise' may be pleased to note the marked progress of the poet, and yet to observe how fairly his later excellence was foretokened in his youthful performances. That Mr. Morris deserves a place among the English poets will hardly be contested, and whatever abatements the admirers of his special gifts allow in deference to the conservative critic, they will not find themselves compelled to admit that any English poet since Spenser has had a truer genius for romantic narration, or that any story-teller has interwoven in his narrative with less injury to its firm texture the subtle threads of modern sentiment and individual emotion. In this first volume of his poems Mr. Morris shows himself an artist in a double sense not less than in his maturer works; and indeed it is plain that in his earlier work the painter is contending with the poet for the mastery of his genius. Every page is a picture, often one of which the meaning is unnecessarily obscure (a trait of boyishness), and not only a picture in light and shade, but in color as well. Opening at random, we find on three successive pages a "golden twilight," a "gold lady," a "golden moon," "golden hair," a "golden hall," and "gilded courtiers," and on the same pages we have "poppies red," and "pure green grass," and a "crimson banner," and a "crimson thing," and "green leaves," and "yellow hair." Here is the exuberance of youth, which Mr. Morris has learned to chasten. In these earlier poems we find, as in the poet's late work, the sense of the perplexity and sadness of life, of the utter dismalness of death, of the misery of confused passion, and of the perfect glory and joy of complete, unquestioning, and passionate love. If, in the mediæval garb in which the feeling embodied in these early poems somewhat stiffly clothed itself, a little of affectation and apparent insincerity should seem to betray itself, we have only to recall Mr. Morris's more recent work to understand that this appearance was due not to the lack of real feeling, but rather to his artistic inexperience of the real moods of life and his ignorance of his own genius.

Why "H. H.," who once seemed to have a natural gift for the expression of personal sentiment, should have thought it worth while to versify the affecting story which had been told so well and so recently in prose by Mrs. Leonowens, is not accounted for by any peculiar merit in her verse. She has succeeded, indeed, in taking the story out of the region of terrible reality and setting it in a cloudland of sentimentality from which tragedy is banished.

The verses in the pretty little volume called the 'Fountain Inn' are very innocent, school-girlish productions, and, if the writer or her friends take pleasure in seeing them in print, we have not the least inclination to diminish it.

'Point-Lace and Diamonds' is a daintily-printed volume of *vers de société*. There is some sparkle in these rhymes, but it is the effervescence of a sweet champagne; it smacks of the late supper, and warns of a headache the next morning. The "society" of which these verses are the outcome is not that which poets frequent. The volume does not charm the reader with the suggestions it affords of the style of the maidens and lovers of New York; but it is too light to serve as a text for moralizing.

Another volume of verse of more serious quality is called 'Miscellaneous Poems.' It bears no author's name on the title-page, but the poems are plainly the work of a woman. They are rather the expression of a sensitive than of a highly poetic temperament, and seem better fitted to give pleasure to the author's intimate friends, interested in her personal experiences of sentiment and emotion, than to claim attention from the indifferent public. The tone of the verses is pure and refined, and they give evidence of strong religious feeling.

* 'The Undivine Comedy, and other Poems. By the Anonymous Poet of Poland. Count Sigismund Krasinsky. Translated by Martha Walker Cook.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875. 12mo, pp. 513.

'The Defence of Guenevere, and other Poems. By William Morris.' Reprinted without alteration from the edition of 1858. London: Ellis & White; Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1875. Sm. 8vo, pp. viii., 248.

'The Story of Boon. By H. H.' Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1874. Sq. 12mo, pp. 28.

'The Old Fountain Inn, and other Poems. By Adelaide T. Mos.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875. 12mo, pp. 123.

'Point-Lace and Diamonds. Poems by George A Baker, Jr.' With illustrations by Addie Ledyard. New York: F. B Patterson 1875

'Miscellaneous Poems. Stories for Children. The Warden's Tale, and Three Eras in a Life.' Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1875.

*Constantinople.* From the French of Théophile Gautier. By Robert Howe Gould, M.A. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1875.)—We had occasion, some months ago, on the appearance of the translation of Théophile Gautier's 'Russia,' to express our opinion as to the wisdom of depriving this extraordinary descriptive genius of the benefit of his own tongue. Gautier is above all a man of style, and one has no right to divest him of his own style without giving him another in exchange. The 'Winter in Russia' seemed to us carefully and not unskilfully translated, but the gentleman who has undertaken to do the present work into English has had a very imperfect idea of his responsibilities. To translate Gautier in the off-hand fashion in which you would transfer from one language to another the gist of a newspaper paragraph strikes us as a literary misdemeanor of the first magnitude, and yet of no less an offence has Mr. Robert Howe Gould, M.A., been guilty. 'Constantinople' is, next after the 'Voyage en Espagne,' its author's masterpiece, and to translate it with perfect verbal felicity would not have been easy. But to translate it with care, zeal, and respect was the least to be required of one who should put his hand to the task. Mr. Gould should, in the first place, have notified his readers that what he was giving them was an abbreviated and mutilated edition of the original. Omission in translation is rarely absolutely unjustifiable; but some intimation should always be given of the extent to which the privilege has been used. Mr. Gould uses it freely and constantly—indeed, we may say that whenever a passage is at all difficult to render he leaves it out. Many passages, it is true, were better left out than rendered as baldly and flatly as Mr. Gould renders them. His infelicities swarm even in the opening pages of the book. The great point with Gautier was to use at any hazard what he calls the *mot propre*—to make an image. When he speaks of the country round Marseilles as "ces beaux rochers couleur de liége et de pain grillé"—the "color of cork and of toast"—Mr. Gould insipidly renders it "rocks of rich brown." This is indeed not only insipid, but false, inasmuch as it was obviously the idea of dry and arid brown that the author wished to convey. When he says that at Malta "il fait véritablement clair"—"it is really light"—the best that Mr. Gould can do is to say the "atmosphere is really clear." When the author uses so special and picturesque a phrase as the sea being "gaufré de moires par la brise," Mr. Gould translates vulgarly, "broken into ripples." Mr. Gould always gives the vague epithet instead of the special one. "Un bloc de rochers fauves, fendillés de sécheresse, calcinés de chaleur," is a vivid picture: "a mass of rocks, tawny, consumed by drought, burned by heat," is relatively none. Why shuffle away the admirably expressive term *fendillé*—split into chinks, cracked, chapped? Why in the next page interpolate bodily a threadbare line from Byron which does not exist in the original? In the chapter on the Golden Horn there is an admirable passage about certain old houses—"ces bonnes vieilles murailles empâtées, égratignées, lépreuses, chancies, moisies, affritées, que la truelle de Decamps maçonne avec tant de bonheur dans ses tableaux d'Orient, et qui donnent un si haut ragoût aux masures." This is Gautier at his best, but as to render the passage requires some little ingenuity, the translator quietly drops it out. A still finer passage, a description of a dervish, is worth quoting, with Mr. Gould's version of it: "Je n'oublierai jamais ce masque court, camard, élargi, qui semblait l'être écrasé sous la pression d'une main puissante, comme ces grotesques de caoutchouc qu'on fait changer d'expression en appuyant le pouce dessus; de grosses lèvres bleuâtres, épaisses comme celles d'un nègre; des yeux de crapaud, ronds, fixes, saillants; un nez sans cartilage, une barbe courte, crêpe et frisée, un teint de cuir fauve, glacé de tons rances et plus culotté que ton qu'un Espagnolet. . . ." What Mr. Gould offers us instead of this is: "His whole aspect and the mould of his features were among the most remarkable, as well as the most hideous, that I have ever beheld." Even for a single word the translator will not brighten his wit a little. If a casket of jewels is scattered "dans un désordre chatoyant," for Mr. Gould it is merely a "picturesque disorder." We have encountered those inexcusable shortcomings in a very rapid examination of the volume. It is evident that a vast number more may be found. The work, in short, has been translated by a person totally destitute of appreciation of his author, and in whose hands its essential merit, its vividness, its incisiveness, its gaiety, have evaporated. No one reads Gautier for information; we read him for the vivacity of his phrase, for his imagery. If you suppress this, you deliberately suffocate him. It is to be hoped that if it is intended to offer a translation of the 'Voyage en Espagne,' the services of some other literary artist than Mr. Gould will be obtained. A good translation might be made by a person who would give care, and taste, and imagination to it; but to subject the work to the process which has spoiled this unfortunate 'Constantinople' would be simply cruel.

*Storms:* their Nature, Classification, and Laws, with the Means of Predicting them by their Embodiments in the Clouds. By William Blasius. (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1875.)—We do not recollect when we have seen a book of so much pretension as this one which contained such a heterogeneous conglomerate of valuable and valueless. Many facts are described with more lucid simplicity than ever before, and there are not wanting important criticisms upon received methods and assumptions of weather observers, which would make us recommend the book, if it did not also abound in shallow special pleading, exhibiting ignorance of the laws of physics. The analysis of the tornado in West Cambridge, Mass., in 1851, to which the first chapter and the appendices are mainly devoted, gives the clearest arrangement of the phenomena which we have read, though the author's assumed explanation of the cause could, if it were worth while, easily be shown to be impossible. Electricity is entirely ignored as a factor in this and other storms, in spite of proofs (which are included in Mr. Blasius's citations) that it was the chief agent. He even ridicules such agency. "Nature requires no convective discharge of electricity; no complication of *unknown* forces to produce the phenomena of a tornado"—whereas, instead of being unknown, the effect of a magnet upon iron-filings is a perfect parallel to the movements occurring in the tornado described. He uses the old terms polar and equatorial in speaking of horizontal currents, where he merely means cold and warm; and theorizes just as if a wind could blow 1,000 miles to destroy a thermic gradient of only 5°, which it could do provided there were no such thing as friction, an obstacle which he conveniently ignores. He assumes that these two so-called polar and equatorial currents are in everlasting collision, just as if a weakness were a force, for an ascending warm current is a weakness, crowded aside by the denser current, and possessing no motive-power of its own apart from that very crowding, with which therefore it cannot collide as if it were independent of it. This untenable hypothesis, he says, in his second line, "it is the object of this volume to *promulgate*"—a frank confession that he is not an investigator but a partisan. He carries his partisanship so far as to assert that Hildebrandsson, when stating that storms in Sweden travelled from the north, mistook north for south or else made isolated observations (!); whereas, according to the clear principles laid down by Clement Ley, storms in Sweden ought to travel from the north.

In treating of vertical currents Mr. Blasius reasons more sensibly, but he entirely fails to conceive that an "equatorial" current when raised to a high elevation would *instantly* lose its heat as soon as its clouds were gone. The only good feature of the hypothetical portions of the book is its steady recognition of slanting currents, but its attempt to supplant the rotary theory is a failure. That theory needs to be limited to the more central portion of areas of low pressure, for experience shows that the air blows toward, rather than around, their outer portions. And Ballot's law needs to be confined to areas of low pressure, for the wind diverges in all directions from areas of high pressure (if these be narrowly bounded). The author attempts to increase the nomenclature of clouds by adding a new name—conus. We never saw half-a-dozen clouds shaped like a cone, and we object to the introducing of any more non-descriptive names. Not to censure without proposing something better, we would suggest that the simplest nomenclature would be one based upon the shapes of clouds as determined by electricity. Thus, clouds without electricity are *flat* (stratus). As electricity enters into moisture the vapor begins to assume a rounder form (cumulo-stratus); when fully charged with electricity a cloud is *globular* in form; if the electricity be discharged leaving some of the vapor behind, this vapor begins to scatter, losing its compact form and looking woolly. These *fleecy* clouds are commonly called cumulus, though the name scud is quite as good, and the name cumulus might better be reserved for the globular electric clouds.

The worthless character of the reasonings in the book as a whole can best be shown by a few illustrations. On p. 21 Mr. Blasius assumes that the collision of a S.W. and a N.W. current would produce a *calm* at their equilibrium (instead of a W. wind). On p. 115 he assumes that at this calm place the air would be "compressed," while everywhere else he speaks of this conflict as the source of low pressure and ascension. On p. 151 he speaks of the trade-winds as "encircling the whole globe," while elsewhere he had allowed that over extensive tracts of both sea and land they did not blow. On p. 138 he assumes that in the southern hemisphere storms will travel from E. to W.; has he ever looked at any records south of lat. 25° S.? On p. 67 occur some remarkable mistakes in the latitude of the zones. On p. 44, in quoting from a French letter, he translates "est" *west*. On p. 22 he exposes his juvenile ignorance of the laws of chance by assuring us that "I repaired during the same autumn and the succeeding year to

Prospect Hill" (the scene of the tornado analyzed) "as often as I saw indications in the clouds of the approach of another tornado."

The following criticism upon the Government system is not without pertinence:

"The Signal Service observations fail to manifest the peculiarities of storms, because they are made only three or four times in the course of 24 hours. The region of low barometer . . . . frequently does not remain in the same position for five minutes at a time, and it is impossible to observe its changes of position and the great contrasts north and south of it . . . . by only three or four daily observations, or even eight, as was agreed by the late Meteorological Congress at Vienna. . . . It is like a zoölogist who, desiring to study different kinds of fishes so large as to require separate observations of their parts, goes to the stream at seven o'clock in the morning and takes notes of the head of the first fish that passes him. He then goes away, and returning at noon punctually notes the tail of a fish swimming off, which is all he sees; in the evening he comes again, and notes the middle of fish number one, which this time is swimming past in the opposite direction. Putting together the three parts he has noted, he constructs a fish; but what kind? Yet this is the method pursued in meteorology, and we can expect to arrive at no better results . . . . by averaging observations made at fixed hours without reference to the changing character of the phenomena observed."

*William Sharp*, Engraver. With a descriptive catalogue of his works. By W. S. Baker. (Philadelphia: Gebbie & Barrie. 1875. Sm. 8vo, pp. 121.)—This little volume contains a fairly well written and intelligent memoir of Sharp, and what seems to be a comprehensive and thorough catalogue of his works. A heliotype copy of his engraving of his own portrait is prefixed to it. We cannot but wish that Mr. Baker had done such honor to the old engraver as to employ one of our engravers to reproduce this portrait on the diminished scale required, instead of allowing the inartistic process of sun-engraving to give us a reproduction that would have excited Sharp's bitter indignation. Sharp was a true artist, and at his best an admirable engraver. His work in portraiture in the maturity of his power may stand comparison with the best, not only in fineness and firmness of technical execution, but in the subtle rendering of character through exquisite draughtmanship, and in thorough appreciation of the limits of his art and its relations to nature and to painting. His engraving of Reynolds's portrait of John Hunter is in its way as good as the original, and is likely long to outlast it. To all collectors of good engravings of the English school this catalogue will be indispensable. We wish that Mr. Baker might give us equally careful monographs of other noted engravers.


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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 22, 1875.*

## The Week.

PROFESSOR MARSH has published the evidence on which his charges against Mr. Saville, the Indian agent at Red Cloud, rest. In the first place, he says that from what he saw of the agent on the spot, he knows him to be incompetent, weak, and vacillating, and unfit for the place; that he had defrauded the Indians by withholding from them provisions charged against the Government, as, for example, on November 8, 1874, when, according to his accounts, there were issued to 12,351 Indians 271,248 pounds of beef, but in reality there were none issued at all; that J. D. Bevier, Indian Inspector, on October 21, 1874, exposed and laid before the Interior Department a fraudulent contract of Saville with his father-in-law, A. R. Appleton; that the number of 12,351 Indians returned by Saville on November 8 was false, as he (Professor Marsh) found by personal examination; that according to an affidavit of one Louis Richard or Reshaw (whose character, he says, is vouched for by General Bradley), the issue of blankets on November 12, 1874, was fraudulent as to quantity and bad in quality; that the beef contract was in the hands of one Bosler, notorious for frauds in former contracts, and for this reason "excluded by the published regulations from any participation in future contracts." Besides this, he gives a certificate of General Bradley, Captain Mix, and Lieutenant Hay as to the "wretched" quality of the rations and the under size and puny condition of beef examined on the 11th of November, 1874, and a certificate of Captain Burt of the Ninth Infantry, dated June 12 of this year, to the following effect:

"I certify that I was present last fall at Red Cloud Agency when Professor O. C. Marsh was there; that we together went to the corral to see an issue of cattle to the Indians; that the cattle we saw at that time were Texas cattle in miserable condition, some of them so weak the Indians could not goad them out of a walk. The cattle were as a rule small in size."

This is only a small part of the evidence, which relates also to pork, flour, sugar, coffee, and tobacco. Professor Marsh addresses his pamphlet to the President, and declines laying it before the Interior Department alone—1st, because he has no confidence whatever in the sincerity of either Mr. Delano or Mr. Smith, they having "long been aware of the abuses," and made no real attempt to reform them; 2d, because he has been convinced in his interviews with these officials that their main object is to prevent publicity, and suppress the facts; 3d, because the evidence in his possession reflects unfavorably on both Secretary Delano and Commissioner Smith. This their best friends will not deny. Under these circumstances, following the practice usual in such cases at Washington, Messrs. Delano and Smith have proceeded to appoint a court to investigate themselves, and the latter has issued a copy of instructions for the court's guidance, the gist of which is that Mr. Marsh is a rather hasty philanthropist, whose charges are vague and indefinite, but, nevertheless, ought to be looked into. This commission is now organized, and Professor Marsh is going on with his work. He has undertaken a very thankless task, having against him the whole force of the Indian "machine," with all the money involved in the Indian contract system, and on his side only a strong sense of duty. A venal press, however, is to be counted on his side, and we very much fear that it will take a great deal of evidence to break the force of the statements made by Professor Marsh and backed by four officers of the army. We must beg to call the attention of several of our correspondents, who wrote to us some time ago remonstrating against any attacks on Mr. Smith, to his present position. He may be a good and pious man, and Prof. Marsh may be mistaken in saying that he makes fraudulent contracts, keeps bad men in office, and tells lies; but his friends ought not to leave him alone now. Some of their certificates to his goodness would be of more value to him now than at any previous time in his life. In his letter to the investigating commission, Mr. Smith states a truth which, in these days, it is always important to bear in mind. He tells the commission that they "will undoubtedly meet with persons of strong partisan feelings enlisted both for and against the administration of the present agent"; and, "as they proceed," they "will become fully aware of the misrepresentations which such partisanship naturally produces," and also of "the extreme difficulty of discovering the truth amid the conflicting statements and allegations." This is a strong position, and looks as if Mr. Smith had learned advisers.

The Cotton-States Congress has managed to add itself to the tolerably long list of public and semi-public bodies who do not know exactly what they wish done with the currency. An inflation resolution was adopted by the Congress on Wednesday, but on Thursday was reconsidered and put over for another year. Besides this, the Congress adopted a resolution demanding national aid for Southern railroads, and another advising the formation of State agricultural bureaus. There is very little inflation news besides this, except that Senator Thurman has been explaining his position as a hard-money man in supporting the Ohio Democratic platform. This explanation is the old story: the inflation plank in Ohio is a "local" affair, and has nothing to do with national politics, and, therefore, as Mr. Thurman thinks that the contractionists can carry the National Convention, he does not care how Ohio goes on this question, and feels bound to support the ticket and consign the Radicals to eternal ruin. The Cincinnati *Commercial* thinks that so much disgust has been inspired by the performances of the Convention that the Republicans will carry the State.

The crops have come into prominent notice during the week, and there has been a large advance in the price of breadstuffs. It is known that there will be more than an average product of cereals in this country, and further that a large part of last year's product has been held back because of the low prices which have until recently prevailed. With this state of facts, there was but one thing which could cause a sustained advance, and that was an extraordinary foreign demand. This has already come, and its continuance is probable. In every part of Europe the weather for the past three weeks has been unfavorable to the degree of threatening disaster. It is known that positive disaster has befallen a large part of France, and that other parts of it have been visited with such heavy rains as to have beaten down beyond recovery the grain, which was in the latest stage of maturity. A large part of the wheat bought here in the past two weeks has been for French account and use. North Germany and England have also suffered from heavy rains. But the chief injury has fallen on the Black Sea provinces of Russia, which more than any section compete in the grain markets with the United States. Excessive heat and swarms of locusts have, according to the latest advices, nearly if not quite ruined the spring and winter wheat. Extreme heat has also injured the wheat crop of Southern Hungary. Of course, speculators have not been slow to take advantage of this condition of affairs, and prices in this country have undoubtedly been carried up higher and faster than they would have been had the market been left to respond only to natural influences. As might have been expected, Chicago speculators have run ahead of all others, and the rise in prices there has been from three to five cents a bushel

for wheat more than here. As to cotton—a much more important staple so far as the foreign trade is concerned—the reports continue very promising, and "authorities" do not hesitate to predict a crop of 4,500,000 bales. These predictions may and probably will be modified, but if the crop is no more than 4,000,000 bales it will be good enough, particularly so far as the South is concerned, for that section will probably raise this year more grain than it will consume—something which it has never done before.

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The importance of good crops may be magnified, but the danger of late has been that it would be underrated, on the ground that because we have had fairly good crops since the panic, and there has not been that recovery in the business condition of the country which was expected, it therefore makes very little difference whether the crops are large or small. Everything which the earth produces, whether it grows or is dug out, is an addition to the wealth of the country; the bartering or exchanging of this wealth may be impeded, but sooner or later its possession and accruing advantages cannot fail to be felt. For a great part of the time since the panic, those who possessed goods or property have not known that those who wished to buy would or could pay, and this want of confidence, which has from time to time been increased by suspensions in unexpected quarters, has had more to do with the dulness which has prevailed than has generally been believed. Besides, the medium by which exchanges are made has been suspected, and will always be so until it is convertible at will into gold. This last drawback is, however, the only one which has not been diminishing in force each day since the culmination of the panic. All others bid fair to obstruct recovery less than in preceding seasons; so that there is good reason for expecting much improvement in the trade of the autumn on which we are now entering. The rise in grain has quickened freights, and the railroads report a larger business, although the trunk lines are not expected to show much gain until after the close of navigation. There has been a rise in railroad securities at the Stock Exchange, buyers having discriminated in favor of roads which will first feel the impetus of the new business. During the week there has been a further decline in gold, because of the extreme ease of the London money market, which is beginning to be felt here, through the increased demand for American securities. The unusually heavy exports of grain have also had their due effect. The specie export for the week was $1,962,221, making the total for the year $57,122,832. The syndicate are selling new fives in Europe more rapidly than ever before, and during the week Mr. Bristow has accordingly been able to call in $10,000,000 more of the five-twenty six per cents.

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The jury in the suit against Niles G. Parker, ex-Treasurer of South Carolina, have rendered a verdict for the State in the sum of $75,000. This is just a third of the amount alleged to have been abstracted from the treasury by Parker, but, as the evidence was mainly circumstantial and very complicated, the jury thought it safest to go no further than they could see; and one witness, Ladd, a former clerk under Parker, having testified that the latter had shown him from his private safe $150,000 of coupons (worth fifty cents on the dollar), and had consulted him about funding them secretly, they were able with a good conscience to agree that the State had been robbed of $75,000. Parker was so confident of acquittal that he offered no evidence in his own defence. He probably relied a good deal on the composition of the jury, which consisted of seven blacks and five whites, described as being, with one or two exceptions, "as ignorant a set of men as could well be picked out," and his conviction must certainly be regarded as accidental. He had procured the disappearance of the two most important witnesses that could be produced against him—namely, Ladd, and one Owens who had funded the stolen coupons as his agent. Ladd, however, was caught and made to tell what he knew, and fortunately he was able to bring into court a letter of Parker's, dated June 2, 1874, in which the ex-Treasurer showed himself anxious to fund his coupons without exposing himself, and ended with the admonition—"You need not keep this letter, but destroy it." Ladd also testified that Parker had admitted to him having received $450,000 of coupons in the settlement with Kimpton, which had been divided as follows: Gov. Scott, $50,000; Neagle, $50,000; Kimpton and himself, $150,000 each. The remaining $50,000 had been "set aside" for Attorney-General Chamberlain. While nobody doubts that the $450,000 came into Parker's hands, we have only his word that he had confederates in this particular act of plunder. The parties implicated have denied all knowledge of the coupon transaction, and it is much more likely that Parker put the whole amount to his own use and profit; at all events, he rejected his opportunity to prove the contrary, though, if he desires it, he may have another chance in the criminal proceedings which are impending. The nature of the fraud in which he has been detected cannot be explained briefly, but what he did was to keep uncancelled the paid conversion-bonds coupons returned to him by the New York agent, transfer them to his own pocket, and put in their place as vouchers coupons which had matured on bonds while still in possession of the State—for example, when hypothecated as collateral for loans to bolster up the credit of the State.

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The attack made by Mr. O'Conor and Judge Davis on the Court of Appeals can hardly be treated with levity, for the charge made against the Court is substantially a charge of fraud. Mr. O'Conor says that the Court, in its opinion in Tweed's case, relied upon an argument of his own which they had before expressly overruled. We do not propose at the present time to go into the merits of the decision, but there are some facts bearing upon the reputation of the Court which it may be as well to recall. When, some few years ago, the old Court of Appeals was broken up and the new one formed, a strong movement developed itself to reform the judiciary by abandoning the elective system. The friends of the elective system carried the day, notwithstanding the frightful warning given by the examples of Barnard, Cardozo, and McCunn, and an examination of the vote showed that the rural parts of the State were really those which had prevented the change, the country population having apparently come to the conclusion that the system "worked well," and that their own judges were good enough for all practical purposes. Now (we regret very much to say it, but the evidence on which the statement rests is public property, and accessible to everybody) there are some peculiar figures relating to the election of one or two of the judges of the present Court who were chosen in Tweed's time, which it is difficult to explain on any other theory than that they are fraudulent. But this is not all, for a very wily, shrewd, and cautious politician, who would hardly have ventured so far had he not good grounds for it, has declared in print the explanation of the figures to be, that one judge was actually "counted in" as the result of a combination between the Ring in the city and the Canal politicians.

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The Chief-Justice, too, is a noted politician, who is generally "up" for some office or other, sometimes the governorship and sometimes the Presidency, and whose name of course becomes the foot-ball of any newspaper that wishes to kick it about. Three years ago he was covered with ridicule because of his alliance with the Greeley movement; and within six months he has appeared in the newspapers abusing one of the counsel engaged in these very Ring suits, and undertaking to explain that certain newspaper attacks on himself were inspired by this lawyer, whose motives the Chief-Justice also analyzed with minute care and opprobrious epithets. We do not at all impugn the honesty of the Chief-Justice; but the known facts of his position, and his strong consequent political appetite, cause him to be added to the list of suspected judges. What is the result? The Court

decides a series of rather complicated cases in favor of a man who was a few years ago the source of that political power to which some of the judges owe their seats. The chief counsel in the Ring cases publishes a manifesto, in which he says almost in so many words that the Court is corrupt, and reminds the judges that by impeachment even guilty courts may be got rid of. The publication of this letter—a letter such as few men in the world would have dared write—necessarily recalls to the mind of everybody such facts as to the history of the Court as those which we have given. These are not conclusive, but they are damaging. Reformers will admit that this is a lamentable result of that purification of the bench which took place eleven years ago. But there is nothing unnatural or surprising in it. It is what every one who saw the reform stop short with the destruction of Barnard, Cardozo, and McCunn, and fail in its attempts upon the system which produced them, must have foreseen would follow. The country statesmen who have kept the elective system alive will, we trust, not overlook the mire into which the Court of Appeals has got itself, and will, when in a communicative mood, let their city brethren know whether they on the whole think that the interests of justice and decency are advanced by the system which produces such results.

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The question which has been agitating Massachusetts for some time with regard to the execution of the "boy-fiend" Pomeroy has had new light thrown upon it during the past week. The theory of the opponents of the execution has been that the boy was an exception to all rules, that his low intelligence prevented his having any knowledge of the atrocity of his own crimes, and therefore it would serve no good end to hang him. Therefore, let us save him, educate him, and make him a good and worthy citizen. Pomeroy has, however, now given abundant proof that his intelligence or cunning is not by any means of a low order, by publishing a long statement, in the Beecher-Tilton manner, going over the "case" from the beginning, and proving by various means that whoever did the mutilating and murdering, he had nothing to do with it. This statement is an artful and cleverly-constructed document, and shows that Pomeroy, of whose guilt there is not a shadow of doubt, would be rather a difficult subject to save and educate. There are a good many criminals in the world whom there is no particular object in saving, and the philanthropists who are trying to do away with capital punishment ought not to forget that the general sense of danger in the community, arising from the feeling that crimes go unpunished, leads in the long run to a determination on the part of the better classes of society to have blood for blood; and this in turn leads to much greater inhumanity and injustice than a well-regulated gallows.

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The College races and the remarkable shooting at Wimbledon have given the past week rather an athletic than an intellectual character. It must be said, however, that a great part of the exultation over both events is due to moral causes. When we go back to the time of the contest between Heenan and Sayers, and think of the disgraceful scenes to which it led, and then consider the bad blood caused by the Oxford and Harvard race, the rifle-shooting becomes remarkable not merely as a proof of great skill, but as a proof of increased ability on the part of all branches of the Anglo-Saxon race to conduct sports fairly and decently. We may say the same of the Saratoga race, where for three days there were sports of all kinds between a great number of colleges, conducted, some of them, in a new and complicated way, yet conducted, as we have always boasted we conduct our sports, with the honest determination that the best man shall win. It has been for some years now, in this country at least, an open question whether athletic sports would be carried on and improved and perfected, or whether they would fall a prey to the general love of money and be "captured" by the horde of swindlers and "professionals" who live on them. It seems pretty clear that some of the best of them will be saved from this fate.

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What the exact nature of the new government of the Samoan Islands is, and whether we ought to "hail" an addition to the area of freedom, or mourn over another land upon which the blight of tyranny has fallen, we do not know. The powers of Mr. Steinberger have not been published, but inasmuch as they seem to have included the election of a chief-magistrate of some sort for four years—nothing is said as to the number of terms to which he is entitled—and the selection of himself as premier for life, they must have been extensive. Whence he derived them is unknown too; but the accounts of him that come from the Pacific coast, where he is said to have spent with a lavish hand "the income he derived through some undiscovered channel from the United States Treasury," are not altogether favorable. He had a Government sloop-of-war with him, we believe, and will no doubt soon set the Samoans progressing at a tremendous rate. As everything in connection with these islands is now interesting, we may recall the fact, which seems to have been overlooked, that they have a religious interest attaching to them, as was pointed out by Captain Wakeman in 1872, when urging upon the Government the necessity of a treaty. The native women, Captain Wakeman then declared, "stand out in all their beatific nudity and loveliness, the emblem of the great Master's handiwork in his happiest mood, a combination of beauty, grace, and innocence which no Christian can look upon without the deepest sentiments of love and admiration, both toward the Creator and the created." At that time, it was understood that a treaty had been negotiated between the Samoan chiefs and the United States by the manager of an Australian line of steamers, one of the clauses of which was: "We do acknowledge the absolute authority of the United States of America with regard to all matters whatever, and bind ourselves to adopt the common laws of America"—perhaps the most thoroughgoing proof of a sincere desire for reform ever given by a simple, savage race.

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The foreign news of the week has been unimportant. The floods on the Garonne have been followed by serious but less disastrous overflows in Wales and England. In the shooting at Wimbledon, individual members of the American Team have fully maintained their prestige for marksmanship and have carried off several prizes. On the Continent, the chief political event is the passage of the Public Powers Bill by the French Assembly, the votes for it being 530. This occurred on Friday, and a vote looking to an adjournment this week till November was carried by a small majority. The debate which followed the annulling of the election of M. Bourgoing in the Department of the Nièvre was very heated. M. Rouher denied the Assembly's right to annul an election on mere documentary evidence, and endeavored in vain to persuade it to break the law and to order a new election. He maintained the right of the Bonapartists to cherish hopes of gaining possession of the Government, as the Legitimists and Orleanists were doing, and of defending the character of their late sovereign, as these factions had done after previous revolutions. This brought down upon him some passionate denunciations (in which Gambetta was conspicuous) as an abettor in the *coup d'état;* but he was firmly met by Ministers Buffet and Dufaure. Buffet said the Government would guard itself against the attacks of revolutionists and Bonapartists, and would keep a special eye on the former, as being, in its opinion, the more dangerous of the two. M. Dufaure said it would not take its eye off the Bonapartists either. Gambetta thereupon attempted to make some capital out of the difference of views between the two ministers, and ended by charging the administration with the support of the Bonapartists. M. Buffet affirmed the rightfulness of its policy in retaining in office loyal functionaries who had served under the Empire, and the debate closed with the Bonapartists in good humor, and Gambetta with an uncomfortable sense of having overshot the mark, while the Government had lost neither strength nor dignity.

## CLASS MORALS AND GOVERNMENT MORALS.

THE demand of the Southern Commercial Convention for Government railroads across the Appalachian Mountains shows that the Cotton States are experiencing somewhat the same difficulty in finding out what ails them that the Western States have been experiencing, and the remedy they propose for their troubles has somewhat the same origin. In criticising the Western desire for fresh issues of greenbacks and for the provision of transportation by the United States Treasury, we are apt to forget the great difference between the political traditions of the East and the West. In the original thirteen States these traditions run back to a period, not very remote, when the State furnished all the government there was, and when the General Government was not in existence. They recall, too, very vividly the fact that the General Government was a creation of the States, in a time of great difficulty and danger, and that they watched over its beginnings with much patience and self-restraint and anxiety. The habit of expecting help or encouragement from it has therefore never taken root on the Eastern seaboard. Even the war has not sufficed to create it. The Federal power has never had hitherto, and has not now, the air of a providence on which the people ought to rely for extrication from their difficulties. Mr. Boutwell tried hard at the last to seduce the commercial world into this way of looking at the Congress and the Administration by his mode of using the public funds, but he did not succeed. He stimulated speculation, and perhaps now and then saved a speculator from ruin, but he did not create a habit of mind. On the whole, and considering the temptations of the last fifteen years, the healthy condition of the Eastern mind is rather remarkable. Neither of the two great political delusions of our own day—the desirableness of inflating the currency and of having railroads built at the Government expense—has really taken much hold of the people in this part of the world.

The traditions of the Western States with regard to the General Government are of a very different character. As far back as the records of the oldest of them goes, the United States was not only in existence, but occupied towards them the position of a ruler and patron. It supplied the earliest protection of their people against the Indians, and the earliest police and administration of justice. It supplied the very territory out of which the State was made, and the earliest public improvements, and the earliest means of regular communication with the civilized world. It is not wonderful, then, if a strong belief in its capacity and resources, and in its paternal character, should have lingered in the political traditions of the new States, and should stay there in spite of the growth of State pride and of much preaching of State rights. Nothing is more natural, when one comes to analyze the matter, than that the Western farmer, who finds that he has settled too far from the market, should begin to cry, and ask the United States to scare away the naughty speculators, and make him a nice new road of his own, on which he could have his corn and hogs carried for as little as he pleased; or that, when he finds that he is short of money, he should call on Uncle Sam to print him some nice new greenbacks, which the wicked foreigners could not or would not take away from him.

One of the greatest benefits likely to be derived from the New York Canal Investigation—indeed, we think *the* greatest—will lie in the lesson it will afford of the danger of Government attempts in a country like this to play the part of a providence. There was, doubtless, a great deal to be said for the construction of the canals at the public expense at a period when the accumulations of private capital were unequal to a task of such magnitude; in fact, the result has shown that it was a piece of sound policy. But it has shown also that the attempt to administer them as a commercial enterprise through State machinery was a great political mistake. The corruption they have bred is now so deeply rooted, and has so thoroughly permeated our society, that we believe the gentlemen engaged in the enquiry on Governor Tilden's Commission are puzzled about a remedy. Some of the abuses have acquired so much strength, and have so blunted the moral sense of the population along the banks of the canals, as to have acquired in their eyes the character of vested interests, of which it would now be unjust to deprive them. In countries in which there is a bureaucracy, with its own discipline, traditions, and standards of honor, like the civil service in Prussia, for instance, and like the regular army among us, it is often possible for the state to carry on great enterprises more honestly and economically than private individuals or corporations could do it; that is to say, by taking plenty of time and using peculiar means and appliances, and under favorable circumstances, you may sometimes create a body of men for the service of the state with morals rather above the average morals of the community at large. But we have no such body except the officers of the regular army, and we have almost made it a matter of policy not to create one. In fact, we have gone further. By offering a smaller quantity of the great social prizes—money and security—as a reward for exertion in the public service than the same kind and amount of labor would bring outside of it, we have lowered the standard of honesty and capacity in that service below that of the community at large, and have thus made it likely that Government work will be done worse than the work of corporations and individuals; that, for instance, Government canals or railroads will be worse administered than similar enterprises carried on by private citizens.

This fact alone, with which everybody is familiar, ought to render the clamor for Government transportation very ridiculous, particularly when it comes from persons who are disgusted with the inefficiency and dishonesty of the present administration of railroad property. There is no reason whatever for supposing that Government railroads or canals would be better than private ones; there are many reasons for supposing that they would be worse. And in judging the present much-abused railroad men, it ought to be remembered, but seldom is, that, as a general rule, not only the government of a country, but the conduct of its great industrial enterprises which are dependent on the general public for support, will represent with more or less accuracy the condition of the popular morals and manners. We pointed out some months ago, in commenting on the suggestion of Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., that the bad manners of railroad officials had doubtless much to do with the popular hostility to the railroads, that the manners of the railroad officers were those of the community in which they lived. They were uncivil in their demeanor because their neighbors and friends were so. In like manner, it may be said with perfect confidence that the morals of the railroad manager are about on a par with those of the Honest Farmer who denounces them so fiercely. If he speculates, jobs, deceives, lies, and repudiates, and considers his own interest more than that of the public, it is because the Farmer would do exactly the same thing in his place, and does do similar things in his own small sphere. It is very rare indeed for officials to stay dishonest under a thoroughly pure and healthy public opinion. No railroad managers could long run a corrupt line through an innocent, unselfish, and God-fearing people. Whenever we hear of the tricks and dodges of which the Farmer is a victim at the hands of the wicked directors and stockholders, we always feel sure that the Farmer himself is by no means above reproach, and that he, too, is probably doing as much in the same field as his more limited opportunities will allow. We doubt, for instance, if the whole history of railroading in this country contains anything more indefensible than the repudiation of public debts which the good Farmer has conceived and successfully carried out in various States. This Southern convention which calls for Government railroads actually recommends a swindle in the same breath, by calling on the Government to repudiate its solemn pledge to the public creditors that the customs duties should be collected in coin and the interest on the public debt paid in the same currency.

The fact is, it is useless and foolish to try to single out any one class of the community as deserving of special reprobation. "We are," as they say over in Brooklyn, "all members one of another." Every large class possesses about the average honesty. If Satan

were going about in search of railroad operators, the Farmer would be very injudicious indeed if he too did not keep out of sight. Whenever "waterers of stock" are called up for judgment, the knees of repudiators of State and county bonds, and those of dishonest agricultural legislators, will undoubtedly shake violently. One of the advantages or disadvantages of the general equality of conditions is that morality, like water, tends to find its level. Whatever stock of it we may have tends to diffuse itself equally over the whole social plane. Nobody can very long keep stored up a much larger supply than his friends and acquaintances, and the importance of remembering this with regard to Government officials cannot be overrated. The notion that the Departments at Washington have moral machinery at their command capable of producing purer and more edifying transportation than Vanderbilt and Scott, is a melancholy hallucination.

## SPAIN AND FRANCE.

A COMMISSION is busy at work drawing up a new constitution for Spain, and it is said that as soon as it is ready the Cortes will be convened and another attempt made at regular government. As the situation of the country has in no respect improved since the accession of Alfonso, and as we see no reason for believing that the new constitution will last any longer than those which have preceded it, there is not much use in discussing its provisions. They will doubtless be adhered to as long as the executive at Madrid finds it convenient to do so, but no longer; and how long that will be it would be hard to say. There has been no material change in the military situation at the north. The Carlists have, on the whole, had the best of the late encounters, and they have, by some means, managed to become possessed of a little artillery, which they use with considerable effect, though they are now said, for the twentieth time, to be hard pressed. The war on neither side is carried on with any pretence of strategy. Neither Alfonsists nor Carlists appear to have a plan of operations. The collisions between the opposing forces seem to be either the result of accident or of pure love of fighting for its own sake. In fact, the conflict resembles the wars of the old Spaniards with the Moors rather than a modern military enterprise, with distinct aims, and a fair prospect of a near termination. The Carlists now and then suffer reverses, but they are never severe enough, and are never followed up closely enough, to dishearten or ruin them, and then they keep the field at much less cost and with much better morale than their opponents. The men are volunteers, who are fighting on their own soil, and who really believe in Don Carlos and in his cause as that of God, while the royal troops are conscripts from various parts of Spain, who take little or no interest in the struggle, and, like most Spaniards of the south, are a little doubtful about everything. So that, although the war may terminate at any moment, there is no apparent reason why it should not go on for five years.

The political combinations and contrivances at Madrid have no real connection with the movements of feeling or opinion through the country at large, and are therefore not worth examination, except as the devices of a parcel of schemers and adventurers who are very short of money, and would like in some way to make their future more sure and at the same time fill the treasury. In fact, it is very doubtful whether all Spanish constitutions are not now drawn up and adopted simply with the view of imposing on foreign money-lenders or raising the price of the national securities. The facility with which the imaginations of creditors may be favorably impressed is now well known to all the impecunious states, and there is a whole series of expedients to which they resort with the view of spreading the impression that they are going to turn over a new leaf. Sometimes they offer to "fund their coupons," which is considered tantamount to saying that the regrettable defaults which have hitherto taken place are now to cease; at others, they found a national bank which is to take charge of the Government accounts, which is considered tantamount to saying that "order will now be infused into the finances"; at others, they put in a new minister, and give out that he is a very different man from his predecessor and will be guilty of none of the old tricks; and at others, again, they offer to pledge something as collateral the value of which depends wholly on their good faith, such as the customs duties. In Spain, the adoption of a new constitution has been found, on the whole, more effective than anything else for imposing on foreigners. If it provides a limited monarchy, with a house of peers, it fills the English bondholder with hope and admiration; if it sets up a republic, it leads the people in the United States to fancy that a better day has at last dawned on the Old World.

Nothing that has occurred in Spain thus far, however, does anything to lessen the probability that a final settlement of her troubles is still far off. The disease from which she is suffering is the same as that from which France is suffering, though in a much less aggravated form, viz., the absence of institutions, or, in other words, of political habits embodied in laws—for laws which are not the expression of political habits do not form institutions; a fact which the people who think states can be saved by new constitutions constantly forget. Habits, however, only grow under the influence of time and of a certain fixity of circumstances. If something exists in a country long enough for people to get used to it and fond of it, or begin to feel the need of it, it contributes to a greater or less extent to the establishment of a regular government, and contributes more than all the debates of all the conventions that ever met. All our own constitutions, Federal and State, owe their strength and durability, not to any originality or deep thinking on the part of the framers, but to the fact that they simply give legal shape to certain customs and ideas already rooted in the soil. There never would have been, for instance, and would not now be, any virtue or value in the habeas corpus, if a horror of detention without trial, or on an arbitrary warrant, had not from time out of memory had firm hold of the Anglo-Saxon mind. What has saved France from anarchy during her repeated revolutions, and, one may say, saved her from the fate of Spain, is that her administrative machinery survived the overthrow of the monarchy, and has become a social necessity. The people will not do without the gendarme, and the prefect, and a disciplined army, but, having these, they care little about the changes of régime in Paris; and the problem over which French politicians have been laboring for the last fifty years, is the establishment of some form of government that will last long enough for the people to become attached to it—that is to say, that will last long enough to become a national custom and to make its overthrow felt as a national calamity.

The Spanish problem is substantially the same, but France has certain advantages in trying to solve it of which Spain knows nothing. One is an army which respects itself, which has great traditions, and which would be mortified by protracted disorder or civil war on French soil, and which considers itself the guardian of the national honor, and eschews politics so far as to obey all orders emanating from the *de-facto* government; another is a well-disciplined civil service, which in like manner feels all impulses from the central source of authority, and does actually execute the laws, by levying the taxes, arresting criminals, and enforcing the conscription. Consequently, revolution in Paris does not involve social disorganization in the provinces. Spain has none of these things, and the political regeneration of the country is, therefore, a much more serious matter, and one with which the form of the Government has little to do. It is safe to say that *any* Government which could now be set up at Madrid, and which could make itself rigidly obeyed for twenty or thirty years, would be a good one, and this is the test we must apply when asking the question whether the Alfonsist monarchy is likely to succeed. What it calls itself, or what it promises, or what it puts into the constitution, is a comparatively unimportant matter, as our eloquent friend Señor Castelar now knows to his cost. If Alfonso is able to stay on the throne, and able to issue even ukases which every man from the Pyrenees to Gibraltar will obey, and will feel sure that every other man will have to obey, he will be as good a

Government as Spain need desire; for a ukase which everybody heeds is, as a mere means of civilization, worth twenty volumes of parliamentary statutes which but few heed.

When we ask ourselves the question, however, whether he is likely to do this, we find ourselves almost as much puzzled as if called upon to predict the length of his life. He is still too young to be judged with any approach to accuracy, and the influences which determine the fate of any Spanish government are too varied to enable anybody to do more than guess as to the duration or character of his reign. There is no public opinion in Spain to be sounded, either in Madrid or in the provinces; and if there were, it would have little to say about the course of things in the capital as long as the army remains what it is. A revolution may any day be wrought by a single regiment, and a government may stay on the throne in spite of the grossest misconduct and corruption or incompetency. In other words, there are no competent judges of Spanish politics. Nobody knows Spain well enough to say what is likely to happen. All that the most competent observer can say is what the writers of travels in Spain and of reminiscences of Spanish life constantly do say—that the Spaniards have very good manners and many fine traits of character, that the women are often handsome, and that public affairs are in a very bad way. The rôle in Christendom played by the country at present is that of a solemn warning not only against priestcraft and absolutism, but against the separation between the customs of a country and its legislation. Law has force and government has solidity only in so far as they rest on the average man's sense of fitness, and on his confidence that legislation is but an exponent of the generally received ideas, and will be generally obeyed as such. If this had been believed without actual experiment, we should have been spared, during the last century, an enormous amount of human misery as well as of windy rhetoric and misdirected zeal.

## THE UNIVERSITY RACE.

SARATOGA, July 15, 1875.

ON the evening of Tuesday there were not wanting men of experience in Saratoga who were quite confident the race would never come off. There were many reasons for this opinion. In the first place, there was the wind, which was certain to get up; and, in the second place, there were the "lanes," a system invented for this occasion, preposterous in itself, and sure to lead to accidents. *A priori*, the argument about the "lanes" seemed convincing. Imagine a course three miles long and a quarter of a mile wide studded with some three hundred little buoys, marked by flags of every color of the rainbow, and a good many colors that no rainbow could reveal, and some of which were very difficult to distinguish at a distance. Imagine, in the second place, thirteen boats placed on this course, a hundred feet apart, rowing at the top of their speed, and each one guided by a particular line of colored flags, to be singled out by the bow-oar from a dense mass of colors growing more and more confused and numerous with each eighth of a mile. How natural it would be for bow to get a diagonal line instead of a straight one, and find himself pulling into a "lane" not his own too late to stop. These arguments appeared to me convincing until I heard those on the other side, which were that the Freshmen crews had been over the ground that very day and found no trouble in keeping to their lanes. To this it might be replied, somewhat inconsequently, that as they were only Freshmen it did not make much difference what they had done. But the beauty of arguments about a race is that they are inexhaustible; and they are almost as good, too, after the race is over as before, inasmuch as if they are justified by the event they may be triumphantly repeated, and, if they are falsified, this is almost always found to be due to some exceptional circumstances which leave the principle untouched. That there would be no race—that there would be the finest race ever seen—that the "lane" system was a great American invention, and that it was a Saratoga swindle—that the Saratoga Rowing Association was another name for John Morrissey, and that John Morrissey has nothing whatever to do with the Saratoga Rowing Association—that Yale would be the best boat on the lake, and that Yale would be beaten all to pieces by Harvard—firmly persuaded of these things we, twenty-five thousand or so knowing fellows that we are, go to bed.

In the morning, the first thing to be done is to get a vehicle of some kind to be taken to the lake, four miles away; and to the credit of Morrissey or the Saratoga Rowing Association or the civic authorities, there was no sort of trouble about this. For $3 it was perfectly easy to get a carriage holding three besides the driver, with a pair of very good horses, and I heard of nothing above $12 being paid for any description of four-seated conveyance. Last year people were made to pay as much as $40 for these four miles. Arrived at the lake, the first thing is to make an examination of the Press Stand, which is almost directly opposite the line of buoys that mark the end of the third mile.

In a race like that rowed yesterday (which, in some important particulars, was unlike any boat-race ever rowed in England or America) the finish is necessarily the great point of interest. On the old plan of a mile and a half out and a mile and a half back again, this was not so. There were three moments of excruciating interest—the start, the finish, and the turn. The grand stand was opposite both the start and the finish, while, the turning-stake being only a mile and a half away, there were apt to be soon after the turn pretty clear indications, except in a very close race, as to the leading boat. Under the system pursued at Saratoga, the grand stand being opposite the finish, the extremely interesting and pretty spectacle of the start is lost, and the turn at the middle of the course is left out. The raising of a flag conveys to the public the fact that the boats are off, and after that the only means of getting the position of the boats is by signalling. An ingenious contrivance to effect this was put up on the Press Stand. It consisted of two rows of numbers, one representing the measured distances, the half-mile, the mile, and so on, the other the numbers of the boats as they were placed in line in the start, Cornell's number, for instance, being 2, Harvard's 12, and so on. These numbers are each painted on one side of a white square, and at the beginning of the race these squares are down, *i. e.*, show only their blank sides. Each one of them has, however, a string attached, by which a man stationed below can pull it up and make the other side show. This he is to do at each half-mile. Supposing that, when the boats have gone over half a mile of the course, the figure ½ shows itself on a white square, and at the same time, on the other row, the figure 10, followed by the figures 12 and 2, appears, this would indicate that at the half-mile Yale was ahead, followed by Harvard and again by Cornell—an arrangement which, the day before the race, would have seemed to most of those at Saratoga eminently natural. If at the mile the squares (which had, of course, meanwhile been dropped) were pulled so as to show the figures 12, 10, 2, this would have indicated that Harvard had passed Yale and was now the leading boat. The course had been so completely buoyed at intervals of an eighth of an mile that there seemed no reason why we should not have in these squares a perfect transcript of the race as it was actually going on. But for some reason or other it did not work perfectly, and the spectator did not get more than a vague impression that Cornell was beating the race. At the finish I doubt if three men on the Press Stand could have told which was the second boat. This, to be sure, was in some measure due to the remarkable evenness of the race, the leading boats being separated only by very short intervals.

We pass half-an-hour in wandering up and down in front of our twenty-five thousand friends. It is already time for the boats to start, but there is a little ripple on the water which looks badly, and as the hour between eleven and twelve wears on, the temper of the crowd becomes despondent. At twelve we go back to the Press Stand. There is evidently some cause for delay at the other end of the course. The flag-man who is to signal the start is fumbling about the ropes very nervously. A gigantic, broad-shouldered, and very dangerous-looking man, who does not look much like a journalist, or a referee, or a judge, or, for that matter, like a professor of religion, is seated on a board at the edge of the lake, giving very hoarse advice to the man with the flag. An imitator of Boyton is paddling about in the water smoking a cigar, enclosed in an apparatus the thought of getting into which would, one would think, almost paralyze the instinct of self-preservation. The sun begins to grow very hot, and the crowd rather dissatisfied.

Suddenly, the nervous man with the flag becomes more nervous still, and begins to pull at it violently, one or two inexperienced representatives of the press begin to make unnecessary and probably unintelligible notes, the dangerous-looking man with the hoarse voice marks the time. A thrill runs through the crowd. They have started at exactly 11.55, and everybody knows that in about seventeen minutes they will be here. The boats of course are nowhere to be seen, and everybody's eyes are turned up to the white squares. It gives a curious sensation, quite unlike that of an old-fashioned start, to find yourselves looking up in the air at these mysterious signals, now so blank and unintelligent, but which seem to have in their own keeping the fate of the race. It is like watching the turn of a card or the revolution of a wheel in a game of chance. There are no boats,

there are no men, nothing but the wide expanse of water, the shining sunlight, and these pitiless squares, with twenty thousand people staring at them. The half-mile is passed, and No. 2 is ahead. If I placed much reliance on the signalling which took place after this, I could give you a very fine specimen of picturesque description, in which, by a little artful touch here and there, the numbers become metamorphosed into boats with living, breathing men—men with hearts, etc., etc. ; but I forbear, chiefly because the signalling was now and then "wild," the numbers rather confusing and difficult to recollect, and the information given by them scanty. To know that Cornell is ahead of Harvard, for instance, is not worth much, unless you know how far ahead, and how the crews are pulling.

Suddenly, almost before you know it, the distant sunlight is alive with boats, a line of twelve, all abreast, growing larger and plainer every moment. While you are still guessing whether the signals are to be relied on, you become suddenly aware that the boats have actually entered the last eighth of a mile, and while you are trying to make out the color of the first, half of them are across the line, and a tremendous volume of sound is rising on every side to welcome the victors. The race is over. We know all about it. The time of Cornell given us by our faithful time-keeper is 16.46¾, the second boat is Harvard, and the third Yale. To be sure this is all wrong ; for the judges made the time 16.53¼, and the second boat was Columbia, and the third Harvard. The race was, so far as the leading boats were concerned, so close as to make it almost impossible at first to get accurate information. Morrissey gave me the time as 16.46¾, which he thought was right, if he got the start right. The discrepancy between his time and the judges' may be accounted for by a mistake made by "George," who helped his chief with the time, but whom I had no opportunity of "interviewing." The time made in the race shows the steady improvement which each year makes in college rowing. One does not need to go back more than a few years to recall the day when anything under nineteen was considered good time, and when anything under eighteen was undreamt of. This, to be sure, was in the day of turning stakes ; but, allowing the traditional thirty seconds for the turn, there is still a margin to be accounted for only by improvement in rowing and improvement in boats. The wind, of course, on such a lake as that of Saratoga may make a great difference, and what wind there was on Wednesday was directly behind the boats. Probably no such time could have been made with the wind ahead or on the beam.

The day before the race the crews of Harvard and Yale had an important consultation, and agreed to recommend their colleges to withdraw from the present organization and return to the old races between Harvard and Yale. These crews have no power except to advise, but their advice must carry great weight with both colleges, and there are some reasons which, not only to them but the public, may seem to make it desirable. There is no connection between the race of this year and the change ; for the matter was determined on Tuesday, for the express purpose of avoiding any misconception. The two colleges, or rather these two crews, have come to the conclusion that owing to the great distance, the difficulty as to quarters, the danger of accidents—a wind, so long as it blows, utterly preventing any race—Saratoga is an objectionable place ; besides which, the admission of a large number of crews swamps the older colleges. This is undoubtedly true. A course a quarter of a mile in width, with thirteen boats, is on so gigantic a scale that the interest, instead of increasing, is rather diminished. The mind is not fixed upon two boats, but wanders over the thirteen in an aimless way. The races that have taken place of late years have been rather surprises than a trial of skill between two pretty evenly matched antagonists whose boating history is well known to every one present. When Columbia beat last year, it was a surprise. Cornell's victory this year was a surprise, not so great to be sure as that of the "Aggies" two or three years ago, but something like it. Then it is impossible to see the race. The finish itself is rather a spectacle than a clearly understood finish. And if you have thirteen boats, why should you not have twenty-five, and the race of the future be a centrifugal race, the boats starting from the center of a circle having a radius of three miles and pulling to the circumference ?

Then besides this, is Saratoga a proper place for the youth of the country to assemble *en masse* at ? Action and reaction are always equal, and therefore it may be very natural that as European Governments have just decided upon closing their Homburgs, we should just be opening ours. But is it necessary that we should send all our children and younger brothers to our Homburg to get their first glimpse of life across a faro-table ? Gambling at Saratoga is just as much a part of the life of the place as drinking the waters. Morrissey's establishment is called a "club," and a club it is, except that the membership is indeterminate, and the play lower as a general thing than in some other clubs. Here in the evening come the male population of Saratoga (parties, I am told, are made up for the ladies in the morning) and stake their money on the red or white. A policeman guards the door ; grey-bearded, venerable men, who are obviously deacons at other times, though here they act as croupiers, rake up the "chips" ; there is a restaurant where you pay for what you buy ; there are our young friends of seventeen and eighteen gambling away their little sums of money. The whole thing is as respectable as possible, and yet, is it a good place for a race? To this question the partisan of Saratoga would reply that it is. You cannot, he would say, break up betting at races, nor preliminary gambling, unless you break up races themselves, and the question is whether the necessary surroundings of a race shall be respectable or not. Formerly, at the old races between Harvard and Yale, there was a regular riot afterwards ; on one well-known occasion a procession was formed in the town of Worcester, which went through the town breaking all the glass windows with billiard-cues. Was there anything like this at Saratoga ? It must be confessed there was not. Never has there been seen a more orderly, quiet, well-behaved set of men than the collegians of this year. Not a single disgraceful thing has been done ; not a single accusation of fraud has been made ; not a claim of foul ; no bad language, no rioting, no disorder. Not only this, but every one of the first six crews is contented, for they all made excellent time, and each one of them that did not beat is satisfied that its defeat, though of course primarily due to having come in after other boats had got over the line, was really ultimately caused by an unforeseen accident, never likely to occur again. Let us moralize at some other time, and admit that the first "lane" race in America was a wonderful success.

## COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

London, June 19, 1875.

SOME ten years ago a friend of mine, who was at that time employed as an assistant commissioner to some education commission, consulted me upon the question of compulsory education. We were uneducated at that time in the matter of interference by law with individual freedom. During the decade that has passed since then we have become accustomed to the newer dispensation, and we can listen with equanimity, if not with enthusiasm, to any scheme, however wild, in the direction of interference. Interference by means of an army of inspectors or some such agency is the radical panacea for most social or political disorders. My friend, however, was one of those brave men who lived before Agamemnon, and he was opposed to any proposal which would involve direct interference by law between parent and child. From what he had gathered in his enquiries throughout the rural districts, he considered that compulsory education was impracticable in England ; that there was no real demand for it from any quarter except from the schoolmasters who wished to fill their schools, and from the political doctrinaires who wished to carry out their crotchets ; and that, even if it were honestly demanded, he did not see how any machinery for enforcing it could be devised. He was a man of intelligence and liberal sentiments, and he convinced me that the question was full of serious difficulties. I advised him, however, not to dogmatize in his report upon the subject, but to balance the arguments for and against compulsion, and to leave the decision of the question to the commissioners, his superiors. He followed my advice, and the commissioners adopted a similar respectful policy. They shirked the question, and left the decision to Parliament ; and Parliament, when it passed the Education Act of 1869, shirked the question also, and threw the responsibility of deciding upon every parish and every borough in the country. By that Act, the most illogical of all principles—that, namely, of "Permissive Compulsion"—was established. School-boards were permitted to be set up in any parish or borough where they were required, and these school-boards, when they were set up, were permitted to pass by-laws under which compulsory education might be enforced. Thus two distinct processes were put in train, but as both of them were permissive, there has been no inconsiderable difficulty and some inconsistency in carrying them out to completion. Parish A may have been fortunate, or the reverse, in having one or two energetic Dissenters living within its precincts, who saw the means of inflicting an indirect blow upon the Church through its schools, and these gentlemen may have gone about and roused enough enthusiasm in the parish to secure a school-board ; and this school-board may have been sufficiently enlightened, or the reverse, to pass a series of by-laws to enforce attendance at school within the jurisdiction of the school-board. Parish B, on the other hand, separated from Parish A by a hedge or a ditch, or possibly not separated by any tangible or visible boundary, may have been unencumbered by a single Dissenter. A series of vigorous vicars may have—to use the stereotyped language of the rural

clergy of the Church of England when speaking of their brother Christians who do not conform—"broken the neck of Dissent" and "stamped the Nonconformists out." Parish B, therefore, has no school-board, and, having no school-board, and perhaps no school, it has no by-laws to enforce attendance at school. You have, therefore, this anomalous state of things in rural England: on one side of a hedge you have a district in which every child must go to school on the penalty to his parents of a fine or imprisonment; on the other side of the hedge no child in the district is required to enter a school-door. And, so far as the law is concerned, every child living in that district may be employed from one year's end to the other earning money for his parents in the adjoining parish on the other side of the hedge where children of his own age are prohibited from earning a penny until they can read, write, and count. I do not say whether the parishioners of A or those of B are likely to turn out the most useful members of society in the long run. That is not the question. Hodge, the agricultural laborer, living on twelve or fifteen shillings a week, is not a being who looks to the long run. He wants food for himself and his wife and the younger children, and he does not see the justice of being compelled to withdraw his elder children from field-work in order to send them to school, while Prodgers, in the adjoining parish, being free to do what he likes with his own, sends the young Prodgers to do the work and earn the money that the young Hodges are compelled to give up.

The extent to which this anomalous state of matters prevails can be seen only by referring to statistics. There are in England and Wales 225 municipal boroughs, and school-boards have been set up in 114, or about 50 per cent., of these boroughs. There are also 14,082 civil parishes, and school-boards have been set up in 1,479, or about 10 per cent., of these civil parishes. In 85 per cent. of the boroughs in which school-boards have been set up, by-laws enforcing attendance at school have been passed, and in 21 per cent. only of the civil parishes which have established school-boards have by-laws been passed. It thus appears that one parish in every ten has emancipated itself from Church schools, but only one in five of those so emancipated has thought it worth while to pass compulsory laws.

From these figures, it would appear that my educational friend was not far wrong when he made up his mind that the principle of compulsory attendance at school did not meet with much acceptance in the rural districts. But, on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the rural districts in England are still under the thraldom of the clergy of the Established Church, and that any attempt to enforce the provisions of the Education Act so as to interfere with the clerical supremacy over the schools frequented by the humbler classes, has been determinedly opposed. It must also be kept in view that parishes and boroughs are, after all, but arbitrary units of population, taken in deference to ancient traditions and associations and for convenience. If the *population* under school-boards and under by-laws be massed irrespective of the division into parishes and boroughs, the statistics are more favorable to compulsion. The total population of England and Wales is nearly twenty-three millions, and of this no less than eleven millions, or fifty per cent., are under school-boards, and nearly nine millions are under by-laws. So that, considering the short time that the Education Act has been in operation, the promoters of it may feel fairly satisfied in having already persuaded nearly one-half of the population of the country to accept the illogical principles on which the compulsory provisions are based.

But the anomalies pointed at in the earlier part of this letter as existing in the rural districts, are too glaring not to attract attention. They can be remedied in only one of two ways; compulsory attendance at school must either be made universal or it must be given up. Mr. Dixon, the Radical member for Birmingham, and Chairman of the Birmingham Education League, has introduced a bill for the purpose of making it universal, and the bill was discussed and thrown out last week. His proposal was logical, but it was handicapped heavily by the only means which he suggests for applying the system universally,-viz., the compulsory extension of school-boards. Just at present local rates are regarded by farmers —and by land-owners, too, for that matter—as the invention of the evil one. They see their burdens increasing year by year from this agency, and they do not see how to escape from them. Local rates have twined themselves round the unhappy occupier, and he cannot shake himself free of them. A wail comes up periodically from every corner of England, uttered by the rate-ridden occupier in the very anguish of despair. Any sort of local board suggests to his mind new rates and new burdens; and a school-board more than any other kind of local board is an abhorrence to him. A school-board takes money out of one of his pockets by saddling him with a school-rate to keep up the schools, and it takes money out of the other pocket by depriving him of child-labor and compelling him to employ a man to do what a child used to do before these educational notions came into vogue. So long, therefore, as the British farmer or the British squire is in his present mood, there is no chance of universal compulsion being carried out by means of universal school-boards. It is no use pointing to Scotland, where school-boards and compulsion are both universal, and where the system is said to work smoothly and cheaply both in town and country. The English farmer knows little of Scotland, and what he does know he does not like. If Mr. Dixon cannot suggest any other means of extending compulsory education, he may as well leave it alone. With the clergy and the farmers banded together against him, and the Tories in power, he has no more chance of passing his bill than Sir Wilfrid Lawson has of passing his Permissive Bill or Dr. Kenealy of getting the fat convict of Wapping out of prison. Neither is there any chance of the doctrinaires giving up their hold upon the fragment of compulsion that they have secured in the rural districts, and the real, substantial slice of it they have secured in the boroughs. We must go on submitting to these anomalies as we do to many others in our queer, disjointed, and illogical social institutions. Hodge must go on seeing the bread taken out of his mouth by Prodgers's children, while his boys and girls are getting their heads stuffed with reading, writing, and arithmetic. Poor Hodge does not see anything but hardship in it. But he has submitted to hardship all his life, and this is only the old thing in a new shape. Let us hope that he may live to see his sons earning their £150 or £200 a year in a bank in the county town, and his daughters settled, as certificated teachers or telegraph clerks, on an annual income greater than the aggregate amount which their father earned in half-a-dozen years; and possibly at the same time the young Prodgers will be as the old Prodgers, earning wages at 12s. or 15s. a week in field labor, and crying out against the tyranny of compulsory education.

## NEW UNIVERSITIES IN FRANCE.

PARIS, July 2, 1875.

PUBLIC instruction is divided into three parts in France, viz., primary, secondary, and the higher. The primary education is given in municipal schools, the secondary education in municipal or state colleges, and the higher instruction in the various faculties of the university. There is only one great University—a state university—though the faculties exist in more than one place. The Minister of Public Instruction is officially termed the Grand Master of the University. This organization bears the marks of the great centralization achieved by the French Revolution and by the Emperor Napoleon. The Revolution took the work of education from the hands of the Catholic clergy, and the university in all its branches preserved a completely lay character. It was not till long after the Revolution that the clergy claimed the right to open colleges; the struggle was conducted with more vigor than success by Lacordaire, by Montalembert, and others, under the reign of Louis Philippe; they called themselves the champions of the liberty of teaching; they were condemned before a court of justice for having opened a school without the authorization of the Grand Master of the University. It was a striking spectacle to see a peer of France and a Dominican monk defend themselves in the name of liberty against an administration which called itself liberal. The movement in favor of free teaching was hardly perceptible at first, but under the currents of politics ran the invisible currents of the religious life. The Revolution of 1848 did more than anything for the cause which Montalembert had vainly defended; all the conservative instincts of the country became alarmed, and Napoleon III. easily obtained the influence of the Catholic clergy when he promised M. de Falloux that he would leave the field of education open for all. During the Second Empire, the University and the Catholic clergy divided between themselves the work of secondary education; a number of colleges were opened by priests. The Jesuits have now in Paris, in the rue des Postes, an enormous establishment, specially devoted to the candidates for the two great military schools, the Polytechnic and St. Cyr. They have very able teachers, and they now send every year a number of young men, educated under their influence, into the ranks of the army. Bishop Dupanloup has a very large college near Orléans; I could cite many others.

Secondary education had practically become free; but what we call the higher instruction still remained a monopoly of the University. It was so in a double sense; there are no other faculties of law, of medicine, of science, of letters than those which are directly controlled by the University, and these faculties alone can confer the degrees which are necessary in France for the exercise of all the so-called liberal professions. The National Assembly has just framed a law which allows the establishment of new universities, with faculties of law, of medicine, or letters and sciences. The Bishop of Orléans was the principal orator who advocated the rights of the

church to dispense the higher instruction ; but the law was not distinctly made for the benefit of the church; and, though the teaching of the State University may be considered on the whole as very liberal, it is supposed that the Positivists, the scientific philosophers, will try to establish a university of their own in Paris. The Catholics intend to make at first a great university at Angers, on the plan of the Catholic university of Louvain in Belgium. One cannot help being struck with the increasing resemblance between French and Belgian affairs ; the Belgians have their free university of Brussels, which is very liberal in tone, and their Catholic university of Louvain, which is Ultramontane. We shall probably soon have our free university of Paris and our Catholic university of Angers.

It is, however, no small affair to organize a great university, with all its faculties ; such an enterprise requires not only a great outlay of capital in building, grounds, laboratories, collections, and libraries, but it requires a strong, solid staff of teachers, ready to compete with the teachers of the state. The Catholics will be ready to give much money for such a purpose, but the Catholic clergy will perhaps at first have some difficulty in finding in its own ranks a sufficient number of professors of law, of medicine, of science. It is wonderful, however, in what a short time the clergy has risen from the profound ignorance in which it was kept—I mean, of course, in certain matters which were out of its traditional culture. I will take architecture, for instance : there was a time when all our churches were spoiled as much as they could be by ignorant priests ; now there are lecturers on architecture in all the seminaries, and some priests have become authorities on various styles of Gothic or Roman art. Father Secchi is a great astronomer ; Father Moigno, now a chaplain at Saint Denis, is well acquainted with science. But a university needs more than a few distinguished men; it must have a whole phalanx. The Freethinkers, the Positivists, will have to contend with other difficulties in their own university ; there is so much freedom allowed in the teaching of the State University that there is hardly room for an advanced university. There are sensational lectures at the Collége de France, at the École de Médecine, where the young men of the Latin Quarter can vociferate and show their colors.

The number of high professorships now already existing is already very large. I find in the *Annuaire* of Public Instruction, published in 1874, the following number for Paris alone : Faculty of theology, 7 professorships ; of law, 24 ; of medicine, 33 ; of sciences, 18 ; of letters, 13 ; College of France, 36 ; School of Pharmacy, 9 ; Museum of Natural History, 17 ; School of Oriental Languages, 14 ; School of Hautes Études, 17 ; École de Chartes, 7 ; High Normal School, 26 ; School of Archæology attached to the National Library, 1 ; professorships at the School of Fine Arts which have not a technical character, 4. Total, 226, reckoning only those which are of free access and which have no technical object. There are, besides, numerous professorships at the Polytechnic School, at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, at the School of Mines, at the School of the Ponts et Chaussées. I have not counted on my list the two free schools, the School of Political Sciences and the School of Religious Studies. Paris, as you will see, is not ill provided with the means of giving high instruction.

Let us now look at the provinces. I have classified the centres of high culture by the number of their professorships ; my list will give you a sort of intellectual geography of France. Nancy has faculties of law, medicine, science, and letters, and a school of pharmacy—in all, 47 professorships. Bordeaux, with faculties of theology, of law, of letters, and a school of medicine, has 41 ; Montpellier, with its faculties of medicine, of sciences, of letters, and its school of pharmacy, 38 ; Toulouse, 36 ; Aix and Marseilles together, 35 ; Lille and Douai together, 32 ; Lyons, 29 ; Rennes, 29 ; Grenoble, 28 ; Caen, 28 ; Poitiers, 28 ; Dijon, 27 ; Rouen, 23 ; Clermont-Ferrand, 20 ; Besançon, 19 ; Nantes, 19 ; Angers, 19 ; Tours, 10 ; Algiers, 8 ; Arras, 8 ; Limoges, 8 ; Chambéry, 7 ; Montauban, 7. This makes in all, in 25 different towns, 71 establishments, faculties, or schools of medicine, and 546 professorships. It must be added that only four cities have complete universities where all the faculties are found together, viz., Nancy, Bordeaux, Montpellier, and Toulouse. These four cities alone can be compared to the German universities. It is clear, therefore, that the province is not so well provided with the means of high culture as the capital ; and in this field, as in many others, the process of centralization has been injurious to the country. It is all the more so because Paris is not a very desirable centre of education in many respects. Its pleasures are too absorbing, and living is too dear in it for many young men.

If addition is made of all the high professorships in Paris and in the provinces, we find the total to be 772 ; in the 21 universities of the present German Empire we find as many as 1,700. The proportion shows clearly that much remains to be done in France in order to provide the highest class of education ; and we cannot, therefore, join in the cry which has been made against the so-called Ultramontane law of the Chamber. Since the state has concentrated the means of higher education in five cities only, it will be well if the church or private associations institute complete universities in other places. It is not a little absurd, for instance, that in a place like Lyons there should be no faculty of letters, no public lectures on history, on literature, etc. Most of our divided faculties in the provincial towns have a mere vegetative existence. I long ago came to the conclusion that all the faculties ought to be concentrated together as they are in the smaller German universities. This concentration attracts a large population of students, it creates healthy rivalries, it facilitates the formation of larger libraries. When a city has only one or two faculties, they become a mere luxury ; the professors soon find themselves without an audience. Our present seventy-one provincial establishments might with great advantage be reduced to about fifteen ; these fifteen would become alive, while the seventy-one are dormant ; but it is always difficult to deprive a provincial town even of what it has ceased to use for a long time. The all-powerful state could do so, however, by withdrawing its subventions, as the small cities could not keep faculties at their own expense. On the whole, the new law ought to be approved by those who desire that high instruction should be spread all over the country, and that Paris should not have, with four other cities, its monopoly. It will satisfy also those who believe that there is too much routine in the teaching of the French State University. I am not afraid of the intrusion of error in matters of science ; the truth will defend itself. A professor of geology in a *soutane* cannot alter the series of formations or change the name of fossils. There is something pleasant in diversity ; the facts are always the same (as Madame de Staël said : "Rien n'est bête comme un fait"), but they may be interpreted in various ways. It is well that they should be, and that men be forced to choose. France may receive a new development from the free rivalry of various universities ; the great practical difficulty lies only in the right of giving degrees, as these degrees are necessary for all the liberal professions. Under the present system, the degrees are conferred by the professors of the university ; if every new university is allowed to give degrees, these degrees will be only worth what the university is worth, and the public will not be able to judge between a doctor of Angers and a doctor of Toulouse. The Assembly has provided that the examination for the degrees shall be passed before a mixed commission, composed half of professors of the State University and half of professors of the free university at which the student wishes to graduate. But this arrangement may be rejected at the third reading of the law, for it has only been read twice as yet, and there is a terrific opposition against the system which would take away from the state the exclusive right of conferring degrees.

## Notes.

THE Smithsonian Institution and the Indian Bureau are engaged in forming for the Centennial a collection exhibiting the past and present history of the aboriginal races of this continent. To this end, they solicit donations of prehistoric relics as well as of modern objects bearing upon ethnology or manners and customs, including skulls, skeletons, photographic portraits, etc., etc. The ultimate destination of these contributions will be the National Museum, unless in exceptional cases, when the Institution may be glad to borrow what owners are not ready to part with. Transportation will be paid for on receipt in Washington. For detailed instructions, application should be made to Prof. Henry.——A biography of General Thomas and a history of the Army of the Cumberland are in preparation by Chaplain Van Horne, of the regular army.——William W. Wheildon's 'New History of the Battle of Bunker Hill' has reached a second edition. It is cleverly arranged, and furnishes a good deal of information not embraced in the other histories we have already noticed. The map is the same as that which accompanied Pulsifer's. The partisans of Prescott and of Putnam respectively should be satisfied with Mr. Wheildon's adjustment of their rival claims ; no one man commanded at Bunker Hill, but it may be regarded as a double fight under the two commanders just mentioned. Mr. Wheildon has in press 'Beacon Hill : the Beacon and the Monument.' ——The Boston Common Council have voted to take the necessary steps to complete, so far as practicable, the record of births, marriages, and deaths in that city prior to 1849, and have confirmed the mayor's judicious appointment of Messrs. W. H. Whitmore and Wm. S. Appleton to serve without pay as Record Commissioners for five years ——John Wiley & Son add to their series of reprints of Ruskin's works the selections made from his 'Modern Painters' by his friend "the younger lady of the Thwaite, Coniston," under the title of 'Frondes Agrestes.' In the foot-notes, which are new, the author plays the part of the Greek chorus towards his former

opinions.—'De Parodiis eis quibus exprimitur a comicis Graecis iudicium seu censura disseruit Theophilus Sihler' is the title of a Leipsic doctor's dissertation, which shows everywhere diligence, research, and thorough reading, and is not without interest. But there are many things in the Latinity which must shock the taste of the *amplissimus philosophorum ordo*, and the printing of the Greek extracts is to the last degree slovenly and wild.

—The unusual features of *Harper's* for August are a short poem, "Sunrise in Venice," by Joaquin Miller, and Mr. Longfellow's "Morituri Salutamus," which everybody has read in the magazine or, by courtesy, in the newspapers. Of the first four illustrated prose articles, it is enough to mention their titles, and to say that the illustrations are the best part of them. They treat of the origin of the express business ("An American Enterprise"); the "Ancient Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona"—a well-written paper; "Caricatures of Women" (by Mr. Parton); and "Moosehead Lake," by Rev. J. H. Ward. Professor Rau's readers may congratulate themselves that his admirably clear and learned series of articles on the "Stone Age in Europe" is not yet terminated; the public at large, we hope, may count on the privilege of owning them hereafter in book-form. Extremely valuable for reference is the centennial paper (the tenth) of this number, on the "Growth and Distribution of Population," by Gen. Francis A. Walker. The progress of each of the thirteen States from its first settlement is given in detail according to the best authorities, and from 1790 the census returns are variously made use of to exhibit the extension of settlement, the increasing proportion of city to total population (from a thirtieth, 1790, to a fifth, 1870), the centre of gravity of population, the arithmetical process of the national growth, the development of the postal service, the constituents of our population, etc., etc. The particulars of the last-century immigration are very interesting, and many of them we have found not familiar to us. The inter-State migration is illustrated by two shaded maps, which have not, so far as we know, been published elsewhere, showing the territory which New Yorkers and South Carolinians respectively had by natural selection gone out to occupy when overtaken by the census of 1870. As regards the old question of native and foreign fecundity in the United States, Prof. Walker expresses himself very decidedly: "There is not the shadow of a statistical reason for attributing to the native American population, prior to the War of Secession, a deficiency in reproductive vigor compared with any people that ever lived upon the face of the earth."

—During the past few years the sums of money raised by the alumni of various colleges in the country for their general objects, by means of small subscriptions, have been quite large. Yale has, we believe, collected a larger sum than any other, while the Harvard fund would have been as large had it not been for an independent subscription made necessary by the Boston fire, which also had to come out of the pockets of the graduates. The original intention of the Harvard fund was the collection of a sum of $500,000 from all the graduates, $10,000 on an average being the sum expected from some fifty classes. This amount was to be raised in ten years, and the trustees of the fund were to receive the payments made by the collectors in the various classes, and whenever these amounted to $50,000, turn them over to the college. $100,000 has been paid to the college, and we understand that the trustees are now in receipt of a considerable sum towards the second hundred thousand. The statistics of the money collected from the classes show great differences in the total amounts credited to each, but whether these differences come from a difference in wealth or zeal does not of course appear. The great merit of funds of this sort is that they give an opportunity to modest people, who dislike connecting their names with their good works, to promote the cause of sound education without a needless flourish of trumpets, and without being put to the necessity of finding some previously unheard-of object for which to make a separate and generally insufficient foundation.

—That the American genius is too inventive will be allowed, we suppose, by any one who has given any attention to the subject. A curious illustration of this is furnished in a paper read before the Medico-Legal Society of New York by Dr. Frank H. Hamilton, which has been printed in the St. Louis *Medical and Surgical Journal* for July, and separately. It appears that the surgeon, of all medical practitioners, is peculiarly liable to prosecution for malpractice, and that during the period from 1833 to 1861, or thereabouts, so frequent were these prosecutions in New York, and also in the Eastern and Western States, that "many eminent surgeons felt compelled in self-protection to abandon the practice of surgery." Latterly, the danger to the profession has again revived, and Dr. Hamilton was recently addressed by a brother physician with reference to "some kind of a contract which he had been informed was used by the professor when taking charge of important surgical cases. In the midst of an ignorant community," he wrote, "he had learned the folly of being perfectly unprotected while carrying on quite an extensive surgical practice, and asked for a copy of such paper or contract." This was only a sample of many letters which had been received by Dr. Hamilton. The branch of surgery most exposed to prosecution was that of fractures and dislocations, in which American surgeons have a high reputation abroad, as, from the mechanical nature of these operations, was to be expected. But herein seems to have lain their peril; for they relied too much on their improved appliances, and promised better results to their patients than they were able to achieve, the line between the possible and impossible not having been drawn by carefully collected statistics until Dr. Hamilton himself began the task in 1849. In the meantime, a change has been going on in the treatment of fractures, and there has been a partial return to old and discarded methods, and the surgeon who now employs the forms of apparatus or dressing in vogue twenty-five years ago does so at the risk of being held responsible for an error of judgment in resorting to an obsolete practice. On the other hand, to adopt the new methods implies a guarantee of the inventor's claim in regard to their efficiency, and a failure to make good this claim will be attributed, not to the preposterousness of it, but to the surgeon's want of skill. So, between the over-sanguine inventor and the public which is quite ready to admit his pretensions, having the American mania for "improvements," the surgeon is certainly ill at ease. Nothing will save him, concludes Dr. Hamilton, "but the Truth, and in such a form that it can be made available by the profession, the public, the lawyer, and the courts."

—The comparatively small amount of attention bestowed by our press on the death of Professor J. E. Cairnes we are afraid is due to the curious absence of his name from the popular biographical dictionaries. This again is due, we fear, to the retirement imposed on him by ill health during the twenty best years of his life. He was during nearly the whole of that period a martyr to rheumatism in its worst form, and, we presume, to it he finally succumbed. He was an Irishman, and a graduate of Trinity College, and gave very early proofs of ability in the field which he afterwards cultivated so successfully. He held the Whately Professorship of Political Economy about 1857—but we cannot vouch for our dates—and was Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Queen's College, Galway, when our war broke out. The only thing he had then published was a small volume based on his lectures, entitled 'The Logical Method of Political Economy.' On the outbreak of the war he made what we think it is fair to call the first conspicuous attempt to set the British public right as to the nature of the struggle, by a lecture delivered before the Dublin Young Men's Christian Association, in 1862, at which the Lord-Lieutenant, the Irish Solicitor-General, and other distinguished men were present, on "The American Revolution." College lectures, delivered subsequently, in elucidation of the way in which the course of political history is affected by economic agencies, led to the publication of his book on 'The Slave Power,' which at the time attracted so much attention, and which was so much prized here as almost the only contribution of any weight to the American side of the controversy which appeared in England during the war. It is not possible to appreciate the book at its real value now, when so many things have been made plain which, to the English mind at least, at that period were dark or obscure; but it was and is the ablest essay on the origin of the struggle, and on the constitution and tendencies of slave society, which has appeared on the other side of the Atlantic, and the successive editions of it which were published had perhaps more influence than anything else in turning the tide of English opinion. The decline in his health compelled Professor Cairnes's retirement from his chair and from Galway, and he fixed his residence in the neighborhood of London, where he remained until his death, and was appointed Emeritus Professor of Political Economy in the London University, and, we believe, delivered occasional lectures. But his work thenceforward consisted mainly in contributions to the leading reviews, on economical questions of the day. A collection of these in a volume, entitled 'Essays in Political Economy, Theoretical and Applied,' was published two years ago, and has been noticed in these columns. It was followed last year by his work on 'Some Leading Principles of Political Economy,' which is his principal contribution to the literature of his subject, and which we have also reviewed. No economical writer in England has, since Mill, commanded so much of public attention and respect, and when one reads what he accomplished while struggling with a cruel disease, one cannot but mourn deeply over the restrictions thus imposed on him, and the early termination of a career which, even with these disadvantages, was exceptionally brilliant. He was a disciple of Mill, but had enjoyed a more steadying education, and was thus saved from some of the later eccentricities of that philosopher, though he shared his expectation of great

political regeneration through female suffrage. It is unpardonable—considering the amount of rubbish the work contains—almost ludicrously unpardonable, to find his name omitted from the latest edition of 'Men of the Time.' And we are sorry to add that no mention is made of him in the New American Encyclopædia.

—Mr. George Birdwood points out in the *Athenæum* of July 3 some of the botanical anachronisms which he had observed in the paintings at the Academy Exhibition. The first example that he cites is the worst: "In 'Anne Page and Slender' Mr. Cope introduces, all of a row, the *Tulipa Gesneriana*, not known in England before 1577; the Red Geranium, introduced in 1710; the Camellia, in 1739, and the Chinese Primrose, in 1820." Mr. Bedford's posing his "Hermione" between a lemon and an orange tree reminds the critic that neither was known to the Greeks and Romans, or perhaps was ever seen by Shakspere himself. "The first orange was planted, it is said, in England (in Beddington Park) in 1595, and it was a century later before it came to be generally grown in England. The lemon was not introduced until 1648." Even Mr. Alma-Tadema's learning does not save him from Mr. Birdwood's chronological yard-stick, though the latter may misinterpret the flowers which he calls "some species of Allium" and "a crocus (?)," and which, he says, would not be found flowering at the same time. "In flower pictures artists habitually group together flowers which never flower together, and habitually introduce plants of the New World into pictures of the ancient life of the Old World"—for example, the aloe, cactus, and maize, which Europe owes to the discovery of America. Accuracy in these particulars is, as Mr. Birdwood suggests, worth aiming at by artists and novelists. We append the sources of information which he enumerates. A review of Merivale's essay ('Historical Studies,' London, 1865) may be found in Vol. III. of the *Nation*, p. 490:

"Loudon's 'Encyclopædia of Plants' gives the date of the introduction of every exotic plant into England. Gerard's 'Herbal' is a complete encyclopædia of the plants known in England in the seventeenth century; and in Pearson's 'Historical Maps of England' there is invaluable information regarding the ancient fuels and woods and landscape of England. Daubeny's 'Plants of the Ancients' gives a complete list of the trees and shrubs indigenous to Italy and Greece. The great work of Schouw may well have been overlooked by English artists, but they must be familiar with the late Mr. Herman Merivale's delightful 'Essay on the Landscape of the Ancients'—a good example of the charm which a true scholar can impart to the exact correctness of a scientific treatise."

—Christian II. of Denmark is a prince who has come down in history with a reputation as unequivocal as that of Richard III. or Tiberius. We might, to be sure, have expected to see him vindicated by modern criticism, but were not quite prepared for the form which the vindication has taken. Miss Otlé, author of a history of Scandinavia, recently published, reviews in the *Academy* (May 15) the unfinished history of the Northern Kingdoms from 1497 to 1536 by the late C. F. Allen, we believe the most eminent of the Danish historians. This author, she says, "has found a royal hero after his own heart in Christian II., who, forsaking the traditions of his family, the prejudices of his rank, and the tendencies of his early religious training, endeavored summarily to trample aristocracy into the dust, to raise democracy to be the mainstay of royalty, and to annihilate the entire system of the Romish hierarchy." The critic goes on to censure the onesidedness with which the historian extenuates the cruelties and perfidies of which the king was guilty in his efforts for reforms in themselves desirable; for it was to the unlimited sway of the nobility, confirmed under the early kings of the House of Oldenburg, that the subsequent decay of Denmark was due. It is interesting to compare Herr Allen's view of Christian II. with that of Michelet, to which we recently drew attention, and which seems to reconcile the statements above made with the familiar fact that Christian is known as a champion of Catholicism. It seems to have been a pure matter of policy. "This man," says Michelet, "who on one occasion hunted a bishop with dogs, now associated his court with that of the Catholic religion"; his was, he adds, "a magic name, which always rallied the Catholics and the peasantry."

## PATTISON'S CASAUBON.*

MR. PATTISON'S work could not be described in the set phrase of the day as "the life and times of Casaubon." It is what it purports to be, a biography, and because Mr. Pattison has the rare self-restraint to confine himself to the functions of a biographer, he has produced a book which is a model of biography, and for that reason a most instructive contribution to the true understanding of history. A "life and times" is, even in the hands of so meritorious an author as Mr. Motley, certain to become either a biography encumbered with irrelevant matter, or a history cramped, curtailed, and distorted in the endeavor to force the events of a period into the limits of an individual life. Biography, though it cannot be history, has an important relation to historical study. It supplements and tests the work of the historian. A biographer's object is, if he understands his part, to narrate, illustrate, and explain the life of an individual. But the minuteness, the individuality, the reality of biography at once tests and gives meaning, substance, and truth to the generalities of history, for a general proposition must, if it be worth anything, be true of the particulars which it includes, and historical generalizations can be neither put to the proof nor understood unless they are tried and explained by the lives of individual men and women. To estimate the exact worth of Mr. Pattison's minute research, or to weigh the precise merit of his criticisms on Casaubon's scholarship, requires a knowledge equal to Mr. Pattison's own, to which few persons have any claim. The general character of the work and its historical interest, however, may be appreciated by any educated person who studies it with care.

The primary fact which is apparent on the most cursory survey of the book is that Mr. Pattison has held it to be the first duty of a biographer to discover, as far as may be, and narrate in the plainest language the facts of his hero's life. This duty he has performed with an amount of laborious conscientiousness which would have been fully appreciated by Casaubon himself, but is not likely to obtain its due praise from a generation who delight in sentimental reflections and bold generalizations, but have no sympathy with the love of accuracy, which is at bottom the love of truth. The first page of the work affords an example of Mr. Pattison's quality. It contains two notes. The first examines thoroughly the question whether Casaubon's mother was named "Mergine" or "Meugine" or "Mengine." The second exposes the mistake of writers who have thought that Casaubon's father came from Dauphiné, whereas his native province was Gascony. If any reader thinks lightly of such accuracy, he will soon discover from the book itself examples of the importance of minute truthfulness of statement. Casaubon was professor of Greek at the Academy of Geneva. It was the "latest and not the least valuable of Calvin's institutions," and it has been described by later writers as a school of general education with students numbering more than a thousand daily. Mr. Pattison investigates the real character of the place, and especially the ground on which the allegation that a thousand students attended lectures rests. He shows conclusively that there is no reason for believing in this numerous attendance; that the institution was really "an elementary school, and a seminary for ministers"; this, he adds, was what was wanted, and this was what Calvin supplied. "A grand academy of letters or science, such as historians find in his scheme, was as little in Calvin's thoughts as the steamboats which now ply on the Lake Leman." By careful investigation of minute detail, Mr. Pattison thus dissipates a misconception which, by turning a high school supported with difficulty into a university, has misrepresented the condition both of Geneva and of Protestantism at the end of the sixteenth century, and hence has concealed from view the real character of the desperate and heroic struggles by which Geneva preserved herself and the cause of Protestantism. In this case, an investigation of minutiæ leads at once to general conclusions of interest.

Any reader of Mr. Pattison's work, however, must be prepared for the fact that it consists, to a great extent, of details which will weary those who cannot interest themselves in the picture of a scholar's life and in its bearing on a crisis in the world's history. The account of Casaubon's literary labors, of his difficulty in obtaining books, of his constant want of means, of his unceasing struggle to obtain the time necessary for his work—the lists of the books he wrote and of the works he projected, the entries in a diary which seems to have been a daily register of work done, will seem dull to persons unable to sympathize with a man whose life was a long martyrdom to his desire for erudition; but all these details are necessary to the picture of a scholar's life, and are still more necessary for the comprehension of Casaubon's character. Mr. Pattison shows peculiar subtlety in the analysis of the great scholar's mind, and in the skill with which, indulging in comparatively few reflections, he lets Casaubon, as it were, speak for himself. Casaubon's acts, his words, his writings, and his diary set the man himself before the reader. The peculiarity of his nature lies in the combination of some of the greatest qualities—enthusiasm for knowledge, love of truth, fervent religious feeling—with a certain pettiness and "doubleness" of mind and will which prevents him from taking rank among the highest class either of men or of scholars. He lacked, if we understand Mr. Pattison rightly, the originality of genius. His love of knowledge took the form of a passion for erudition, and his life was dis-

* 'Isaac Casaubon. 1559–1614. By Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.' London: Longmans.

tracted by an uncertainty of purpose which kept him wavering between the rival claims of scholarship and theology.

The explanation of Casaubon's religious position is one of the most valuable, as well as one of the most curious, portions of the work. A man of simple habits and a singular incapacity for managing his worldly affairs, filled with religious sentiment which expresses itself in the pages of his private diary, he yet was suspected, not only by Catholics, but by his fellow-Protestants, of an intention to apostatize for the sake of gain. His career showed that he was prepared to make every sacrifice to the dictates of his conscience. His position at the court of Henry IV., where so-called "conversions" were the fashion, was not the only circumstance which excited suspicion. Mr. Pattison shows that Casaubon at one time was inclined towards Catholicism. His knowledge made him doubt much of the received Protestant doctrines. His sympathies made him lean towards the teaching of the early church. His moral feelings bound him to Protestantism, whilst his interest pointed to the advantages of conversion. The tragedy of the situation lay in this: that the great scholar seemed to the outer world to be weighing conscience against interest, whilst in truth he was balancing opposed views which he did not know how to reconcile. He was what would now be termed an Anglican. Neither Calvinism nor Romanism satisfied his peculiar turn of mind. When fortune brought him to England, he found in the Anglican compromise exactly the view suitable for a man of a morbid conscience unable thoroughly to acquiesce in the clear convictions of Continental Protestants.

The difficulties of Casaubon's religious situation arose at bottom from the perplexities of his own mind, but they were singularly aggravated by the circumstances of the time; and the sketch of his relation to the French Court gives a marvellous insight into the state both of politics and of religion. Few persons will read the account of Casaubon's residence at Paris without feeling that they have obtained a far more definite view than they before possessed of the state of religion in France during the reign of Henry IV. The "Catholic reaction," the power of the Jesuits, the decline of French Protestantism, are known in a general way to all readers of history; but these general terms acquire a new significance when the influences of the time are seen as they affected the career and thoughts of an individual man who must have been the representative of thousands unknown to history. The indescribable meanness of Henry IV. in urging for political purposes conversions which he knew to be mere acts of hypocrisy, his disgraceful desertion of the cause which he was bound to protect, the contrivances by which, as in the case of De Mornay, he caused a disgrace of his own most faithful followers, must make even admirers feel that the ablest of French monarchs was after all but a sorry hero. It is impossible also not to perceive that French Protestantism was morally ruined before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes gave it a death-blow. Moral persecution had nearly achieved the overthrow which physical persecution finished. A perusal of the life of Casaubon excites wonder not that France should have met with many calamities, but that the nation should have survived the moral and intellectual degradation of which the defeat of Protestantism was the outward sign and cause.

Casaubon found refuge in England from the troubles of his existence at Paris, and here again his private life elucidates an historical period. No research will ever discover facts which can free James I. from the contempt which his most undoubted acts and the best ascertained traits of his character show to be his due. His relation, however, to Casaubon exhibits both the king and his court in their most favorable aspect, and explains the respect felt not for James's character, but for his talents, by men whose judgment cannot be set aside. In the same way, the relation of Casaubon to Oxford gives a vivid impression of the good no less than of the weak side of the university. This is a topic which Mr. Pattison handles with the adroitness of one thoroughly at home in his subject, and also with a grave irony and humor which is likely to be lost on those who are not tolerably acquainted with Oxford of the nineteenth century. A story is told of a young Jew who taught Casaubon Hebrew, and excited the interest of heads of houses both by his talents and leaning toward Christianity. His intended conversion, the excitement caused thereby among all the dignitaries of the university, the pedantic delays of the professor of divinity, the escape of the convert just before his intended baptism, the rage of his patrons, and his illegal arrest by the proctors, are all recorded, and should be read in Mr. Pattison's pages. What is not recorded, but may also be read there by those who can see between the lines, is that a little imagination can easily picture the comedy of Jacob Barnet being re-enacted in the year 1875. The Oxford of the seventeenth century is still in many respects alive, and could at any rate provide actors to fill all the parts in a farce like that of which Casaubon's teacher was the hero.

Nor is it by any means only in showing the likeness between the England of James I. and the England of Victoria that Casaubon's life has an historical interest. It explains one of the features of the seventeenth century which always perplexes modern students. Even Mr. Motley cannot fully understand why James I. should have written theological disquisitions instead of diplomatic despatches, or why all Holland should have gone mad, as it seems to the historian, over abstruse and uninteresting religious dogmas. Casaubon's career brings home the fact that theology was the interest of the day. It may be regretted that the English Court wasted the learning of the greatest scholar of the time in theological polemics, but it must be admitted that Casaubon himself had always hankered after theology. He shared the passion of his age; and the biography which brings out his individual feeling and character enables readers to understand the feeling and opinion of his time.

## TENNYSON'S QUEEN MARY.*

TO the readers of Tennyson this drama will be a surprise, and to many of them, at first, a disappointment; but the more judicious will find in it a new proof of the force and variety of that genius which gives to its author his easy and unchallenged supremacy over other contemporary English poets, and sets him in the rank of those few who, from Chaucer down to our time, have been best inspired in giving expression to the sentiment of the English people. It is foolish to compare this play with the historic plays of Shakspere. Shakspere stands alone in the joint domain of nature and of art. Tennyson is neither his rival nor his imitator. The motive and intention of the modern poet, no less than the spirit of his imagination, are radically different from those of the elder dramatist. Even the form and execution of his work show few traces of the influence of any Shaksperian model, and his individuality is as marked in this drama as in any previous poem.

And yet his genius displays itself here in such novel form, so unlike those which it has hitherto employed, that a certain disappointment may, as we have said, not unnaturally be experienced on first reading. This drama has little of the melody and sweetness which distinguish the lyric and idyllic compositions of the poet. It exhibits little of that subtlety of sentiment and refinement of diction in which the apt and exquisite expression seemed of even birth with the feeling itself, and formed such part of it that the two, like body and spirit, became one and inseparable. Nor does the drama directly display the personal passion of the poet. It makes no direct revelation of his personal character. It contains few passages of splendor of poetic eloquence, and still fewer traits of that highest inspiration in which the poet, surrendering himself to his genius, becomes the willing and responsive instrument of the divine Muse, and sings

"The undisturbèd song of pure concent."

Indeed, it is not as a poem that this play offers itself to us. It would be to misconceive the writer's intention to suppose his aim to have been to construct a play that should depend for its effect mainly on its poetic quality or on its adaptation to the stage. Poet and playwright he is in truth, but for the sake of teaching and inspiring, not of amusing. Poet, indeed, but Englishman much more; and playwright, that he may be preacher and may appeal with the voice of their own history to the conscience and the heart of his people. Tennyson is, however, far too excellent an artist and far too intelligent a moralist to confuse the demands of art and of morals. His art is not subjected to his moral intention. It only chooses, for the sake of a moral end, a different but not less artistic form and method from those which it has hitherto preferred. The art is not diminished, distorted, or enfeebled, and the drama is as true to the principles of dramatic art as if no moral zeal gave fervor to its lines and meaning to its scenes. The play is not the worse that it is inspired with patriotic emotion. The verse is but the more masculine that within the outer meaning of its words lies an inner kernel of significance.

It is plain that Tennyson has chosen his subject not merely because of its fitness for dramatic presentation, but because he felt that the lessons to be drawn from Queen Mary's reign needed to be pressed home upon the England of to-day. The subordination of English interests to the behests of Rome, the temper of the Roman Church, the quality of character fostered and developed by its teaching, the logical consequence of this teaching in the destruction of liberties and in fostering intolerance and persecution, were shown in Mary's brief reign of five years as in no other period of English

* 'Queen Mary. A Drama by Alfred Tennyson.' [Author's edition from advance sheets.] Boston: James R. Osgood & Company. 1875. 16mo, pp. 284.

history. In reading the signs of our times, it would not be surprising if Tennyson read with alarm signs of a renewal of Roman influence in English affairs, and of a revival of the authority of the Roman Church among the higher as well as the lower classes of the people. The conditions of culture and of opinion throughout Europe are such that the claims of the Roman Church, asserted as they have lately been with astonishing audacity, and pushed far enough to test the most elastic credulity, are admitted, with more or less intellectual reserve, by increasing numbers of men of weight in opinion and affairs. The Roman Church represents with a consistency to which no other church can lay claim the principle of authority in matters not merely of faith but of policy. The red-shirts of Paris, the sceptical philosophers of Germany, the modern school of scientific thinkers in England, the feeble and confused sects of Protestantism, are allies in driving a large set of men toward the gates, if not within the walls and defences of Rome. The love of mental repose and support, the desire to rest with absolute reliance upon a definite authority, are traits in many natures obviously inherited from a remote period. Few men can comfortably rely upon themselves; and the case now is such that a logically-minded man must either be content to fall back upon the reserves of his own intelligence or to haul down its flag and surrender his soul and life to the guidance, direction, and authority of the Roman Church. What this surrender and subjection mean is what Tennyson desires to bring home to the minds and to the hearts of his readers. He has no controversial purpose, but he has conceived of the reign of Mary Tudor as the time in which the principles and practices of the "grim wolf" of Rome were most plainly displayed in England, and with terrible suffering and degradation and loss of honor to the land. The history of these years reads itself to him into the drama, into the tragedy that he has written out—a tragedy with a whole people as its protagonist, and with the vast, vague, dreadful figure of the Scarlet Woman embodied in the miserable Mary for its heroine.

One familiar with the history of the period will note that Tennyson has kept close to the actual fact, and has introduced hardly an incident or a figure without warrant from the record. He has written a true historic drama, not forcing the occurrences or the personages out of their real relation to meet any supposed exigency of dramatic effect, but letting all unite as in the course of nature to bring about the fated close. There is no mounting of dramatic interest from act to act; no attempt on the poet's part by any inventions of fancy or display of pathetic sentiment to awaken our concern in the characters or fortunes of his historic personages. So strictly does Tennyson keep himself to the lines marked for him by the actual historic occurrences that he does not indulge himself in subtile analysis and development of character, and is not led away from his direct aim by any temptation to discover and represent the complex mutual influence of one nature on another, or to penetrate the secret of the plots and counterplots of the time. The play is simply a vividly imaginative reproduction of scenes and characters already known to us, and the setting of them in such light as may disclose the true meaning of events and the real import and effect of the intentions and deeds of the chief actors in the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the time. This is the great merit of the work.

There is little need to point out its subordinate merits and minor beauties. Tennyson has never written more full and masculine verse than in portions of this drama, and never condensed vigorous thought into compacter form. The virile blood of the men of Mary's time seems to have flowed in his veins as he was writing. His verse at times, in its hard strength, seems to lack finish, and his turn of phrase to be chosen for force rather than for elegance. But these are marks of the feeling with which he wrote, evidences of the passion which underlies even this essentially objective poem. From what we have already said, it is plain that no one should turn to these pages for thorough and elaborate studies of character. Queen Mary is treated more fully, and in a sense more sympathetically, than any of the other *dramatis personæ*, but even in her case, as in the study of a character in real life, much is left to conjecture. There is a hint in the delineation of Pole of possible developments of finer motives and deeper emotions than are distinctly revealed. But, in truth, there is perhaps no higher praise of such a work than to say of it that it leaves on us an impression as if we had been with real persons, and not figments of the imagination, and that the best and strongest among them make us curious about them, and baffle our desire to gain assurance of motive and of aim, as we are made curious and are baffled in real life.

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*We and Our Neighbors:* Records of an Unfashionable Street. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. (New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1875.)—It would be rather awkward to attempt to tell what Mrs. Stowe's novel is about. There is a young woman married to an editor of "three papers—a monthly magazine for the grown folk, another for the children, and a weekly paper." This well-occupied personage, in a moment of easily conceivable bewilderment, invites an Englishman to dinner on washing-day, and this is how his wife, who is introduced to us as a model of the womanly graces, informs her cook of the circumstance (the lady, by the way, was one of the Van Arsdels, conspicuous among the first families of New York): "Mr. Henderson has invited an English gentleman to dinner, and a whole parcel of folks with him. . . . It's just sweet of you to take things so patiently, when I know you are feeling so bad, but the way it comes about is this." Mr. Henderson's dinner is one of the principal events of the book, and Mrs. Stowe's second manner, as we may call it, comes out strongly in the description of it. It proved a greater success than was to have been hoped—thanks to the accommodating disposition of the British guest. "Mr. Selby proved one of that delightful class of English travellers who travel in America to see and enter into its peculiar and individual life, and not to show up its points of difference from old-world social standards. He seemed to take the sense of a little family dinner, got up on short notice, in which the stereotyped doctrine of courses was steadfastly ignored, where there was no soup or fish, and only a good substantial course of meat and vegetables, with a slight dessert of fruit and confectionery. . . . A real high-class English gentleman," under these circumstances, the author goes on to remark (not oppressed, that is, by a sense of repletion), ". . . makes himself frisky and gamesome to a degree that would astonish the solemn divinities of insular decorum." In this exhilaration "soon Eva and he were all over the house, while she eloquently explained to him the working of the furnace, the position of the water-pipes, and the various comforts and conveniences which they had introduced into their little territories." They—who? The water-pipes? The phrase is ambiguous, but it is to be supposed that this real high-class English gentleman understood everything; for—"'I've got a little box of my own out at Kentish Town,' Mr. Selby said, in a return burst of confidence, 'and I shall tell my wife about some of your contrivances.'" It should be added in fairness that the conversation was not all in this dangerously familiar key, for we are presently informed that Eva "introduced the humanitarian questions of the day."

There are a great many other people, of whose identity we have no very confident impression, inasmuch as they never do anything but talk—and that chiefly about plumbing, carpet-laying, and other cognate topics. We cannot perhaps give chapter and verse for the discussion of these particular points, but the reader remains in an atmosphere of dense back-stairs detail which makes him feel as if he were reading an interminable file of tradesmen's bills. There is in particular a Mrs. Wouvermans, an aunt of the Eva just commemorated, who pervades the volume like a keeper of an intelligence office, or a female canvasser for sewing-machines. This lady, we know, is intended to be very unpleasant, but would it not have been possible to vary a little, for the relief of the reader, the form of her importunity? She also belongs to one of the first families of New York, and this is a specimen of her conversational English. She is talking about the Ritualists and their processions: "I'd process 'em out in quick time. If I were he [the Bishop] I'd have all that sort of trumpery cleaned out at once." But none of Mrs. Stowe's ladies and gentlemen open their mouths without uttering some amazing vulgarism, and if we were to believe her report of the matter, the language used by good society in New York is a singular amalgam of the rural Yankee dialect (so happily reproduced by Mrs. Stowe in some of her tales), the jargon of the Southern negroes, and the style of the paragraphs in the *Home Journal* about such-and-such a lady's "German." "Never mind, I'll get track of them," says the exemplary Eva, alluding to the ghosts which her husband jestingly assures her she will find in the house of certain opposite neighbors; "and if there's a ghost's chamber I'll be into it!" Hereupon (she has never called at the house in question before) she throws over her head "a little morsel of white fleecy worsted, darts across the street, and kisses her hand to her husband on the door-step." What would those personages whom she somewhere calls "the ambitious lady leaders of our time" say to that?

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*Representative Names* in the History of English Literature. By H. H. Morgan. (Boston: Ginn Brothers. 1875. 8vo, pp. 47.)—In his preface, which is dated from St. Louis, Mr. Morgan states that "the wants of a busy age require some inexpensive book which shall furnish general information, together with a firm grasp of the movement in each field of effort." If this sentence be a little vague, it is perhaps due to its peculiar metaphorical turn. His object has been to afford brief answers "to the various rational questions which might be asked about an author as an author,"

"The time of any author has been indicated by giving the date of his birth and death, together with the era in which he would be classed." In the case of American writers, however, the eras are not used, for a reason which we confess our inability to understand, namely, that "contemporaneity is of small consequence." We had supposed that whether of consequence or not, contemporaneity might be determined by the dates of birth and death, which are given. Mr. Morgan, disregarding what he esteems as the "almost valueless distinction of prose and verse," divides literary works under nine "forms" and classes authors under seven "phases." "The characterization consists," says Mr. Morgan, "of criticisms which fairly represent the strength and weakness of the author, and these criticisms have as far as possible been taken from critics whose opinion is known by all to be beyond dispute." This assertion is supported by frequent citations in the body of the work from such critics as George Gilfillan, H. T. Tuckerman, Rufus Griswold, S. A. Allibone, G. S. Hillard, E. P. Whipple, W. Phillips, W. C. Wilkinson, and others whose opinion is undoubtedly not less "known by all to be beyond dispute."

The list of English names contains most of the chief writers; but in a catalogue that includes William H. Russell we might have expected to find Jeremy Taylor, and room might certainly have been made for Fuller, Isaac Walton, Burton, Smollett, Crabbe, Mill, and a few more. Mr. Morgan sometimes excites the surprise of his readers by his classification of the authors; for instance, we find Browning classed as a metaphysician, and are told that his "poetry is distinguished by the essential characteristics of the great masters of 'classical music.'" Cowley also appears as a metaphysician, and we are told that he is the "best of the Concetti," whatever this may mean. Mr. Morgan says that Tom Hood is the "first of English humorists *in order of time*, as well as in point of merit"; that Chesterfield "is still the best authority on manners"; that Dryden "gave us the first specimen of prose style and the first versified personal satire"; that Dr. Johnson "gave us the first English dictionary"; and he makes so many more statements of a similar kind that it seems clear that he uses "first" in an unusual manner, probably because he conceives priority in English literature to be of no more consequence than contemporaneity among American authors. In dealing with the Americans, Mr. Morgan classes Hawthorne as a metaphysician, while he puts Richard Hildreth, Theodore Parker, Jared Sparks, and Daniel Webster among the sentimentalists.

The book is dedicated to and seeks "the approval of those who by their acquaintance with literature are rendered competent to express a rational opinion." We will not presume to claim a place among this select body, but our rational opinion is that this is a very amusing production.

*Fungi: Their Nature and Uses.* By M. C. Cooke, M.A., LL.D. Edited by the Rev. M. J. Berkeley, M.A., F.L.S. [The International Scientific Series.] (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875. Pp. 299.)—The subject of this volume is not a bad one for the International Series, but the treatment strikes us as indifferent. It might advantageously have been made either more popular or more scientific, or both. It is abundantly technical, yet without much explanation of terms; it touches, but only touches, upon a great variety of topics, some of them recondite or of small concern to the beginner. The earlier pages plunge into the Schwendener algo-fungal lichen controversy, but give to the uninitiated mind no very clear idea of the question at issue, and no adequate statement of the investigations by which it has recently been supported. Nylander's epithet, "the *turbid* hypothesis of Schwendener," is approvingly quoted; but the turbidity we should complain of arises not so much from the hypothesis as from the way the question is agitated. But, after all, this volume is replete with interesting matter, is well illustrated, and is likely to serve a useful purpose, although it may not add to the renown of a "scientific series" in which Tyndall and Bagehot lead the way, and to which *our own* Professor Cooke contributes a model volume. Although the veteran Mr. Berkeley's name appears upon the title-page as editor, his preface states that the principal part he took in it "was to recommend Mr. Cooke to the publishers," and to suggest "such additions as seemed needful, subjoining occasionally a few notes."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* |
|---|---|
| Aldé (H.), Mr. and Mrs. Falconbridge, swd | (A. K. Loring) $0 50 |
| Andrews (J. B.), Grammaire du Dialecte Mentonnais, swd | (Nice) |
| Aryan Philosophy | (Geo Ellis & Bro.) |
| Auerbach (B.), On the Heights | (Henry Holt & Co.) 2 00 |
| Bachelder (J. B.), Popular Resorts, and How to Reach Them, 3d ed. | (Lee & Shepard) |
| Battle of the Giants: Debate on Catholicism, etc | (C. F. Vent) 2 75 |
| Buckingham (Prof. C. R.), Differential and Integral Calculus | (S. C. Griggs & Co.) 2 00 |
| Carlyle (T.), Early Kings of Norway; and Portraits of John Knox | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Christian Painter of the XIXth Century (Hippolyte Flandrin) | (Pott, Young & Co.) 2 50 |
| Clodd (E.), The Childhood of Religions | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Cox (C. F.), The Amenities of Verbal Criticism, swd | (New York) |
| Crafts (Rev. W. F.), Childhood | (Lee & Shepard) 1 50 |
| Darwin (C.), The Descent of Man, new ed. | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Detlief (C.), Dead to the World: a Tale | (W. F. Gill & Co.) 1 50 |
| D'Ooge (Prof. M. L.), Demosthenes on the Crown | (S. C. Griggs & Co.) 1 75 |
| Drake (S. A.), Nooks and Corners of New England | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Duyckinck (E. A. & G. L.), Cyclopædia of American Literature | (T. Ellwood Zell) |
| Elliott (Frances), The Italians: a Tale | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Ficklin (Prof. J.), Algebraic Problems | (Ivison, Blakeman & Co.) |
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*A LIFE OF SAINT TERESA,* *having rare claims to Protestant notice, just issued by Macmillan & Co., is discussed by "The Reader" on page 64.*

# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 29, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE rise in breadstuffs culminated during the week, but not until it had contributed to the decline in the price of gold to 111¾. Speculators were responsible for enough of the rise to alarm prudent people, and altogether the reaction is regarded as salutary. To suppose, however, that the entire movement was speculative, and the work of Chicago speculators, is to admit that Chicago controls not only the foreign markets, but also is able to control the elements—to say when it shall rain, and how much. Even should one-half the recent advance in breadstuffs be lost, the country will be richer by many millions than it would have been. At one time, so heavy were the exports of grain, and such was the abundance of bills of exchange resulting therefrom, that it looked as if enough exchange would be made to supply the demand until cotton bills appeared, and that it would be necessary to ship no more gold coin. On this supposition the gold premium melted away each day, until on Friday the price was 111¾. What also contributed to this decline was the fact that the Syndicate were offerers and sellers of sterling exchange, they having been able to sell new fives in Europe more rapidly than they could buy the called five-twenty six per cents to pay into the Treasury for the new fives. As a result, they transferred to the Treasury the proceeds held in Europe of the sales of new fives. The bad feature of this business is that, when the five-twenty six per cents which are called come from Europe—as they must later in the season—they will have to be paid for in whatever we can export most cheaply—it may be grain, cotton, securities, or gold. Later in the week, the weather reports from Europe were more favorable, and breadstuffs declined in the English markets enough to check exports from here, and the price of gold here recovered about two "points," on the possible necessity of more gold shipments from New York.

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At this point came the unexpected announcement that the domestic and foreign banking-house of Duncan, Sherman & Co. had suspended. Their doors were closed at 11.30 o'clock Tuesday, and gold advanced immediately to 116⅞, falling back to 113⅝. Those entitled to speak for the house say that their liabilities amount to between $5,000,000 and $6,000,000, and that their assets will fall far short of the smaller of these sums. The house has been in existence since 1850, and was well grounded and successfully managed until of late years, when it became more closely identified than was for its good with such railroad enterprises as the Atlantic and Great Western, the Erie, and kindred roads. It was also supposed to have locked up its means to an imprudent extent in Southern securities, and to have engaged in cotton operations beyond the strict limit which prudent banking establishes. However this may be, Mr. William Butler Duncan, the head of the house, and with a character beyond reproach, recently, so his friends say, caused a close examination of the assets of his firm, and found that they in no way corresponded with its liabilities. He then made an effort to procure new capital sufficient to give him a dollar in hand for every dollar which could be demanded of him, having determined to carry on the business only on this condition, and not to resort to the method, so common with houses in such circumstances, of straining his credit by "kiting." Having failed to get this new capital, he ordered the suspension.

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Tammany Hall has decided to reorganize three of its districts, the third, the eleventh, and the fifteenth, the leaders in which are "Jimmy" Hayes, John Morrissey, and ex-Judge Ledwith. The charges against these gentlemen are that they have been stirring up disaffection among the workingmen, getting up a bogus workingman's meeting, and in general not merely failing to promote harmony in the camp, but sowing the seeds of disloyalty. John Morrissey, it seems, contributed fifty dollars to the workingman's meeting in a clandestine way, sending it by a third person, who represented the benefactor of the movement to be "a lady on the Eastern Boulevard." Morrissey, however, and his associates in disgrace have assumed a defiant attitude, and the former has telegraphed to some of the newspapers from Saratoga that he challenges the Honorable John Kelly to meet him in the Tammany arena, and prove which is the better man—morally and politically, that is, and not, as the *Herald* maliciously suggests, physically and pugilistically. The councils of Tammany are so secret, and its movements are so mysterious, that it is difficult to know whether the discipline now administered is the result of a determination on the part of the "Swallow-Tails" to get rid of the "Short-Hairs"—in which case, as it would be war to the knife, Morrissey and his friends must perforce hire a hall and organize a new party—or whether it is one of those feuds which can be made up without any permanent loss of good feeling. It looks more like the former, though Tammany has not by any means deserted the workingman, and is not supporting General Porter in his reduction of wages.

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The Legislative enquiry into the conduct of the Emigration Commission, like nearly all the other enquiries instituted of late, has come on something in the nature of corruption. There is a tax called "head-money" levied on the steamship companies, which was, we believe, $2 50, and is now $1 50 for each passenger landing in the country, and is devoted to the supply of very useful protection and assistance to the newly arrived emigrants. In 1871, the steamship companies, as well as the Commissioners of Emigration, came to the conclusion that the tax had better be reduced, and it was, of course, for the pecuniary advantage of the companies that it should be reduced. The first thing that happened after this decision had been reached was the appearance of one Nolan at the steamship offices with a numerously signed petition in favor of the reduction, and offering his services as an able and influential agent to "put the thing through" at Albany. The combined companies accordingly employed him, and agreed with a certain appropriateness to pay him by "head-money"—that is, he was to receive a quarter of a dollar for each emigrant who should arrive by the steamships during the six months next ensuing, and he did actually pocket about $30,000. Now, it so happens that Nolan is a partner of General Patrick H. Jones, and it so happens that General Jones was the Postmaster who had to be made United States Marshal when General Sharpe, the then Marshal, had to be made Surveyor, when the civil-service "rules" had to be suspended at the New York Custom-House on that celebrated occasion in 1873 when Mr. Curtis resigned. It appears also that several thousand dollars were paid in 1874–5 to Mr. Abram Wakeman, another old postmaster, we believe General Jones's predecessor, who used it to prevent a legislative increase of "head-money." Indeed, whatever was done to "head-money," whether it was raised or lowered, some fine old politicians gained by the process. It is now said that this money was paid uselessly; that the lobbyists did not earn it, and did not influence the required legislation; but this is always said when money is traced to their pockets, and certainly it is almost impossible to disprove it. But then, what persons who seek legislation almost invariably find is this, that though paying money out to lobbyists may not get them what they seek, refusal to pay it is almost invariably found to be followed by failure to get what they seek. Now, the refusal and failure may not, humanly speaking, have any connection except a chronological one, but the average American citizen is apt to believe

that they stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect, and therefore pays his money. The "licentious and unbridled press" are, we need hardly say, now dragging the private affairs of Nolan, Jones, and Wakeman before the public for the satisfaction of a morbid curiosity, raising once more the question, how can we expect eminent citizens to go into public life when their characters are assailed in this ruthless way?

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The bankers, following the example of most other trades and professions, have been holding a convention at Saratoga, and we suppose some good has resulted from it, though what good does not clearly appear from the report of the proceedings. They resolved that "every good citizen ought to hasten the day" when the Government will redeem its promises in coin; that the taxes on national banks ought to be reduced; that stamps ought not to be required on checks; and that anybody who wants to exchange coupon for registered bonds ought to be allowed to do so. It cannot be said that these resolutions have the weight which might fairly be looked for in the suggestions of a body of this character. The best-known bankers in the country do not appear to have taken part in the proceedings, though there were rumors that the wealth of the profession was largely represented in it. It is a pity, on the whole, that the prevalent love of conventions cannot be turned to better account. Every summer sees a greater number of them; but one reads the reports of their debates with, to say the least, an unsatisfied feeling, and wonders whether the time and money of so many busy men could not have been turned to better account. Members of such bodies ought to bear in mind that it is their duty, above all things, to avoid bringing the ancient and honored custom of public deliberation into contempt or disrepute. Nothing has done more to found and foster the great American institution of "rings" who breed the troublesome race of "managers" than the unwieldiness, and incapacity, and gullibility of conventions, caucuses, and other large assemblies. Anybody who goes into one ought, therefore, to be fully satisfied in his own mind that there is something he greatly desires to say, and somebody he greatly desires to hear, and that he is not likely to furnish an audience to busybodies and bores.

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Since the act of June 20, 1874, which made arrangements to take $55,000,000 of currency from the Eastern banks and distribute it among those of the West, and thus not only promote justice but raise the West out of the slough of despond, sixty-three new banks have been organized, and have drawn out the sum of $2,061,250 in notes, and banks already in existence have drawn out $5,724,275, making in all $7,785,525. Altogether, fresh notes to the amount of $11,601,892 have been issued within this period named, and $9,627,066 have been surrendered and destroyed, so that the actual addition to the circulation of national-bank notes under the act of January 14, 1875, which was intended to increase the supply of them *ad libitum*, is $1,974,826. It thus appears that the crippled manufacturer, and the languishing farmer, and the idle laborer won't take the medicine prepared for them by Congress. They actually refuse to draw their money and be prosperous. The secret of this lamentable failure lies, we imagine, in the fact that none of the acts providing for an increase of the currency have made proper arrangements for its distribution among the sufferers. As matters stand, if anybody wants his share of the currency, he has to give security at the bank for its repayment; if the bank wants the currency, it has to buy Government bonds and deposit them with the Treasury. Now, in this lies the cause of the failure of the present legislation. The remedy is plain, and there is only one remedy: the Treasury ought to be directed to give currency to all persons applying for it. If this were done, a very large amount of currency would be drawn out at once, certainly not less than $1,000,000,000, the whole country would be speedily full of money, and either the "wheels of industry" or some other wheels would receive a prodigious impetus. Is it not singular that such acute thinkers as Messrs. Morton and Logan should not have perceived this difficulty?

The inflationists have been reinforced during the past week by Mr. Peter Cooper, who has published an amazing pamphlet, showing that both Daniel Webster and Calhoun were believers in paper issues. The *Tribune*, however, has proved very conclusively that Mr. Cooper has been misled into publishing audaciously garbled extracts from their speeches. Even were the extracts genuine, and it could be proved that both Webster and Calhoun were supporters of *assignat* schemes, it would prove to any one familiar with the subject merely that they were on this point deluded and ignorant men. The economic laws of currency are simple deductions from first principles, which have been verified in several centuries of experience, and will remain true to the end of time, no matter what either Webster or Calhoun thought of them. Of course, the weight of such authority with the mass of men, who have no time to look into such questions for themselves, would be very great; but how any one who writes on the subject for the instruction of the public can bring himself to believe that such questions are to be decided by counting the number of deceased politicians on one side and the other, we cannot understand. The number of eminent statesmen deceased, from Moses' time down, who have believed that the sun went round the earth, is far greater than the number of those who have believed the contrary; but what should we think of any one who asked us on that account to believe that they were right?

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Judging from the circumstances attending the loss of the *Atlantic* and the *Schiller*, the problem of steam navigation is no longer the provision of staunch and well-formed ships, but of captains who are willing to take even the commonest precautions. The *Atlantic*, it was shown in the investigation, ran nearly eight days in a dense fog, and the captain, although he knew at the end of that time that he must be somewhere near the coast, steadfastly refrained from throwing the lead, and went plump on shore on a calm night, and lost nearly the whole of his passengers. The chief officer, we believe it was, being asked why they did not sound, said "they thought it would be of no use," which has the ring of a ghastly joke, because one of the uses of the chart is to give the depth of water and the nature of the bottom at various points off the coast. One would have supposed that a catastrophe so horrible would have inspired caution among commanders of steamers, but it does not seem to have done so. The *Atlantic* was lost in 1873; just two years later the captain of the *Schiller* did exactly what the captain of the *Atlantic* did—ran for some days in thick weather, or in a fog, by dead-reckoning, and, knowing he was close on a dangerous coast, refrained from sounding, and went on the rocks in the usual manner, and lost nearly all his passengers, and was lost himself. The commissioners appointed by the English Board of Trade to enquire into the circumstances attending the wreck, found that the dead-reckoning was incorrect, that the ship had greatly overrun the calculated distance, and that, "had a cast of the lead been taken an hour or half an hour before the vessel struck, it would have shown them their proximity to the danger and the error in their reckoning, and would probably have averted this sad disaster." They find, however, that the captain had totally neglected both the Admiralty directions for approaching the English Channel, which "include a careful use of the lead," and the instructions of the Company, which enjoin on commanders a strict attention to "the usual precautions when making the land." This almost raises the question, comic as it may sound, whether a certain number of male passengers ought not to be legally authorized to require the captain to sound in thick weather and in fog. But the matter is being brought home to owners in a very unpleasant manner in the English courts, the widow and children of a passenger named Kruger, lost in the *Atlantic*, having sued the Company, in the Queen's Bench, for damages incurred by the negligence of its servants in the navigation of the ship. The Company did not attempt to deny the negligence, and the jury assessed the damages at £5,000, or about $25,000 in currency. We trust the effect of this will be salutary. Companies must find some means of making their captains obey instructions.

The plan proposed by Mr. Gladstone, in his recent article in the *Contemporary Review*, for the prevention of the disruption in the Church of England which is foreshadowed by our London correspondent in his letter this week, is but an enlargement of the old receipt for the production of ecclesiastical harmony—"In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, and in all things charity"—that is, his remedy is admirable until one comes to apply it, by deciding what are the "essentials" and what the "non-essentials." He urges that the Church of England is worth preserving; that it cannot be preserved without self-restraint and forbearance on the part of the contending factions in it; that the Ritualists and Anti-Ritualists must agree not to attach "doctrinal significance" as now to certain forms and ceremonies. For instance, he demands that when a priest is reading the consecration prayer in the communion service, his facing eastward shall not be held to mean that he believes in the Real Presence. He desires to have rites and ceremonies and dress and posture treated as the mere "clothing" of the Gospel, of small account as long as "the integrity of the Christian dogma is upheld," "its working is traced," and "its adaptation to human thoughts and human welfare exhibited in all the varying experience of the ages." If the Anti-Ritualists agree to take this view of the matter, and to rely for the reform of abuses in the Church "on moral forces, and not on penal proceedings," he thinks all will be well. But then, as our correspondent has pointed out, a worshipper in the remote country districts cannot wait for the working of "moral forces" If his parson takes to ritualizing he cannot get rid of him until he dies, and "the moral forces" may not begin to produce an effect in the diocese until his successor is appointed, and in the meantime the disgusted worshipper has no other church to go to; therefore he longs to call in the police and put an end to what he considers obnoxious innovation at once. It has to be remembered, too, that the only condition on which the Anti-Ritualist can agree not to attach doctrinal significance to forms, is the promise of the Ritualist to do the same thing. He may say to him, "I will agree not to attach doctrinal significance to your position at the communion service if you do not yourself." But if the Ritualist replies that he does not attach doctrinal significance to it, the Anti-Ritualist naturally asks why he takes a position which means nothing and yet annoys the congregation? The fact is, we believe, that the Ritualists do attach much significance to their ceremonial, and that Mr. Gladstone's compromise is therefore not possible.

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The extraordinary scene reported by the Cable as having occurred in the House of Commons when Mr. Plimsoll heard the announcement that the Government were going to abandon the bill for the complete carrying out of his reform, can hardly be considered symptomatic of any change in the manners and morals of the House. Mr. Plimsoll is an excitable gentleman who has taken up a piece of reform in which he can get but little support from the persons he is trying to benefit—the sailors, while he has arrayed against him a very powerful and influential class, the ship-owners, whom he has greatly exasperated. This alone would have been sufficient to make him nervous, even if he were not so constitutionally. He has, too, fallen into the besetting sin and misfortune of all persons in his position, by making, in his speeches and pamphlets, a good many exaggerated charges, and has had to sustain several suits for libel. So that, since he began his agitation, everything in his surroundings has helped to weaken his self-control and prepare for his late outburst of passion in the House. But that he has not labored in vain is proved by the Board of Trade returns of the results of the exercise of the power bestowed on them by an act which he got passed in 1873, which show that out of 479 vessels charged with "unseaworthiness," they found the charge proved in the case of 464, while the Board has detained 48 for "overloading," and declares that no charge under either head has ever been made to them without some foundation. The public meantime have so unmistakenly taken sides with Mr. Plimsoll on the main question—between himself and the Government, and not between himself and the House—that the Government has given way, and brought in a measure extending the powers of the Board of Trade.

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The Irish Team have again won the Elcho Shield at Wimbledon by four points over the Englishmen, and three over the Scotchmen, and the conclusion is not unnaturally drawn that as the Americans have beaten the Irish, *they* would *a fortiori* have won it had they competed. The excitement appears to have been very great during the contest, and to promise a period of international rifle-shooting which will be very full of "events." Colonel Gildersleeve proposed on the ground a match at Philadelphia in 1876, and Lord Wharncliffe hoped that the three British Teams would be represented, and they doubtless will be. All this promises an immense rise in the position of skirmishers, deerstalkers, and other marksmen, and a great stimulus to the manufacture of arms of precision. There are in England, too, signs of a revival of popular interest in cock-fighting, which has become very common in the North, and which one old British sportsman, Admiral Rous, has written to the *Times* to defend as an amusement of a remarkably elevating character, and to draw attention to some signs of decline in British morals as a consequence of its abandonment. In fact, nearly all branches of sport, except pugilism, seem to be "looking up." Rowing, walking, running, swimming, cricket, baseball, sight-shooting, horse-racing, and pigeon-shooting are increasingly popular, and now cause an enormous amount of money to "change hands" every year.

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Only two things seriously occupy the attention of the political world in France—the inundations at the South, and the dissolution of the Assembly. The dissolution is strenuously urged by the Left, who called for an adjournment in August, and then one more meeting in October for the election of the seventy-five senators, but no other business. The Government has made a semi-official announcement that it does not interfere, and does not mean to interfere, in the matter, which lies entirely in the hands of the Assembly. The Committee recommended an adjournment from August 4 to November 6, but the Assembly voted by a heavy majority on Thursday last to adjourn to November 16. The news from the inundated districts presents no new features, though the loss of life is probably greater than was at first supposed. Subscriptions for the relief of the sufferers are coming in from all parts of Europe. M. Rouher has, in a recent debate over a report made by the Prefect of Police on the machinations of the Bonapartists, avowed that while the party he represented would remain faithful to the Republican constitution until it was revised, they, like the Legitimists, confidently expected to see it revised, and considered it only a temporary arrangement. This theory will probably be pushed hard by the two monarchical parties until the new constitution has actually been set to work, and an Assembly and Senate elected under it.

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The part played by the French press during these momentous discussions has been at once droll and melancholy. In fact, the journalists are mainly occupied in the composition of "Terrific Suras," which appear to have much the same source as those of Mahomet. M. Granier de Cassagnac, the father of the redoubtable Paul of the *Pays*, twenty years a Deputy, a commander of the Legion of Honor, and sixty-eight years old, challenges M. Gambetta for language used towards him in the *République Française*, which Gambetta is supposed to control. The *République* replies that Gambetta is too useful to his country and his paper to fight. Whereupon, M. Granier de Cassagnac replies that he well knows where to find Gambetta when he wants to kick him. At the same time, M. Clemenceau hints in the *République* that he would like to have a set-to with Paul. Then M. Rosati, of the *Presse*, has fought a duel with M. Perivier of the *Figaro*, who was slightly wounded, as attested by the seconds in a solemn "procès-verbal." And M. Debrousse, the editor-in-chief of the *Presse*, offers to fight M. Villemessant. The *Gaulois* announces that five press duels were pending in the second week of this month between distinguished Parisian journalists.

## THE DEMOCRATIC INFLATIONISTS.

THE canvass now pending in Ohio is perhaps the most interesting one which has occurred since the war, not only because the currency and the public debt form the main issues in it, but because the position of the Democrats has been taken up after the currency question has been very fully discussed, and after the absurdity of the inflationist theory of our financial troubles has been demonstrated by actual experience. We now *know*, as most of us did not know before 1873, that abundance of money and low rates of interest are not all that is needed to revive trade and industry. While the Western and Southern philosophers were clamoring, two years ago, for a redistribution of the national-bank circulation, on the ground that it was monopolized by the East, and that their region did not receive its full share of it, it was easy enough for those who knew anything about the laws of currency to tell them that it did not make any difference how Congress distributed the currency, that it would only stay where it was needed—that is, where there was most buying and selling to be done. But they would not believe it any more than a Sioux would believe an astronomer if he told him he could measure the distance to the moon. They have now had actual proof of it in the fact that the West and South have not applied for their share of the currency, having in fact no use for it. If a Western banker were supplied with ever so much currency today, he would carry it to New York to lend, and in New York he can get so little interest for it as not to make lending worth the trouble. And yet, in the face of all this experience, the Western Democrats continue their clamor for plenty of irredeemable paper-money, and Messrs. Allen and Pendleton go about in Ohio making speeches in favor of it which, to many people at the East, sound like the ravings of drunkenness.

Now, why is it that the experience and discussion of the last three years have not produced enough effect to prevent such an agitation as we see going on in Ohio? How is it that the Democrats, after having been originally "hard-money men," have now so great a fondness for irredeemable paper-money, and do not pay the least attention to your citations either of American or foreign experience of paper-money? Why is there no use in arguing with either of these gentlemen? Why does any attempt to argue with them end in simply bandying contradictions? The fact is that the Democratic party, though it has the reputation of having been a "hard-money" party, was always almost as much in favor of Government money as of "hard-money." It disliked paper-money in the earlier years of its existence rather because the banks issued it than because it was paper. Jefferson thundered against the "scrip" of the United States Bank, but he was not opposed to the issue of Government scrip. In fact, the present system of Government issues may be found set out with the utmost distinctness in his correspondence, particularly in the year 1813. Nearly all his denunciations of the banks and their "rag-money" are interspersed with suggestions for an issue of Government paper, "based on" a "specific tax." He proposed the payment of the expenses of the war with England by such an issue, or, in other words, proposed the very scheme which Mr. Chase produced forty-seven years later—barring the legal-tender clause—for paying the expenses of putting down the rebellion. Writing to Mr. Eppes, June 4, 1813, Jefferson shows how the thing is to be done. "Every one knows," he says, "that although not literally, it is nearly true, that every paper dollar emitted banishes a silver one from circulation. A nation, therefore, making its purchases and payments with bills fitted for circulation thrusts an equal amount of coin out of circulation. This is equivalent to borrowing that sum, and yet the lender, receiving payment in a medium as effectual as coin for his purchases and payments, has no claim to interest. And so the nation may continue to issue its bills as far as its wants require and the limits of the circulation will admit. Those limits are understood to extend with us at present to $200,000,000—a greater sum than would be necessary for any war." One has only to put this idea into the hands of "the debtor class," headed by demagogues like Morton and Logan and Allen and Pendleton, to have the Ohio system of finance very speedily evolved from it. Nor did Jefferson's plan die out of the memory of his disciples. In 1837, in the very midst of the distress arising out of the bursting of the bank bubble, and when all true Democrats were clamorous for "hard-money" and against "rag-money," Mr. Silas Wright, the leading party chief, who hated and denounced bank-paper as much as Jackson himself, introduced in the Senate, and carried against the opposition of the Whigs, who advocated a plain, honest loan, the issue of $10,000,000 of Treasury notes, as a medium in which Government dues could be paid, in the absence of redeemable bank-notes, and he did this under the recommendation of the President, Mr. Van Buren, in his message. It was perhaps the best thing to be done in the peculiar circumstances of the case, but it showed that Democratic hostility to paper-money was by no means absolute; that it could be easily reconciled to paper issued from the right quarter—in short, to "the people's paper," as distinguished from the paper of "monopolists" and "speculators."

The idea which is at the bottom of the whole agitation in favor of unlimited issues of greenbacks is as old as the French Revolution, and has come steadily down, in one shape or another, along with the "principle of equality" and the "rights of men." It is now embodied in the political gospel of the Continental Socialists, under the name of "gratuity of credit." The Continental Socialists have, however, pushed the doctrine further than their American imitators, and made it more efficient, because they have not only provided for the issue of irredeemable paper by the Government, but provide the means by which the "poor man" can get hold of it. Anybody who reads the speeches of Allen or Pendleton or Kelley on the wonderful effects of plenty of paper-money in "quickening the wheels of industry," will observe that they never describe the mode in which the paper is to reach the wheels. They tell you of the blessing it would prove to the farmer and mechanic, but they refrain from mentioning how the farmer or mechanic is to get it into his possession. They do not propose that the Government should give it away. Even the illustrious Kelley denies his benignant currency to all who cannot provide themselves with 3.65 bonds. But how is the hardy farmer or the industrious mechanic, who is short of money, to procure bonds, in order to exchange them for currency when business is active, and draw them out again when business is dull, etc., etc.? This lamentable gap in the system the French and Germans have filled up by declaring that when the Government makes its issues of paper, it shall lend them to all well-behaved citizens, through banks established for the purpose all over the country; and not on security either—for the present bankers lend on security, and what is lending on security but monopoly? The object of Government issues is, and clearly ought to be, the supply of money to persons who have no security to offer—or, in other words, to the class which needs money most—and this the European plan attains. Some such idea, though in a very vague shape, undoubtedly lies at the bottom of the Kelley and Allen discourses. The training they have unconsciously received in an acute business community doubtless prevents them from proposing openly that "the people's money" should be lent gratis to all comers, because this would make Americans laugh; but the notion that the Government ought in some manner to see that everybody has as much money as he needs in his business is, nevertheless, running through their minds, and furnishes, or would furnish, the premise the suppression of which makes much of their talk seem so irrational. Kelley has made a lame attempt to meet the difficulty with his 3.65 plan, and Wendell Phillips with his plan of lending on mortgage on real estate at four per cent., but neither of them makes any provision, as we have already remarked, for the poor fellows who have neither bonds nor real estate.

Another thing to be taken into account in trying to explain the steady growth of the inflationist element in the Democratic party is, that it has always been an *à priori* party: its doctrines have never, either in their conception or in their application, been influenced much by either home or foreign experience. That the inflationist element has been steadily gaining ground in its ranks

for some years, there is now no denying. It has been kept down on the Eastern seaboard by the predominance of the commercial interest; but in the West it comes nearer every month to taking entire possession of the party, and laughs at the way in which the Eastern organs fling financial history at its head. The way in which the Cincinnati *Times*, for instance, approaches the question, is far more orthodox than the way in which the *World* approaches it. The Western journalist does what the poets do, and what Democratic publicists have always done, in dealing with important political problems—"he looks into his own heart and writes"; while the *World* quotes the report of the Bullion Committee and the history of the French assignats and other musty records of past ages. In this way the Democrats changed the constitution of this and other States, by making all the officers directly responsible to the people, giving us the elective judges. There is nothing in the annals of the human race, or in any man's experience of human nature, to justify faith in such changes any more than to justify faith in irredeemable greenbacks; but then the Democratic politician did not care for annals, and the human nature he studied he learnt about through Jefferson from that profound observer, Jean Jacques Rousseau. It was Rousseau who first revealed to the world the extraordinary things man was capable of if released from the bonds of usage and tradition, and his pictures made an impression which may be found stamped deeply in the reports of many an American convention. The latest traces of them are undoubtedly to be seen in this Democratic clamor for paper-money. What Mr. Allen and his followers are telling us, or trying to tell us, is that we have been misled by oligarchical traditions into the belief that coin was the only good money, and that a community which had lost it ought to try to recover it; but that we deceive ourselves; that by deep thinking we should discover that paper-money was the true foundation of national happiness, just as Karl Marx would tell us that long familiarity with the practice of giving security for loans, and of paying them back at a fixed date, had blinded us to the national advantages of loans without security, not payable at any date; and that in this system of banking reflection would show a right-minded man that the world would find a key to the terrible problem of poverty. If you cite experience to these philosophers, they tell you that experience is of no value, because their system was not tried under the proper conditions. It has to be put into operation in a Democratic atmosphere and amid Democratic institutions, and then it will work. If it does not work, it is either because you do not go far enough, or because some malignant person behaves badly. Their paper would be good money if selfish men did not refuse it or undervalue it, just as their constitutions would be good constitutions if every man did his duty. You cannot corner them in discussion. No *à priori* politician or financier was ever cornered, because he always takes to himself wings, as people do in dreams, and perches on some distant and sunny height while you are preparing your cords to bind him.

## THE DECISION IN TWEED'S CASE.

WHEN the decision in Tweed's case was first announced, it was received by the public generally, as we stated in these columns, with respect. An examination of the text of the decision, however, in the light of Mr. O'Conor's recent attack, renders some modification of this statement necessary. There are only two points in the case, both of which can be stated in a less technical manner than they were stated by the Court. The first of these is whether proceedings to upset Tweed's sentence could be taken by a writ of habeas corpus; the second, whether the Court of Oyer and Terminer which sentenced him had power to try an indictment embracing several distinct offences, and, in passing sentence, sentence the prisoner separately for each one. As a general thing, all indictments are made up of various counts, in which the same offence is restated in different ways to avoid any possible variance between the charge and the evidence; but in Tweed's case a number of indictments for separate offences had been united in one indictment, so that he was actually found guilty of fifty-five distinct offences. The charges were, neglect of a statutory duty in auditing bills. It is unnecessary to recall all the circumstances, but it will be remembered that the statute under which Tweed was sentenced authorized the imposition of a fine of $250 and imprisonment for one year. The Court below sentenced him separately on a number of counts, making his total term of imprisonment twelve years. The Court of Appeals has now decided that the sentence was wrong in going beyond one year, that the Court exceeded its jurisdiction in passing such a sentence, and that Tweed is entitled to release on habeas corpus. We do not propose to review either of these points—which are both technical, and must of course be settled in the long run by the courts—but merely to call attention to one or two features of the decision which render it interesting.

The assumption, let us say in the first place, made by some of those who have defended the decision, that the tribunal is too "august" to be criticised, is not only wrong but preposterous. It is very true that what the highest court in a State decides to be law is law, and must not be resisted, but obeyed; but no one who has looked into the volumes of the New York reports can be unaware that one of the characteristic features of the law as announced by the judges of this tribunal is that, in vulgar parlance, it is so often six of one and half-a-dozen of the other; unanimity being to all appearances the thing most dreaded by the Court, and a learned diversity of opinion that most desired. What the Court of Appeals announces to be the law is the law; but then the question is, What has the Court of Appeals announced? If we are really prevented from criticising its decisions, we are certainly poorly off. Of course the criticism ought to be carefully made; and we must think that Mr. O'Conor did his case an injury by his manner of putting it. But there is something positively grotesque in the notion that in these days and in this city we are not to criticise a judge. Three of them have been got rid of by means of the most open and unqualified attacks on the part of the press and the legal profession; and we hardly supposed that three years after the impeachment of Barnard we should hear that the "august" nature of a New York elective court placed its judgments beyond and above criticism. Judges who are elected may be re-elected, and how are we to tell whether to cast our vote for Judges Andrews and Folger at the next election, supposing them to be renominated, unless we know whether the decision in the Tweed case was right; and how can we find this out except by general discussion? The good layman cannot be expected, even by those who urge upon him the necessity of going to primaries, to spend his days and nights in a law library, hunting up the law of habeas corpus and cumulative sentences, so that he may know how to cast his ballot. The only way in which he can arrive at a decision is by getting the opinion of the profession on the merits of the jurists who are likely to be recommended to him. The notion that the judges cannot reply is an antiquated delusion. In the first place, their decisions ought to be the most effective reply possible; and in the second place, the Chief-Justice can perfectly well have a newspaper interview and explain his motives. This is what the present Chief-Justice of the Court does every few months, no doubt after consultation with his brethren.

There are two opinions in the case, one given by Judge Allen, and the other by Judge Rapallo. The former of these is long, professional, and adapted to the comprehension of lawyers; the latter is short, and seems to have been written partly for the judge's own satisfaction, and partly to bring the case within the grasp of the editorial mind. His opinion principally dwells upon the terrible consequences which would flow from permitting cumulative sentences. We have read his opinion with care, and endeavored to discover exactly what the "enormous injustice and oppression which might result from the adoption of the rule" are, but in vain. Most people who have merely glanced at the opinion probably suppose that the injustice and oppression consist in adding one sentence to another, and imagine that the Court holds the utmost extent of the punishment for wilful neglect to audit the county accounts to be imprisonment for one year and a fine of $250. But the Court does nothing of the kind, but plainly intimates that if the indictments had been kept separate, Tweed might have been sentenced for twelve separate terms, each

beginning at the termination of the one immediately preceding. The Revised Statutes (2 R. S. 700, § 11) have expressly provided for this, as the Court points out. What, then, is the terrible wrong or injustice in uniting the offences in one indictment? As far as we can make out, it is that the law in this State allows a person indicted for misdemeanors five peremptory challenges, and Tweed was therefore entitled to as many of these challenges as there were offences charged, multiplied by five. The enormity of the oppression caused by the fact that Tweed did not enjoy the right to eleven hundred peremptory challenges (there were two hundred and twenty separate counts), may be inferred from the fact that the allowance itself is purely local and statutory. It does not exist in England at all, and we believe not in Massachusetts. Think, says Mr. Justice Rapallo, of a petty magistrate sentencing a prisoner to a term exceeding the limits of his life—as, for instance, for maltreating one hundred separate sheep! But we have the authority of the Court for saying that there would be no objection to this if the sentences were inflicted separately—a hint, by the way, which may prove of some value to Mr. Bergh. We are thus forced to conclude that the enormous injustice and oppression to which the opinion refers are already part of the law of the State, and that if Tweed had been sentenced on separate indictments he would still be languishing on Blackwell's Island. All lawyers are aware of the danger a court is in when it tries to declare the law from a consideration of the consequences, and not from the cases. Of course the diminution of the right of peremptory challenge is something not to be overlooked; but we cannot bring ourselves to feel about it as we do about the habeas corpus or the bill of rights. The popular impression that the case puts an end to "cumulative sentences" will be seen, from what we have said, to be erroneous. The cumulation of sentences seems to be reaffirmed and approved by it.

To turn now to the main opinion, that of Judge Allen, which contains the quotation from Mr. O'Conor's brief, the first thing that strikes us about it is the jaunty way in which it is written. We have not been able to re-examine all the cases cited; but if the Court has cited them in the same sort of way that it has discussed the Tichborne case, the opinion is certainly a curiosity. The paragraph relating to the Tichborne case is as follows (the English is that of the Court):

"The Tichborne case is claimed to be a direct authority for the conviction and sentences in the case at bar. Tichborne was convicted upon a trial before Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn and his associates of two distinct acts of perjury upon separate counts in an indictment, and sentenced upon each to transportation for the term of seven years, as for disconnected offences; and it is said that the time named is the extreme limit of punishment upon a single conviction for the crime charged. But if it be shown there was a conviction for two offences, which in this State would be felonies, on the same trial, which is not permissible with us, the decision cannot be regarded as authoritative evidence of the law with us. It is enough to say that no question appears to have been made to the judgment, and whether it was authorized by some value we do not know. Be that as it may, the judgment has not received the deliberative sanction of any court in banc, and has not ripened into a precedent even in England. It is at most but evidence of what the common law is as now administered in that country, but no evidence as to what it was on the 19th of April, 1775."

Now, in the first place, "Tichborne" was never convicted of anything at all. A man named Orton was convicted of perjury in personating Tichborne. This may seem a very trivial matter, but it is really such trivial matters as these which reveal the amount of care with which courts examine cases before citing them. In the second place, the case is spoken of as if it were an ordinary trial, and the point as to cumulative sentences was not probably considered. But as a matter of fact, for the express purpose of giving the decision additional solemnity and weight, the case was tried "at bar" before three judges, one of them being the Chief-Justice; and it is reasonable to suppose that if any error had been found in the judgment a most vigorous attempt would have been made to upset it. Again, the statement that this decision is "no evidence as to what the law was on the 19th of April, 1775," is very extraordinary. It is very good evidence, indeed, as to what the law was on the 19th of April, 1775. What the Court meant to say apparently was that a modern English case is of no binding authority in the courts of an American State, which is perfectly true, but the idea is very queerly and unjudicially expressed in the words we have quoted.

We have selected these little flaws as illustrating the legal tone of the opinion. We now come to the main charge brought by Mr. O'Conor—that the Court made a dishonest use of his argument. Summarily stated, the facts are these: Various statutes of this and other States give, in certain cases, the right to what are called "penal actions," or actions in which suit is brought to recover a statutory penalty. The object of these suits is criminal—not the vindication of a private right, but the punishment of the defendant for some act contrary to public policy. Take, for example, extortion on the part of a railroad: the machinery of the suit is civil, but the object is penal. That there is an analogy between these and criminal prosecutions no one denies, and the question has arisen whether the statutory penalty given for every violation of the law must be sued for separately, or whether a number of them can be united in one suit and recovered together. As a general thing, these penalties are merely fines, but they might no doubt include imprisonment, in which case the similarity of these actions to criminal trials would be still closer. Now, in September, 1871, Mr. O'Conor made an argument before the Court of Appeals in one of these penal suits (Johnson *agt.* the Hudson River Railroad Company), against the legality of a joinder of several offences in one indictment or penal action. Johnson, in the Court below, had sued for and recovered 526 different penalties of $50 each. This judgment was reversed by the Court of Appeals on other grounds which made it unnecessary to consider this point; but in Fisher *agt.* the New York Central and Hudson River R. R. Co. (46 N. Y. 659), Judge Grover, in delivering the opinion of the Court, said:

"This makes it unnecessary to determine whether if several penalties are recoverable they can all be recovered in one action, or whether a separate action must be brought for each penalty. I dismiss this part of the case with the simple remark that, irrespective of what was the early common-law rule, or how the question as an original one should be determined upon principle, the rule has been too long considered, settled, and acted upon in this State, that they can all be recovered in one action, to permit any departure from it by this Court."

Chief-Justice Church and Judges Allen and Folger are named as having concurred with Judge Grover. The point is *obiter;* it was clearly not involved in the decision of the case; but four judges went out of their way to state they would not permit any departure from the rule. Judge Rapallo, having been counsel, did not sit. Now, these same four judges cite the brief of Mr. O'Conor as unanswerable authority the other way. Only two matters have been brought forward in their defence—first, the *obiter* character of the opinion; second, the want of analogy between penal actions and indictments. But, as every lawyer knows, there is *obiter* and *obiter*. Where a judge throws out vague hints as to how he might decide some question not before him, neither the judge nor the court are bound; but when a court goes out of its way to announce an inflexible rule in 1871, and in 1875 denies its existence, we may be pardoned for doubting whether its opinions have that weight which those of our Court of last resort ought to have. As to the second point, the analogy between the two kinds of action is expressly laid down by this Court. If the analogy were not sound, it would have been nonsense in the Tweed case to cite Mr. O'Conor's argument from the Johnson case, and declare it unanswerable. On the whole, while we may not agree with Mr. O'Conor as to the dishonesty of the decision, it must be admitted that the opinion might, on the Court's own showing, have just as well been the other way; and if we are to consider with Judge Rapallo the consequences, we very much fear that the effect of this exhibition of judicial inconsistency or recklessness will be quite as bad as any which could come from Tweed's being sent to Blackwell's Island on cumulative rather than separate sentences. To sum up what we have said, the decision in Tweed's case is remarkable, first, because it is declared by the Court to protect the citizen against dangers which it in reality in no way lessens; second, because the Court in it upsets a rule de-

clared by it only four years ago to be in full force; third, because it does this not openly, by citing and overruling its former dictum, but covertly, without mentioning the difficulty at all.

## ENGLAND.

LONDON, July 3, 187 .

THE pendulum of public opinion, which has been oscillating with some regularity between questions affecting the Church and questions affecting the Land, has just taken a great swing Churchwards and seems likely to incline that way for some time to come. And it has been assisted by the present state of political feeling. We are all jaded and dull. The London season is closing, and people are thinking of very little now but of getting out of town and off to Scotland, or to their country-seats, or to the Continent. They are satisfied that the Government is unlikely to do anything especially mischievous or socialistic, and so they leave the Ministerial projects to take their course and to become law or not as the Ministry please. Hence it is that the Agricultural Holdings Bill, of which I wrote some time ago, seems not unlikely to pass into law without any very material change. The leaders of the Liberal party, led away by a will-o'-the-wisp in the shape of a successful election in a Welsh county, were rash enough to believe that the farmers were about to throw off their traditional allegiance to the Tory party, and give their adherence to the miscellaneous hordes which compose the Liberal party. They determined, therefore, most unwisely, as I venture to think—but it is easy to be wise after the event—to fight the most Tory constituency in England with a candidate who proclaimed himself the champion of tenant-right. The result was disastrous. The farmers would not listen to his declarations of hostility against the Ministry or against their Agricultural Holdings Bill, nor to his protestations of friendliness toward themselves. They returned his opponent, a Tory country gentleman and a supporter of the Ministry, by a large majority. The consequence of this election has been that the Agricultural Holdings Bill has been modified in the interests of the landlord; and the opposition to it in the interests of the farmers, which was in a fair way to come to maturity, has died still-born. Unless, therefore, Mr. Trevelyan can excite some feeling in favor of the unenfranchised agricultural laborer next Wednesday when he introduces his bill to assimilate the franchise in counties to that in boroughs, we shall hear very little more of the questions affecting land during the current year. The West Suffolk election has given them their quietus for a season. But, in revenge, the Church questions have risen from their graves, and they are not unlikely to give us a lively time of it for some months.

The day before yesterday, the Public Worship Regulation Act, which created so much excitement during its passage through the House of Commons last session that it had to be tied up for a year, came into operation, and on the same day Mr. Gladstone—who is generally in the thick of it when ecclesiastical storms are threatening or raging—published an article in the *Contemporary Review* with the taking title, "Is the Church of England worth preserving?" urging that the act should, so far as possible, be made a dead letter. The secret history of the act, if it be authentic, is curious. For thirty years and more, the Ritualistic party in the Church, taking advantage of ambiguities in the Rubrics and Liturgy, and of the impotence of the bishops to check their practices, have used every effort to elaborate an ornamental ritual, and, especially in the celebration of the communion, to assimilate the services of the Anglican to those of the Romish Church. So long ago as the end of 1845, when the old Tractarian movement was blossoming into modern Ritualism, it was the occasion of many excited meetings of eager Protestants. In Exeter, a large assemblage in the last days of December of that year passed a resolution denouncing the "known and systematic attempts to bring back the Protestant Church to usages which are associated in the minds of the people with the superstitions and corruptions of Rome." Nothing, however, came of those meetings, and the movement gained strength not only in large towns, where it was comparatively harmless, but even in the remote country places. In 1867, a Ritual Commission was issued, which reported in due time some mild suggestions for settling difficulties, and then for a season the matter dropped. In 1873, an address, signed by 60,000 persons of weight and influence, was laid before the highest dignitaries in the Church, drawing attention to the matter and calling for remedies. But the response to the address contained nothing but soft words and no promise of action. All this time, rumor says that the highest personage in the realm has been sorely troubled and perplexed by the excesses of this Ritualistic party. Frequently has the Bench of Bishops been pressed by no common pressure to introduce some measure to put a stop to these excesses. But during the lifetime of the late Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Wilberforce, this pressure has been delicately ignored, and the measure shelved. Dr. Wilberforce, as you will remember, fell off his horse while riding with Lord Granville in the summer of 1873, and was killed. Some months after this catastrophe, the Ministry of which Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville were the ruling spirits came to an end, and were succeeded by that of Mr. Disraeli and the Irish Protestant, Lord Cairns. On the 20th of April, a little more than a month after the new Ministry met Parliament for the transaction of business, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the concurrence of the Bench of Bishops, no longer graced by Dr. Wilberforce, introduced the Public Worship Regulation Bill into the House of Lords. It received the warm support of Lord Cairns, and when it got to the House of Commons Mr. Disraeli took it under his especial protection, and sheltered it with an almost fatherly care from the fierce attacks of Mr. Gladstone. I do not vouch for the truth of this secret history. I give it as it was given to me, stating only that the facts, so far as they are ascertained, seem to bear it out.

The bill, however, is now law, and will shortly be put in operation. It provides, generally, that a churchwarden or any three parishioners of any parish in England or Wales may complain or bring an action against any incumbent for any unlawful alteration he may have made or permitted to be made during the last five years in the fabric of the church, or in its ornaments, or decorations, or furniture; or for the use of any unlawful ornament or vesture within the last twelve months; or for the neglect to use any prescribed ornament or vesture. Action may also be taken against an incumbent who, during the last twelve months, has failed to observe the directions in the Prayer-Book relating to the performance of the services, or who has made any unlawful addition to, alteration of, or omission from any services, rites, or ceremonies. If the complainers and the accused agree, they may have the matter settled by the bishop. If not, the intervention of the archbishop is called for, and he sets in motion the machinery of an ordinary court of justice, presided over by a lay judge especially appointed to try such cases, and who has power to enforce his decision by inhibiting or, if necessary, deposing the incumbent—the bishops and the archbishops by this process abnegating, as the Ritualists say, their spiritual authority, and handing over their jurisdiction to a Parliament-made judge.

The recognized promoters of the bill, and notably the Church Association, are determined that it shall not become a dead letter, whatever Mr. Gladstone may write, or whatever damage they may inflict upon the Church. The *Times* has given the stone its first push by appealing to the Protestant and Philistine instincts of its readers, and inciting them to a vigorous enforcement of the act. The Church Association is preparing, it is said, to help it on its bounding course, and no less than ten London churches have been visited by the agents of the Association with a view to collect evidence for proceedings under the act. From the country, rumors come up to town that churchwardens and parishioners who feel themselves aggrieved by the millinery and the histrionic performances of their clergy, are in earnest consultation as to how they can most effectually have their grievances redressed. Action is slower in country places than in towns, but religious fervor and partisan zeal are more easily inflamed and more persistent. If your clergyman offends you by his eccentricities in a London church, you go over the way to another church that suits you better. But in a country parish you have no such choice. If the patron of the living has settled upon you a person who dresses fantastically, and causes himself to be censed at the communion-table, and sprinkled with holy water; or who causes acolytes and crucifers to make processions and to kneel about him while he rubs their foreheads with black powder from a vessel previously blessed, sprinkled, and censed; or who worships candles and images, and puts up confessional-boxes in your little parish church, and "altar-cards" on the modest communion-table containing invocations to the Virgin Mary, the Twelve Apostles, and a variety of saints and martyrs of the pre-Reformation period—when all or any of these things occur in the wilds of Yorkshire or Somersetshire, where there may not be another church within a Sabbath-day journey of their homes, the hardship to the parishioners becomes intolerable. These things do go on in country parishes, and where this is so, I cannot blame the churchwardens and parishioners for wishing to have them stopped.

But when the war of litigation has once commenced, where will it end? The Ritualists have already shown their hand. A leading member of their body argued last month in the pages of the *Contemporary Review* that the new act having violated one of the principles of the English Constitution (namely, that "ecclesiastical laws are to be administered by ecclesiastical people") and destroyed the legal jurisdiction of the English episcopate, the Ritualistic clergy cannot recognize the new judge and ought not to obey

the new court created by the act. And at most of the Ritualistic churches a long protest against the act has been read, calling upon all true Churchmen—*i.e.*, Ritualistic Churchmen—to refuse to acknowledge a judge and a court born in Erastianism, and nurtured by the abdication of the spiritual rights of the clergy.

It is obvious from the temper in which the various questions connected with this matter are about to be met by both the Low Church and the Ritualists that Mr. Gladstone's well-meant plea for forbearance will be of no effect. The first case that is pressed will open up the floodgates of ecclesiastical rancor, and we shall have a war of recrimination waged with all the vigor of the theological disputes of long ago. The Low-Church party hardly want the *Times* to egg them on. It is a matter of conscience with men of the temperament and convictions of Lord Shaftesbury to put down a form of public worship which they consider hateful to the Almighty and dangerous to the people ; and, having the power, they will be sure to use it. The party assailed will, at first, retaliate. They will attempt to harass their Low-Church brethren by recriminatory actions, with a view to make them conform to the strict letter of the Rubric, which they may, by omission, violate. But this cannot last long. The Protestant party must gradually drive the Ritualists to the wall. They are in a minority, and they have the commonsense of the country against them. Then will come the question of secession and the relinquishment of their benefices. But, as Lord Salisbury said on the second reading of the bill in the House of Lords : "Secession means disestablishing yourself without disestablishing your opponent—it means yielding up vantage-ground." And are the oppressed party in this case likely to follow such a policy ? The Free-Church party did so in Scotland thirty years ago for conscience' sake. But the leaders of the Free-Church party, Chalmers, Guthrie, Candlish, were men of might and of prodigious influence with their followers ; and their followers were men and women who had the example of their Covenanting forefathers before their minds, and who were endowed by nature and tradition with the "perfervidum Scotorum ingenium" —a plant which does not bloom in other nationalities. The English temperament is different. It cannot be directed, like the Scotch, to one consistent and self-sacrificing end. Secession is, therefore, in my opinion, an improbable contingency. Some few of the more determined of the Ritualists may sever connection with the Anglican and throw themselves into the Romish Church. Others may, like Mr. Voysey, become Congregational ministers so long as their congregations can endure them. But the majority will remain in the Anglican Church, conforming outwardly, but inwardly they will help on the crisis of disestablishment, which every day becomes more and more inevitable. Such is my conjecture, for what it may be worth. In corroboration, I may mention this, which I can vouch for as a fact : that at one at least of the more recent Parliamentary elections some of the most zealous supporters of the Liberal candidate were Ritualistic clergymen who, at the general election before the introduction of the Public Worship Regulation Act, were among his most active opponents ; the Liberal candidate, you must remember, having gone a long way towards pledging himself for disestablishment. There is another alternative, but an unlikely one. The Low-Church and the Ritualistic section of the Church may proclaim a truce, on the understanding that they will both assail their common enemy, the Broad-Church section. Even if such an unholy alliance for such unholy ends were possible, it would be but transient. The confederates would inevitably quarrel among themselves, and their divided ranks would then become an easy prey to the solid forces of the Nonconformist and Dissenting bodies, backed as they would be for the destruction of the Anglican Church by the whole Roman Catholic organization.

## MINISTER FALK IN THE RHINE PROVINCES.

BERLIN, July 4, 1875.

THE discussions on the war question have at last come to an end, after the meeting of the Emperors Alexander and Francis Joseph has furnished one more opportunity to the correspondents and article-writers to communicate for the hundredth time to the public their speculations on the signs of the times. Our statesmen have left the dusty and altogether too odorous streets of Berlin, and we may hope that at least during the reign of the dog-star we shall not be haunted by any political spectres of the international species. Yet we do not lack topics for political discussion, and even—if we care for this less savory article—topics for political meditation. The last number of the *Kölnische Zeitung* lies before me. In its telegraphic despatches there is more than a column filled by two reports—I need not say that they are from "special reporters"—on the progress of Dr. Falk in his journey in the Rhenish Provinces. Nothing is forgotten that anybody could possibly wish for. The "special reporters" have even taken good care to let us know when the speakers were rewarded only by an "applause" pure and simple, and when the applause was "continued," or even "stormy," as we Germans say. For a pretty long time now we have been treated to this kind of reading, measured out by the yard with alarming liberality, and you may take it as a sign of the times, and one well deserving to be reflected upon. The name of more than one petty prince is still remembered because Goethe could not refrain from writing down and thereby committing to posterity the interesting fact that he had been "honored" by the visit of his highness. The present generation has certainly a little more self-respect, but even in our day those who do not think it an enviable honor to come within arm's length of any prince are not to be counted by the hundred thousand. Whatever happens at court is in itself important and interesting enough to be telegraphed from one end of the Empire to the other. But whoever heard of such a fuss being made over the journey of a simple Cabinet Minister ! Bismarck in his time has also been the object of some pretty enthusiastic demonstrations, but we were never informed by telegraph how "graciously" and "condescendingly" he received them. And now even Mrs. Falk has become so grand a personage that we have to read morning and evening how she has charmed everybody by her "condescending manner." One cannot help feeling a little uncomfortable when the principal newspapers of a great people begin to feed the public upon such stuff.

Perhaps that would not be worth mentioning if nothing else was blameworthy in these strange proceedings. There are, however, many warm and sincere friends of Dr. Falk and his policy who do not think that such is the case. When the Minister set out on his journey, it was announced that he intended to "study" the Rhenish Provinces, the stronghold of Ultramontanism in Prussia. We beg leave to doubt that it is the best way for a Minister to "study" a province, the great majority of whose population is most decidedly opposed to his policy, by accepting day after day dinners, suppers, and torchlight processions from the minority. Undoubtedly, these demonstrations are not "got up" and "fixed" ; they are tributes voluntarily paid, and we can fully understand, what Dr. Falk repeats in every city, that they gladden his heart to its inmost centre after the mountains of abuse that are daily heaped upon him. Yet he did not go there to refresh his courage and to recuperate his strength, but to "study" the Provinces. It is true, he has repeatedly said how well aware he is of the fact that these demonstrations do not express the feelings of the majority of the population. But is it likely—not to say possible—that the clouds of incense should not turn into a mist before his eyes ? And, certainly, these are times when everybody should wish above all that to his eye the whole atmosphere should be as clear as the purest crystal. But how is that possible, even supposing that these one-sided demonstrations in themselves will not dim his sight in the least ? They cannot but have a great effect upon his adversaries, the great majority of whom constitutes the bulk of the country people. How is it possible that they should put on their everyday faces in view of this unheard-of apotheosis, every detail of which is calculated to press the sting deeper into their sore flesh ? One would suppose, however, that, in order to "study" the Provinces, the Minister would have wished to find everybody exactly with his everyday face.

There is yet another point of view from which the comedy is universally looked upon. The manner in which he receives the marks of cordial sympathy and enthusiastic approbation is perhaps the strongest proof we have as yet been furnished of the fact that in the last ten years public opinion has become an enormous power in Germany. Though we may well rejoice over this fact, it is still a question whether there is any reason to rejoice that it is demonstrated in this manner. Americans should be careful not to answer it from their American standpoint. What is perhaps quite natural and correct in the United States may easily be unnatural and forced, and therefore unhealthy, in Germany. Any American may go on reception-day to the White House and "shake hands" with the President without thereby in the least endangering the foundations of the Republic. But it does not follow that a Prussian Minister is right in meeting every committee who come to express their approval of his policy with the degree of familiarity Dr. Falk has seen fit to adopt for his "Studienreise." A well-known general—a firm friend of the Government's policy towards Rome—said to me the other day, his lips quivering with emotion : "It did not use to be the practice of Prussian Ministers to go roving through the country delivering beer-speeches in every place they happened to pass through." This is stronger language than the occasion calls for ; yet it pointedly expresses what many people think and feel. It would undoubtedly be desirable to have the distance at which perhaps not so much public opinion as public sentiment keeps the members of the Cabinet from the common crowd of mortals, considerably diminished ; but as long as the people view the

Government in the light they do at present, it is of at least doubtful propriety for a Minister not only to suffer such demonstrations, but also to become an active participant in them, by developing and defending his policy at length before these motley audiences. We are too young and inexperienced as a self-acting, political people not to risk something by enticing the Ministers from their high pedestals into the crowd. There is a place where they have to account for what they do, and our representatives and the press are quite sufficient to communicate to them what we think about it. Whenever they allow themselves in any way to be drawn into the arena of the public at large, they are in danger of being suspected of a kind of political agitation which one cannot but deprecate; for, remember, our Ministers are not the leading members of the majority of the Landtag, but the Cabinet of the King. I am far from accusing Dr. Falk of any such designs—he has too high an opinion of the position of a Minister ever to become guilty of playing the part of a common politician—but I think he is damaging his cause, for his course renders it impossible to refute the unjust accusations of his adversaries in an efficient manner. And the press is doing its utmost to aggravate the evil by accompanying with such a deafening flourish of trumpets every compliment paid to the Minister. Who can blame the Ultramontanes for taking it to be the blast of the war-bugle? Certainly, such demonstrations could never have taken place if the fight had not waxed so warm that, on both sides, reason often finds it hard to get the better of passion; and can any one deny that in this struggle it is of the utmost importance for the Minister not only to be, but also to appear, absolutely free from passion?

To make bad worse, a particularly unfavorable moment has been chosen "to fire the heart" of the Ultramontanes. We stand on the eve of the elections for the Landtag in Bavaria, where in the last few years parties have been so evenly balanced that once the accidental absence of a single member of the Liberal party was sufficient to turn the scales in an important vote. If the Ultramontanes should now succeed in electing a majority, be it ever so small, grave consequences may be apprehended, and it is far from unlikely that they will be victorious,* for they will not fail to bring their last man to the ballot-box, while the zeal and the organization of the Liberals leave much to be desired. Perhaps the result of the elections would no longer be doubtful if there were not some dissensions among the Ultramontanes. The official platform of the party promises "faithfulness to the Empire and to the treaties"—*i.e.*, the Treaty of Versailles. Not only all the Liberal parties entertain grave doubts about the sincerity of these promises; they are denounced with great vehemence by the radical wing of the Ultramontanes themselves. What these irreconcilables aim at may be seen from the following declaration in the *Amberger Volksblatt:* "They hate us Catholics, they want to annihilate and Lutheranize us—that is evident from all the manœuvres of the Liberals. So the present campaign is evidently a religious struggle. Protestants, Jews, Old-Catholics, New Heathens, against Catholics! The election agitation has this time an easy game; our whole programme is: defence of our holy faith." This language the Bavarian peasant, to whom it is addressed, understands, and he will not leave it unheeded. Only a part of those who, under the Crown Prince, have stood by the side of the Prussians on many a hard-won battle-field in France, may take exception to it, and the more so because care is taken to inform them how the French press glories in it, while it rebukes, in a tone of paternal grief, the weak-kneed and unprincipled concessions in the official platform. If the number of veterans in whom these recollections are still of sufficient force to render the instigations of the priests vain were insignificant, we should be sure of not finding those concessions in the platform. Whether they will suffice to deceive those unsophisticated minds about the true ends of the real leaders of the party, we shall soon know. But of one thing we already feel quite sure: much as we should regret a victory of the Ultramontanes, yet the worst fruits it would bear would be to the Ultramontanes themselves. It is not likely that the moderate wing would be able to secure the leadership to themselves, while, with the peculiar position of Bavaria in the Empire, it is not impossible that the radical faction might succeed in infusing such a strength into the Opposition, and giving it such a character, that we should find ourselves unable to proceed by legal means in the work of building up the Empire. But if it comes to that, we shall remember that in 1866 the corner-stone of the Empire was laid by a revolution, and neither the author of this one nor the mass of the people will hesitate to finish the work by another revolution, if it cannot be done otherwise. If the leaders of the Ultramontanes are not quite blindfolded by passion, let them pause and open their eyes, and they must become convinced that the work of the last ten years cannot be undone. If they should ever attempt to do it, they would only bring about a crisis, the effect of which would be to finish by one violent stroke what should be the result of a slow and peaceful development.

* They have, in fact, obtained a majority of three.—Ed. Nation.

# Notes.

J. SABIN & SONS have put everybody but collectors under an obligation by reproducing in fac-simile the veteran Cruikshank's 'My Sketch-Book,' a work now among the hardest to obtain, and yet one of those most sure to live as the product of a rare genius. All of the artist's characteristics are present in these etchings, and some of the examples, both of his fun and of his sentiment, are among the highest efforts of his pencil. For the period 1834-36 these sketches are as good as so many fashion-plates. ——Mr. Longfellow's "Morituri salutamus" was being delivered about the time when Adolf Starr was proving in Westermann's *Illustrirte deutsche Monatshefte* that the "Ave Imperator, morituri te salutant" was probably an invention of Dion Cassius or of unsupported tradition. The naumachia which this author describes when introducing the phrase had also been described by Tacitus and Suetonius, who were both silent as to the incident. But, *ben trovato* or not, nothing can now deprive the world of this useful counter.——The *Athenæum* for July 17 contains a full and appreciative notice of the late John Elliot Cairnes, and supplies the dates about which we were doubtful. Prof. Cairnes was born at Drogheda in 1824. ——Some person who should have known better sent us, with the usual evidences both of good faith and of culture, a pretended quotation from Polydore Vergil which we printed as a Shaksperian parallel in No. 506 of the *Nation*. We have since learned it to be a forgery, and must warn all commentators off from it.——The fifteenth annual meeting of the National Educational Association will be held in Minneapolis on August 3, 4, and 5. The railroads have generally consented to a reduction of rates for those wishing to attend.——We should set most value on the portrait of Corot in the illustrations of the *Art Journal* for July (D. Appleton & Co) The wood-cuts from his paintings, however, seem rather inadequate. There are, besides more of Landseer's sketches, a continuation of the admirably engraved views along the Hudson, and an instructive paper by Sir Rutherford Alcock on "Japanese Art," with numerous examples.——The etchings in the July *Portfolio* (J. W. Bouton) are a landscape after Crome, and a Persian warrior after Etty, each striking in its way. The photogravure is of sheep, after a painting by Rosa Bonheur, and is accompanied by a brief sketch of this artist's career by René Ménard. The metaphysical article, "Some Characteristics of Artistic Movements," is by G. A. Simcox.

—*Lippincott's* for August contains a number of readable but no very striking articles. The illustrated paper by Cecil Buckland, describing a two weeks' journey from Bayonne to Estella and back, falls a good deal short of the possibilities of the subject. What is most valuable in it is its account of the unwarlike aspect of the Carlist territory: "Cultivation went on as usual, and the soil is so fertile that, although the troops may sometimes be kept waiting for their pay, there does not seem much chance of their running short of provisions. . . . Another reason why the agricultural productions of the country have not decreased since the war is found in the fact that the women do much of the field-labor. The food of the inhabitants is simple enough: meat is cheap, and their little farms yield them three, and sometimes four, crops in the year." There is a well-written and light but suggestive article on the modern constitutions of France, by E. C. Grenville Murray; and we have read also the probable story of "Frau Sommer's Pleasure-trip," in which the heroine gets herself into a mad-house under circumstances which would hardly have disconcerted one of our countrywomen in her station, more travelled, more independent, and less nervous. In the "Monthly Gossip," two subjects, the tercentenary of the University of Leyden and the flowers of Paris, are treated in an interesting manner; and the argument in favor of abolishing conspicuous and individual monuments in our city cemeteries is worth considering in connection with Mr. Haden's efforts to make the disposal of the dead less burdensome and offensive to the survivors.

—The October number of the *Historical and Genealogical Register* will be devoted to a history of the Centennial celebrations of the current year in New England. The number for July, meantime, will be found unusually attractive. The customary steel portrait is of the late Judge Timothy Farrar, whose career is briefly sketched. He was a law partner of Webster's in Portsmouth, N. H., and he reported the famous Dartmouth College case. To the list of his writings for the periodicals given by his biographer we can add his contribution to the *Nation* on "The Suffrage and

the Constitution," printed on page 233 of Vol. I. A blood-relationship between Gibbon, the historian, and Jefferson, through the Randolphs of Virginia, is discussed by Abram E. Cutter, and is made plausible enough to warrant further enquiry. Dr. Hiland Hall describes very clearly the origin of the mistake by which Vermont was reported in the census of 1790 as containing 16 slaves, although the constitution of 1777, with which the State came into being, expressly prohibited slavery. This error was discovered in time to prevent its reappearance in the census of 1870. What is curious about it is that it arose from an attempt on the part of the marshal of Bennington County to classify the free blacks more minutely than the schedule called for. The 15 females thus set down in a column appropriated to another heading were converted by the compiler of the census into 16 slaves, and in subsequent censuses the number somehow grew to 17. Mr. Charles W. Tuttle announces that he shall furnish proof that the State of Maine derived its name from its coast having been referred to as "The Mayne," and not from the province of Maine in France. Several important genealogies are printed in the *Register*—Marcy, Alger, Peirce, etc.; and a useful list of portraits and busts in possession of Brown University and of the Providence Athenæum continues a scheme which was begun in the number for October, 1874, with a catalogue of the busts and portraits in the State House at Concord, N. H., and the Phillips Exeter Academy, and which will be continued for other institutions and public galleries, with a view to completeness.

—The appearance of the seventh edition of Bartlett's 'Familiar Quotations' (Little, Brown & Co.) raises afresh the interesting question, What is a familiar quotation? We have not at hand the sixth edition of this standard work, but we infer that it was not revised upon the fifth, and that the present one contains the changes and additions which have occurred to the editor since 1868. The result is a volume larger by nearly seventy pages than its immediate predecessor; to Shakspere alone, for example, "more than three hundred lines have been added." Doubtless we cannot infer in his case that the newly-recorded household words have become "familiar" in the past seven years, any more than in the case of Lady Dufferin's "I'm sitting on the stile, Mary," which had no place in the sixth edition. Or shall we say that Mr. Emerson's prose must have gained readers and admirers in the same period, because nearly a page of it is now inserted for the first time? The "heathen Chinee" obtains probably as early an admittance as was possible; but Lowell's "Crisis" and "Biglow Papers," first series, and "Zekle crep' up quite unbeknown" have been made, we should say, to undergo a little seasoning. The same may be remarked of Tennyson's "I held it truth with him who sings," and the "Charge of the Light Brigade," and "O good gray head which all men knew." On the other hand, an added stanza from Whittier's "Lines on Burns" may be deemed to fall in the first rather than in the second category of which the compiler speaks when he says (advertisement to the fourth edition), speaking of various happy sayings which ought to be familiar: "To admit these simply on their own merits, without assurance that the general reader would readily recognize them as old friends, was aside from the purpose of this Collection." But after all, the compiler is and must be the only arbiter, and the longer his collection is prized as this one is by the public, the more his judgment will be justified, for he will have made familiar what was not so before; and as Mr. Bartlett omits nothing in his successive editions, or, in other words, does not attempt to discriminate between now current and lately or once current quotations, he keeps familiar what was in danger of becoming obsolete. Originally chiefly a collection of poetical quotations, making a choice anthology of the English language, the work has little by little invaded the domain of prose, and the most interesting additions to the present edition are in the latter department. Among the proverbial expressions (conveniently arranged by alphabet) we notice for the first time "Mad as a March hare" and the "Music of the spheres"; while by entering "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" and "Lost to sight to memory dear" with the statement "author unknown," Mr. Bartlett seems to invoke the aid of the curious in discovering the proper authors of these sayings. It is odd to find "Dead as Chelsea" an English expression, referring to Chelsea Hospital, and more than a hundred years old at that. In Boston, it has been used for time out of mind in contemptuous allusion to a neighboring city; just as in Lynn they have a habit of saying "as dead as Saugus."

—Whatever New York may be doing respecting her new "musical establishment," London is taking some energetic strides towards the settlement of a National Training School for Music. Some time back the promoters of this new auxiliary to the Department of Science and Art, headed by the Duke of Edinburgh (himself a violinist and composer), essayed to fuse their project with the existing Royal Academy of Music. But the Royal Academy, somehow or other, has always been reputed as of a jealous and exclusive temperament, and is wedded to its own peculiar views about extending musical education to "the people." So the Duke and his coadjutors, foremost among these being the untiring Sir Henry Cole, returned to South Kensington, and resolved by themselves to found a National School of Music under the shadow of the great Albert Hall, with its concert-rooms and theatre, which will serve as the *locus in quo* of the public performances of the school. To their aid seasonably enough has come Mr. Freake, the builder, who has built and owns many of the sumptuous residences in the South Kensington quarter of London. This gentleman is induced to build for the Association a training school, specially designed and fitted for their use; he next presents the edifice as a gift; and his wife, who is well known in London musical coteries, agrees to found one of the first scholarships of the institution. On June 13, the whole scheme was ripened for public acceptance by a meeting at Marlborough House, the residence of the Prince of Wales, and, he himself being present and in the chair, we read that there were "two archbishops, two royal princes, the Lord Mayor and leading members of the corporation, all advocating the civilizing influence of music and the necessity of providing for adequate tuition, so that no incipient indication of ability for the science of sweet sounds should not be at once turned to the best account." Since then Sir Michael Costa, Sir Julius Benedict, Sir George Elvey, Herr Hallé the pianist, and Professors Ella and John Hullah, both at the head of the musical profession in England, have been appointed to examine into the progress and working of the new training school. Finally, at a conference at the Mansion House, the Lord Mayor presiding, a committee was appointed to make arrangements for the forthcoming public meeting in connection with the proposed school. Sir Henry Cole announced that it was contemplated that there should be 300 scholarships of £40 a-year each, to be tenable for five years, though they would probably have to be content with 50 or 100 scholarships for the first twelve months.

—The merchants of the Nile, according to the African traveller, Dr. Nachtigal, are opening up the interior of the kingdom of Wadai, lately accepted as a tributary of Egypt, and the whole of the country will probably be accessible to foreign traders within the next few years. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, in abridging the traveller's interesting account of his experiences, laid before a meeting of the Berlin Geographical Society, describes the king's rule as extending far beyond the limits of his own country, and comprising the numerous desert tribes up to the land of the Niam-Niams. The area of his territory is about three thousand square miles, and the population Dr. Nachtigal estimates at about 2,500,000. The ground rises from east to west, and attains an elevation of from 1,000 to 1,500 feet above the sea-level. The religion of the people is Mohammedan, and their customs resemble those of most uncivilized Mohammedan countries. The king is looked upon as a sort of divinity; his mother must be of the dominant race; he must be without any physical or mental defect, always eat alone, and never drink beer. The king's drinking-vessels, and the wells from which they are filled, are covered with cloths, to protect the water against the influences of the evil eye, and the women and girls who take the water to the king's palace are always accompanied by a guard. The royal insignia are a crown, a sun-umbrella of ostrich feathers, and the family Koran. The king's harem consists of about five hundred women, and when the king dies his daughters are married at the expense of his successor; the sons, except the heir to the throne, being blinded with hot irons. The highest dignitaries of state, when they are summoned to appear before the king, always approach him on all-fours, with downcast eyes. The administration of the country is entirely in the hands of the officials, who are taken mostly from certain privileged families. A separate and generally despised class, though for what reason does not appear, is formed by the smiths. To call a man a smith in Wadai is an insult which can only be atoned for by blood. They have a sort of king, who has to shave the real king's head once a week. This "king of the smiths" is also the surgeon of the harem, and performs the operation of blinding the king's relatives on his accession. One of the most profitable of the appointments in the civil service is that of "searcher." The duty of this official is to look for beer-drinkers. He has a number of spies under his orders, who go into each house to seek the forbidden liquor, and every man on whose premises it is found is liable to have his whole property confiscated and his wife's head shaved. Generally, however, the "searcher" is satisfied by the payment of a heavy fine. The taxation of the country is very heavy. Of every ten fish that are caught, eight have to be given to the king; he also gets as taxes every three years about 200 cwt. of ivory, 4,000 slaves, 5,000 camels, and 10,000 cattle. All the horses born in the country which are not required for breeding belong to the king, besides which he receives large contributions of skins, mats,

honey, rice, ostrich and guinea-fowl eggs, water-jars, butter, and salt. The king is the judge in all criminal cases affecting the royal family and the higher officials. Murderers are usually given up to the families of their victims, who may either accept compensation (usually consisting of 100 camels and 100 horses) or take the murderer's life. Theft is punished the first and second times with a fine, and the third time with death. The sentence in such cases is executed by the king's musicians. The penalty of death by shooting is inflicted on the higher officials only; other malefactors are either strangled or impaled. The army consists of 40,000 infantry and 5,000 to 6,000 cavalry. A third of the latter wear armor; and although there are 4,000 muskets in store, only 1,000 of the troops know how to use them. In time of war the army is divided into three detachments, with the king in the middle. The battle is fought by the two wings, and when it ends unsuccessfully the king sits down on a carpet and calmly awaits his fate.

—We have just received the first number of the second volume of the *Rivista di Filologia Romanza*, the first volume of which we noticed in the *Nation*, No. 494. The present number is of special interest to students of old Italian literature, containing among other articles two *Devozioni* of the first half of the XIVth century. These *Devozioni* are dramatic compositions which were represented in the church, the first upon Thursday of Holy Week, the second on Good Friday, and are of the highest importance for an understanding of the development of the Italian sacred drama. The four steps were: the liturgic dramas, the *Laude*, the *Devozioni*, and the *Sacre Rappresentazioni*. Five of these *Laude* are given in the Review in a continuation of the article on "Uffizj Drammatici dei Disciplinati dell' Umbria." Karl Bartsch contributes a didactic poem of the XIIIth century, taken from the Vatican MS. 4476, with valuable annotations by Mussafia, and there are, besides, a description of the Provençal *Canzoniere* which belonged to the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, of Middlehill, reviews of works relating to Italian philology and literature, and contents of the various periodicals devoted to the Romance languages.

## SWINBURNE'S ESSAYS.*

MR. SWINBURNE has by this time impressed upon the general public a tolerably vivid image of his literary personality. His line is a definite one; his note is familiar, and we know what to expect from him. He was at pains, indeed, a year ago to quicken the apprehension of American readers by an effusion directed more or less explicitly to themselves. This piece of literature was brief, but it was very remarkable. Mr. Emerson had had occasion to speak of Mr. Swinburne with qualified admiration, and this circumstance, coming to Mr. Swinburne's ears, had prompted him to uncork on the spot the vials of his wrath. He addressed to a newspaper a letter of which it is but a colorless account to say that it embodied the very hysterics of gross vituperation. Mr. Swinburne has some extremely just remarks about Byron's unamenableness to quotation, his having to be taken in the gross. This is almost equally true of our author himself; he must be judged by all he has done, and we must allow, in our judgment, the weight he would obviously claim for it to his elaborate tribute to the genius of Mr. Emerson. His tone has two distinct notes—the note of measureless praise and the note of furious denunciation. Each is in need of a correction, but we confess that, with all its faults, we prefer the former. That Mr. Swinburne has a kindness for his more restrictive strain is, however, very obvious. He is over-ready to sound it, and he is not particular about his pretext. Some people, he says, for instance, affirm that a writer may have a very effective style and yet have nothing of value to express with it. Mr. Swinburne demands that they prove their assertion. "This flattering unction the very foolishest of malignants will hardly, in this case [that of Mr. D. G. Rossetti], be able to lay upon the corrosive sore which he calls his soul; the ulcer of ill-will must rot unrelieved by the rancid ointment of such fiction." In Mr. W. M. Rossetti's edition of Shelley there is in a certain line an interpolation of the word "autumn." "For the conception of this atrocity the editor is not responsible; for its adoption he is. A thousand years of purgatorial fire would be insufficient expiation for the criminal on whose deaf and desperate head must rest the original guilt of defacing the text of Shelley with this most damnable corruption."

The essays before us are upon Victor Hugo, D. G. Rossetti, William Morris, Matthew Arnold as a poet, Shelley, Byron, Coleridge, and John Ford. To these are added two papers upon pictures—the drawings of the old masters at Florence and the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1868. Mr. Swinburne, in writing of poets, cannot fail to say a great many felicitous things. His own insight into the poetic mystery is so deep, his perception in matters of language so refined, his power of appreciation so large and active, his imagination, especially, so sympathetic and flexible, that we constantly feel him to be one who has a valid right to judge and pass sentence. The variety of his sympathies in poetry is especially remarkable, and is in itself a pledge of criticism of a liberal kind. Victor Hugo is his divinity—a divinity whom indeed, to our sense, he effectually conceals and obliterates in the suffocating fumes of his rhetoric. On the other hand, one of the best papers in the volume is a disquisition on the poetry of Mr. Matthew Arnold, of which his relish seems hardly less intense and for whom he states the case with no less prodigious a redundancy of phrase. Matthew Arnold's canons of style, we should have said, are a positive negation of those of Mr. Swinburne's, and it is to the credit of the latter's breadth of taste that he should have entered in to an intellectual temperament which is so little his own. The other articles contain similar examples of his vivacity and energy of perception, and offer a number of happy judgments and suggestive observations. His estimate of Byron as a poet (not in the least as a man—on this point his utterances are consummately futile) is singularly discriminating; his measurement of Shelley's lyric force is eloquently adequate; his closing words upon John Ford are worth quoting as a specimen of strong apprehension and solid statement. Mr. Swinburne is by no means always solid, and this passage represents him at his best:

"No poet is less forgettable than Ford; none fastens (as it were) the fangs of his genius and his will more deeply in your memory. You cannot shake hands with him and pass him by; you cannot fall in with him and out again at pleasure; if he touch you once he takes you, and what he takes he keeps his hold of; his work becomes part of your thought and parcel of your spiritual furniture for ever; he signs himself upon you as with a seal of deliberate and decisive power. His force is never the force of accident; the casual divinity of beauty which falls, as though direct from heaven, upon stray lines and phrases of some poets, falls never by any such heavenly chance on his; his strength of impulse is matched by his strength of will; he never works more by instinct than by resolution; he knows what he would have and what he will do, and gains his end and does his work with full conscience of purpose and insistance of design. By the might of a great will seconded by the force of a great hand he won the place he holds against all odds of rivalry in a race of rival giants."

On the other hand, Mr. Swinburne is constantly liable on this same line to lapse into flagrant levity and perversity of taste; as in saying that he cannot consider Wordsworth "as mere poet" equal to Coleridge as mere poet; in speaking of Alfred de Musset as "the female page or attendant dwarf" of Byron, and his poems as "decoctions of watered Byronism"; or in alluding jauntily and *en passant* to Gautier's 'Mademoiselle de Maupin' as "the most perfect and exquisite book of modern times." To note, however, the points at which Mr. Swinburne's judgment hits the mark, or the points at which it misses it, is comparatively superfluous, inasmuch as both these cases seem to us essentially accidental. His book is not at all a book of judgment; it is a book of pure imagination. His genius is for style simply, and not in the least for thought nor for real analysis; he goes through the motions of criticism, and makes a considerable show of logic and philosophy, but with deep appreciation his writing seems to us to have very little to do. He is an imaginative commentator, often of a very splendid kind, but he is never a real interpreter and rarely a trustworthy guide. He is a writer, and a writer in constant quest of a theme. He has an inordinate sense of the picturesque, and he finds his theme in those subjects and those writers which gratify it. When they gratify it highly, he conceives a boundless relish for them; they give him his chance, and he turns-on the deluge of his exorbitant homage. His imagination kindles, he abounds in their own sense, when they give him an inch he takes an ell, and quite loses sight of the subject in the entertainment he finds in his own word-spinning. In this respect he is extraordinarily accomplished: he very narrowly misses having a magnificent style. On the imaginative side, his style is almost complete, and seems capable of doing everything that picturesqueness demands. There are few writers of our day who could have produced this description of a thunder-storm at sea. Mr. Swinburne gives it to us as the likeness of Victor Hugo's genius:

"About midnight, the thunder-cloud was full overhead, full of incessant sound and fire, lightening and darkening so rapidly that it seemed to have life, and a delight in its life. At the same hour, the sky was clear to the west, and all along the sea-line there sprang and sank as to music a restless dance or chase of summer lightnings across the lower sky: a race and riot of lights, beautiful and rapid as a course of shining Oceanides along the tremulous floor of the sea. Eastward, at the same moment, the space of clear sky was higher and wider, a splendid semicircle of too intense purity to be called blue; it was of no color namable by man; and midway in it, beween the stars and the sea, hung the motionless full moon; Artemis watching with serene splendor of scorn the battle of Titans and the revel

* 'Essays and Studies. By Algernon Charles Swinburne.' London: Chatto & Windus. 1875.

of nymphs from her stainless and Olympian summit of divine indifferent light. Underneath and about us, the sea was paved with flame ; the whole water trembled and hissed with phosphoric fire ; even through the wind and thunder I could hear the crackling and sputtering of the water-sparks. In the same heaven and in the same hour there shone at once the three contrasted glories, golden and fiery and white, of moonlight, and of the double lightning, forked and sheet ; and under all this miraculous heaven lay a flaming floor of water."

But with this extravagant development of the imagination there is no commensurate development either of the reason or of the moral sense. One of these defects is, to our mind, fatal to Mr. Swinburne's style ; the other is fatal to his tone, to his temper, to his critical pretensions. His style is without measure, without discretion, without sense of what to take and what to leave ; after a few pages, it becomes intolerably fatiguing. It is always listening to itself—always turning its head over its shoulders to see its train flowing behind it. The train shimmers and tumbles in a very gorgeous fashion, but the rustle of its embroidery is fatally importunate. Mr. Swinburne is a dozen times too verbose; at least one-half of his phrases are what the French call phrases in the air. One-half of his sentence is always a repetition, for mere fancy's sake and nothing more, of the meaning of the other half—a play upon its words, an echo, a reflection, a duplication. This trick, of course, makes a writer formidably prolix. What we have called the absence of the moral sense of the writer of these essays is, however, their most disagreeable feature. By this we do not mean that Mr. Swinburne is not didactic, nor edifying, nor devoted to pleading the cause of virtue. We mean simply that his moral plummet does not sink at all, and that when he pretends to drop it he is simply dabbling in the relatively very shallow pool of the picturesque. A sense of the picturesque so refined as Mr. Swinburne's will take one a great way, but it will by no means, in dealing with things whose great value is in what they tell us of human character, take one all the way. One breaks down with it (if one treats it as one's sole support) sooner or later in æsthetics ; one breaks down with it very soon indeed in psychology. We do not remember in this whole volume a single instance of delicate moral discrimination—a single case in which the moral note has been struck, in which the idea betrays the smallest acquaintance with the conscience. The moral realm for Mr. Swinburne is simply a brilliant chiaroscuro of costume and posture. This makes all Mr. Swinburne's magnificent talk about Victor Hugo's great criminals and monstrosities, about Shelley's Count Cenci, and Browning's Guido Franchesini, and about dramatic figures generally, quite worthless as anything but amusing fantasy. As psychology it is, to our sense, extremely puerile ; for we do not mean simply to say that the author does not understand morality—a charge to which he would be probably quite indifferent ; but that he does not at all understand immorality. Such a passage as his rhapsody upon Victor Hugo's Josiane ("such a pantheress may be such a poetess," etc.) means absolutely nothing. It is entertaining as pictorial writing—though even in this respect, as we have said, thanks to excess and redundancy, it is the picturesque spoiled rather than achieved ; but as an attempt at serious analysis it seems to us, like many of its companions, simply ghastly—ghastly in its poverty of insight and its pretension to make mere lurid imagery do duty as thought.

## THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW FOR JULY.

IN a paper on Geographical Surveys, Prof. J. D. Whitney gives, in a popular form, a great deal of valuable information as to the progress of topography in this and other countries. The general law of topographical progress which he lays down is very simple, namely—that the minuteness and accuracy of surveys in any country will depend ultimately on the value of the country to man ; *i.e.*, very rough surveys are all that we need expect of lands which are unfit for man's habitation ; while the importance of having thorough surveys increases directly with every increase of use to which land can be put. For the general survey of Great Britain known as the "Ordnance Survey" two scales were selected, one of six inches and the other of one inch to the mile ; but the map of London is on the scale of five feet. This law, applied to America, would lead us to expect to find that the work had been very roughly done in some directions, and would over a great part of the country be hardly even worth doing at all, while large portions of it ought to be very minutely and accurately known. The law, however, does not work of itself, and in this country there have been certain human causes, chiefly the ignorance of politicians, which have prevented its working smoothly. We find, indeed, that though a great deal of money has been spent on topography, much of it has been spent without system, and the result is now a sort of chaos of surveys carried on by different bodies under different authority, without any common object or plan of operations. We have, it is true, in the Coast Survey a work which is highly creditable to American science, and which has been in progress, with an interruption of sixteen years, since 1801. This survey was originally intended, of course as its name implies, for the coast alone, but fortunately for us the remarkably indented character of our coast has made it necessary to triangulate a good deal of the interior also, and thus we have, in the case of some States, like New Jersey and Maryland, no small portion of their topography given accurately. The Coast Survey now receives from Congress an annual appropriation for extending its work "so as to form a geodetic connection between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts." If in the end the whole interior were to fall into its hands, no one who has the interest either of science or the country at heart would be sorry. Besides the Coast Survey, however (which is attached to the Treasury Department), there is a Lake Survey carried on under the War Department—why separated from the Coast Survey it would probably be difficult to discover ; and then there are also the Land-Office surveys, carried on by the Interior Department, the work of which is done, according to Professor Whitney, with "the simplest and least accurate instruments" and without any triangulation. The result of this is that the work is badly done, and it will, as Professor Whitney says, be apt to excite some surprise, in any one who reads the Land-Office report that the guide meridians and standard parallels are "run, as nearly as human skill can effect it, upon true meridians and parallels of latitude," to learn that in truth portions of these lines are miles away from where they ought to be. The work, it seems, will have to be done over again. Besides this, the Engineer Bureau has done much topographical work, and has nominally the credit of Mr. King's excellent Fortieth Parallel Survey ; and there is also a survey of the Territories, under charge of Dr. F. V. Hayden and Mr. J. T. Gardner, his assistant ; and a survey of the Colorado River, which has been going on for about five years, first under the Department of the Interior, and afterwards under the Smithsonian Institution. These last two surveys cover in a great measure the same ground, but there is still a third, under the direction of the Engineer Bureau, known as Lieutenant Wheeler's Survey. Such is the very confused condition of affairs (we have left out of consideration the various State surveys), and it is obvious that they are not in the condition they ought to be. The Government—that is to say, Congress and the Executive—have plainly no idea of what is wanted, and no notion of the means by which it is to be carried out, and the work has accordingly fallen into the hands here of a good man, there of a bad one, the amount of appropriations depending very much on his demands, and the direction of his explorations being very much left to himself to determine. What is now wanted is the introduction of order and system under a single head.

The third chapter of the Adams-Wingate history of the Ring brings the tale of that remarkable body down to the publication in the *Times* of the fraudulent accounts, and in the next instalment we shall hope to have the question as to who destroyed the Ring definitely settled. The present instalment carries us back to the time when the Ring had actually got possession of the city, after Hall had given the Public Works to Tweed, the Comptrollership to Connolly, and the Parks to Sweeny. Some of the incidents of that time, when they are now recalled, seem to be fairly incredible. The order issued by Hilton to have the zoölogical models put up in the Park by Professor Hawkins carted away and buried, and to have his moulds and sketch-models destroyed, on the ground that a naturalist ought not to waste his time on "dead animals" when there were so many live ones to be cared for ; the report on the Palæontological Museum issued by Sweeny, referring to animals "alleged to be of the pre-Adamite period," and introducing a new system of classification by mentioning one department as being devoted to "carnivora" and another to "the wolves and bears" ; the certificate of John Jacob Astor and five other men of substance to the "faithful and correct manner" in which the Comptroller was managing the financial affairs of the city, and their encouraging announcement that owing to this faithful discharge of duty the city debt would be "extinguished in less than twelve years"—in recalling these things, it is difficult to persuade one's self that they are not taken from some burlesque or opéra-bouffe rather than from the real history of an American city.

We have already referred to the article by Mr. Henry Reed on "Some Recent Efforts at Constitutional Reform," besides which the *Review* contains an interesting discussion of Todhunter's 'Conflict of Studies' by Chauncey Wright, and a sensible discussion of the æsthetic works of Pater, Rio, and Burckhardt, by Mrs. Wister. The extreme "gush" of the first of this trio is better brought out by Mrs. Wister than it has been by any one before.

*Fears for Democracy regarded from the American Point of View.* By Charles Ingersoll. "La liberté est un aliment de bon suc mais de forte digestion ; il faut des estomacs bien sains pour le supporter" (J. J. Rousseau). (Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875. 8vo, pp. 297.)—We cannot quite make out Mr. Ingersoll's object in writing this book, unless it was to put on record his opinion that the agitation against slavery was unjustifiable, the late war uncalled for, the Reconstruction Acts outrageous, and our present political practices harmful and dangerous. The following sentence contains, if we read it aright, much of the gist of the book, and is moreover a fair specimen of its style :

"Negro slavery, the vile pretence of which the South had been so long the victim—and no giddy-headed prince ever invaded his neighbor's dominions on falser pretences than those on which we gave the South no rest—found, and left, after all the agitation of it, in the people of the non-slaveholding States, a feeling as true to the slaveholders as to themselves ; but instantly the cry was war when the affront came at Fort Sumter" (p. 218).

Mr. Ingersoll does not propose any remedy for our present evils ; nor does he anywhere trace out their causes, except by referring them in a vague way to the neglect of democratic principles. What these democratic principles are he does not tell us ; but he ought to know—and, in fact, shows on page 115 that he does know—that there is more than one type of democracy, and that "in French democracy unfortunately the Government does everything." Here is a glimpse of an important truth ; so, too, on page 122, he hits precisely the great defect in our institutions—that "we have a government that answers to itself and not to the people ; a government without responsibility." There are many judicious observations scattered through the book, and in particular there is a carefully prepared account of the manner in which our Executive Department was wrought out in the Constitutional Convention ; but as a whole the book lacks coherence.

"If from the people of the United States were withdrawn, at the same moment, the Federal and State establishments, with all their appliances and means of compulsion, and we were left with no governments at all, ruin would not ensue ; the best portions of society would appear, and the worst, those who are now uppermost, politically, would disappear, exactly as in Europe the worst would appear and the best disappear" (p. 86). There is no proof offered of this prophecy, but, granting it to be well founded, whose fault is it that at present it is the worst portions of society that are uppermost with us ? Surely, democracy—meaning, as Mr. Ingersoll appears to mean, Jeffersonian democracy, as embodied in the Democratic party—can never expect a fairer field and a better chance than it has had in this country, which it ruled almost without interruption from 1801 to 1861. Where else, then, can the responsibility rest ?

*The Art of Swimming in the Eton Style.* By "Sergeant" Leahy (New York : Macmillan & Co. 1875.)—If the literary editors of this little volume had done their duty, we might have had a coherent and orderly account of what is meant by the "Eton College style," but we should have had fewer pages to read, and should have missed the very amusing acquaintance of Sergeant Leahy. We certainly "appreciate it as a great boon" that after teaching Eton schoolboys to swim for a guinea, and the ladies of the neighborhood of the first class at two shillings a lesson, the inventor of the "style" in question freely makes it over to the public, with the assurance that "it is the best in the world, and admits of no improvement." We are not going to describe it here, since we wish Sergeant Leahy to have the full benefit of his entertaining publication. A few sentences which we quote at random will, without revealing too much, give some idea of his capacity as a teacher. "When you feel cramp coming on, don't attempt to stop or stand, but strike out much faster than before ; a sudden jerk is the most effective thing." "In order to make way against a rapid stream, current, or tide, which would otherwise carry you away, you should dive every now and then, taking a fresh breath ; for the current has less power over you when you swim under water than when you swim above it." "If you do not believe it is the legs which propel a swimmer when on his belly, you surely will believe it is the legs that do it when he is on his back, with his hands on his hips. I say again, put more reliance in your legs, and they will not fail you as the arms will." "How long will people be content to take only half-measures for the introduction of thorough teaching in the art of swimming ? I ask, is it or is it not necessary for them to be followed up until proficiency is obtained in this as in other games, the practising of which is carried to such an extent that this, the most necessary of them all, is comparatively neglected, and only taken up by the few ?"

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* |
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| Hartt (Prof. C. F.), Amazonian Tortoise Myths, swd. | (William Scully) |
| Haven (Rev. G.), A Winter in Mexico. | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Ingelow (Jean), Fated to be Free: a Tale. | (Roberts Bros.) $1 75 |
| In the Kitchen. | (Lee & Shepard) 2 50 |
| Littell's Living Age, April–June, 1875. | (Littell & Gay) |
| Leahy (Sergeant), Art of Swimming in the Eton Style. | (Macmillan & Co.) 1 00 |
| Mügge (T.), Afraja: Life and Love in Norway. | (Porter & Coates) |
| Morgan (H. H.), Representative Names in the History of English Literature. | (Ginn Bros.) 1 00 |
| Old Tramp : a Novel. | (E. J. Hale & Son) |
| Paul (Mrs. S. T.), Cookery from Experience. | (Porter & Coates) |
| Purdy (J. H.), Law and Business Chart of the U. S. | (St. Louis) 3 50 |
| Rhodes (A.), The French at Home. | (Dodd & Mead) |
| Ruskin (J.), Frondes Agrestes. | (J. Wiley & Son) 1 00 |
| Saratoga : The Visitor's Guide, swd. | (Taintor Bros.) |
| Sidgwick (A.), Scenes from Euripides : Hecuba. | (Rivingtons) |
| Stieler (A.), Hand-Atlas, Part 27, swd. | (L. W. Schmidt) |
| Schlegel (Prof. C. A.), A First German Book. | (L. W. Schmidt) |


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*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 5, 1875.*

## The Week.

ANDREW JOHNSON died last Saturday, after, as he so often reminded us, "having filled every office in the gift of the people, from that of village alderman up to the chief magistracy of this great nation." His beginnings were of the humblest kind; and we believe it was true he received instruction in the arts of reading and writing from his wife. He owed his political success to the fact that he made himself from the first the champion of the poor whites in Tennessee against the slaveholding aristocracy, and the position he held towards the latter doubtless had much to do with arraying him on the side of the Union at the outbreak of the war. During the subsequent struggle he displayed the most undaunted courage and fortitude, and was in 1864 perhaps the most conspicuous Unionist at the South. It was this simply which led to his nomination for the Vice-Presidency at the Baltimore Convention in that year. Hardly any Northern politician had any intimate knowledge of his character or capacity, and, when an accident raised him to the Presidency, he appeared before the Northern public as an odd and unknown man, whose manners astounded them. "His policy" of Reconstruction was undoubtedly inherited in its main features from Mr. Lincoln, and was substantially that which Mr. Lincoln would, had he lived, have been allowed to carry out. But the action of several Southern legislatures towards the colored people, the fierceness of temper bred at the North, and the increased ascendancy given to the radical wing of the Republican party by Mr. Lincoln's assassination, made that policy no longer possible—a fact which Johnson was too obtuse and too ignorant to see. His warfare in defence of it rapidly degenerated into a broad farce, in which the Republican majority in both Houses, headed by a few fanatics and stimulated by a portion of the Republican press, played a ludicrous and ignoble part, but which came near having a serious termination, by putting the Government into the hands of a section of the party directed by B. F. Butler, and ready for any excesses in defence of whatever they were pleased to consider "human rights." Apart from this incident in his official career, and a somewhat absurd suggestion of repudiation of the public debt, Johnson's course was in the main unexceptionable. His cabinet was composed of able men, designated for their places by public opinion; his personal integrity was beyond question; and his respect for the laws and the Constitution made his Administration a remarkable contrast to that which succeeded it. His reappearance in the Senate last winter was the result of another popular victory in Tennessee, but only gave the old man one more opportunity of making himself ridiculous, of which he fully availed himself.

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The Indian Commission has been holding a meeting at Long Branch, and has issued an address to the "Christian public," which says in substance that they (the Commissioners) are the representatives of nine missionary organizations; that the present policy of the Government towards the Indians is humane and Christian; that it seeks the elevation of the Indians by moral and religious means, or, in other words, by the same agencies as those employed by the missionary societies among the heathen; that this policy has been very successful, and is bringing about the civilization of all the Indians, except three or four bands of Sioux "in the high altitudes of the Rocky Mountains," and though these bands, who are very fierce, "refuse teachers and preachers, and desire neither books nor civilizing arts," they are, in some mysterious manner, markedly improving also; that great care is taken by the religious bodies in the selection of the Indian agents, but the salaries allowed by law are so small that it is not surprising if men of the necessary standing and ability cannot always be found for the place, and if the agents, considering the low character of the traders and contractors with whom they are brought into contact, should occasionally be found corrupt; that neither the Government nor the Board would, however, be justified in accepting all sorts of "loud-mouthed accusations" against them; that most of the charges of fraud come from disappointed contractors and traders, but, at the same time, there ought to be investigation when they are brought by "respectable and responsible parties"; that they are not aware of the existence of any more or other "rings" in the Indian service than are found in any branch of the public service in which large contracts have to be awarded; that the success of this humane policy depends on the sagacity and wisdom of the missionary boards in the selection of agents, but that there is "required on the part of all good men a comprehension of the difficulties of the work and a fair amount of patience with those who administer it"; that much of the present clamor is raised and promoted by "bad men" who seek the destruction of the "humane policy" at any cost; and finally, that the Indian service is and has been for several years under the control of the religious bodies of the country, and that upon them will rest the success or failure of this policy.

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Apropos of this, Mr. Wayne MacVeagh, who was offered a place on the commission appointed to investigate matters at the Red Cloud Indian Agency, but has declined it, calls attention, in a letter to the *Tribune*, to several points in the history of the President's relation to the Indian service which it is at this juncture but simple justice to remember. One is, that when he was general of the army he strongly recommended the transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department; or, in other words, the transfer of the service from thieving traders to honest gentlemen. Another, that when he became President he tried to effect the same object by appointing army officers Indian agents, but, as Congress needed the places for the "good of the party," it thwarted this plan by promptly enacting that every officer accepting such an appointment should be held to have resigned his commission. As a last resort, he then called on the religious denominations to supply him with Indian agents, and it is this system which is on trial to-day.

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Now, all this is creditable, and he ought to get credit for it, and we wish most sincerely we could stop here. But Mr. MacVeagh's statement makes it necessary to recall the fact that six of the ten Indian Commissioners originally appointed by the President in 1867 on this last basis, and mostly men of high standing in the religious world—such as Mr. William E. Dodge—resigned in 1874, and published a letter to the President, in which they expressed their regret that the Secretary of the Interior (Delano) had not urged on Congress the legislation they had previously asked for, making the Indian Bureau independent of the Department of the Interior (Delano). They complained, moreover, that the Indian appropriation passed that year was saddled with the condition that all the accounts should be audited in Washington, and all other duties imposed on them be discharged in the same place. They doubtless saw in this provision what the general public saw in it—an artfully-devised scheme for getting rid of them; perhaps suggested by the person most interested in getting rid of them (Delano). They added, too, that the overruling of their decisions by the Department of the Interior (Delano), of which they had had ample experience, would render their auditing idle and vexatious, and that a board like theirs under the control of the Department of the Interior (Delano) would be a useless appendage to the service. Mr. Dodge subsequently explained to a reporter of the *Tribune*—and the statement has never been contradicted—that they found that when they awarded a contract to somebody outside the Indian Ring, it would be awarded soon after to some one whom they had tried to avoid.

The law, too, he said, required that all bills should be audited by them, but gave the ultimate power of payment to the Secretary of the Interior (Delano), and it was frequently found that bills which they had disallowed were paid by him (Delano) all the same. Now, as they were allowed to resign, while the worthy Delano retained and still retains his place, we wish Mr. MacVeagh would inform us what conclusion a fairly charitable and honest man is to draw regarding the President's good faith in the execution of the "humane policy."

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We were mistaken last week in speaking of General Patrick H. Jones as Mr. Sharpe's successor in the United States Marshalship in this district; his successor was Mr. Fiske, the present holder of the office. But this does not excuse Major Bundy for saying in his *Evening Mail*, by way of correction, that Sharpe was nominated for the Surveyorship before 1873; that Mr. G. W. Curtis did not resign his Civil-Service Commissionership on account of this appointment, and did procure the appointment of his (Sharpe's) successor. These statements are all untrue—Sharpe, for instance, having been nominated March 14, 1873. We beg to call the attention of the *World* to Major Bundy's conduct. It has threatened him with serious penalties in case of a repetition of such offences as the foregoing, and we now ask for judgment and execution.

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The waning speculation in breadstuffs was revived in the latter part of the week, not by the renewed demand from Europe for our grain, for the harvests there, although not good, are not so bad as it seemed they would be two weeks ago, but by a continuance of heavy rains in parts of the West where excellent harvests were looked for. Unfavorable weather has also injured the cotton prospects in some of the Southern States, but the damage to cotton has been much less than to grain in the Western States. Very much now depends on the weather in the next few weeks, both here and in Europe. To attempt calculations with the premises so uncertain is worse than useless. With the weather given, however, the problem is easily solved. Mr. Bristow continues his gold sales, having advertised $5,000,000 for August. The syndicate having in charge the new funding 5 per cent. loan continue to sell bonds in Europe more rapidly than they can buy the 5-20 six per cents called for redemption. To this is due the fact that they are supplying most of the bankers' exchange coming on the market. The public-debt statement shows a reduction during the first month of the fiscal year of $1,294,837. The legal-tender note circulation is now $374,824,935, or $7,175,015 less than it was when Mr. Richardson left the Treasury. At the Stock Exchange, dulness has been the characteristic of the week, but prices have nevertheless improved. Money is still very abundant, and the failure of Duncan, Sherman & Co. had little influence on the rates for mercantile paper. Most of the domestic paper of that house held in this country was owned in Rhode Island, and this amount was not large enough to be alarming.

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The failure of Duncan, Sherman & Co. was the subject most talked of for a few days, but after the surprise had fairly disappeared, and the public became aware that it would not bring down other firms, all interest in the matter, except on the part of those who are creditors of the house, passed away. In London it caused scarcely a ripple; the Bank of England directors, at their weekly meeting, within forty-eight hours of its occurrence, reduced the discount rate of the Bank to 2½ per cent.; and the London market, so far from having been staggered by the news, became positively buoyant. It may now safely be said that it had no public significance. Many, however, will lose by it, and none will be caused more vexation and annoyance than travellers holding the letters of credit of the house. It is likely that some arrangement will be made for protecting them, even if it should be necessary for some of the relatives of the leading partners to make the aid a personal matter.

The principal losses, aside from what may be borne by Mr. Alexander Duncan, the father of the head of the house, fall on the depositors. One is spoken of as having had $900,000 with the firm, but as entirely able to lose it, having besides and elsewhere over $2,000,000 in one kind or another of property; another is mentioned as having $600,000 in the house; and it is known that $420,000 due to a Chicago corporation was involved, in that it was in process of transfer from London to Chicago, having been turned into the Union Bank of London, one of the correspondents of the failed house, and not yet taken out here. One former depositor was said to have withdrawn several hundred thousand dollars from the house a few days before suspension, whether because his fears were excited or by chance is not mentioned. The statement of the liabilities and assets of the house has not yet appeared, and exactly what it will show is a matter of conjecture; that the statement will not be satisfactory is inferred from an understanding, common in Wall Street, that there has been a sale of a creditor's claim for thirty cents on the dollar. It is more than conjecture that the statement will show that the house has been sustained in its London credits for several years by Mr. Alexander Duncan, who, it is now known, has been, at least in part, indemnified by the transfer of real estate here and elsewhere, which was supposed until the day of the failure to have been the personal property of Mr. William Butler Duncan; and, more, that the failure was precipitated by his declared unwillingness to pledge himself for the further acceptance in London of the bills of the New York firm.

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Senator Thurman, General Hayes, and Mr. Sherman have made their speeches in Ohio, that of the first, of course, attracting most attention. It consisted of an elaborate attempt to justify the support of the Ohio platform by hard-money men. He even went so far as to attempt to persuade his hearers, or himself, we hardly know which, that the Democratic platform is not an inflation platform at all, but the main drift of his argument was directed to showing that the general interests at stake in the campaign were so much more important than the currency question, and the effect of the triumph of even an inflation platform in a local Ohio election so small, that it was the duty of good Democrats to sink their feelings about the currency question. The speech does not seem to have been a marked success, for there can be no doubt that, however much the hard-money Democrats may be willing to stifle their feelings, the inflationists have no idea of suppressing theirs, or encouraging the spirit of compromise. There is only one difficulty with Mr. Thurman's argument, and that is, it does not seem to convince anybody. The Republicans are of course unaffected by it. To the "independent voter," who just now in Ohio is apt to test politicians by their financial opinions, it only means that Mr. Thurman has made up his mind to swallow a very disagreeable dose, and the Democrats are disgusted with its lukewarmness. They don't want to have excuses made for what they are doing. They want the unterrified Democrat to rally round the old standard, and strike one final blow at the shackles of money-kings, and free his country from the Black-Republican blight.

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Several judicial decisions of a good deal of interest have been made this week, two connected with the Tweed proceedings and two with the canals. The Canal Commission, it seems, has not power to punish for contempt, and, according to Judge Learned, though witnesses may be compelled to appear before it, they cannot be compelled to give their testimony when they have appeared. Judge Westbrook has also decided that the State cannot recover $55,000 paid to Jarvis Lord on a canal contract which he obtained by a fraudulent combination with other contractors, the competing bids having been suppressed or destroyed. This is a *pro-formâ* decision, following a precedent, in order to give an opportunity for an appeal, and it certainly seems as if the question needed reargument. The same judge has also been compelled, by the rule established in the Tweed case, to make a decision which ought to be gratifying to mur-

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derers, burglars, thieves, pickpockets, and all persons under sentence of court. A man, named Aaron Jacobs, had been committed for contempt in the Superior Court, and sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment and a fine of $2,470 54, which was made up of three separate sums of $2,068 29 due to a suitor in the court, $252 25 costs, and a counsel fee of $150. Jacobs, hearing of the Tweed case, at once applied to Judge Westbrook for a habeas corpus, on the ground that the counsel fee could not be included in the sentence, and the Court had therefore exceeded its jurisdiction. To this the counsel on the other side replied, that inasmuch as the fine had been imposed by a Court of competent jurisdiction the sentence could not be enquired into by habeas corpus before another judge of another Court. To this Judge Westbrook said that he had "always so understood until the recent decision in the Tweed case," but he should be compelled to follow that precedent. It seems, therefore, that anybody who can satisfy a judge that another judge has exceeded his jurisdiction, can habeas-corpus his way out of jail in a very summary manner. It is singular that Judge Westbrook should never have heard of this before if it was sound law. The new rule would seem to afford all the conveniences of the old New York law of injunctions applied to criminal cases. The public mind has been somewhat startled by all these decisions, but has been relieved by Judge Barrett, who has decided that Tweed's $3,000,000 bail in a $6,000,000 suit is not to be held excessive. Tweed's lawyers tried to persuade the Court that anything was excessive which the "old man" could not procure, but the Court thought otherwise.

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The decision as to the powers of the Canal Commission has an important bearing on the Indian investigation now going on. The Indian Commission has no more power to punish for contempt than the Canal Commission, so we may expect to find the movements of the latter rather hampered by the courts as soon as it tries to force "the bad men" who hold the contracts to make any important disclosure. Another decision, which must not be overlooked by reformers, is that of Judge Donohue, who decided the other day in the Tweed $6,000,000 suit that the plaintiffs must furnish the defendant a "bill of particulars," giving the date, amount, and tenor of all the fraudulent bills. The beauty of this decision is that, inasmuch as Tweed has by the destruction of all these documents put it out of the plaintiff's power to produce them, the suit cannot go on at all. Under ordinary circumstances, we do not like to criticise decisions of inferior courts which have been carried up on appeal, but this decision we have no hesitation in pronouncing nonsensical. If a man can, by destroying papers, put it out of the power of people whom he has swindled to sue him, we may rely on a great diminution in the number of cases tried in this city.

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Tilton has served notice of a new trial in September, and his lawyer says he has fresh evidence. We hope he is, however, not going to impanel another jury. Why not produce the evidence before some respectable referee, publish it in all the papers, and then kiss all around, and live happily ever after? The jury are sure not to agree, and the evidence is of course intended mainly for the public. We notice that Brother Shearman is over in England enlightening the pious people in London about this "infernal conspiracy." There can be little doubt, however, that the two last years of James Fisk's career contained matter of far deeper importance to society, both in England and America, than the Beecher-Tilton business, and just as little that on that subject Brother Shearman is one of the highest living authorities. We would suggest, therefore, a lecture on it at the City Temple before he comes home. The American public can put up with a great deal in the shape of audacity, and especially pious audacity, but surely there are limits to its patience.

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The news from England is of little moment. Mr. Plimsoll's quarrel with the House of Commons has turned into a triumph. There has been one of the monster meetings in London so common of late, to protest against the appropriation of money to pay the expense of the Prince of Wales's trip to India, and another to demand the release of the Fenian convicts. The Prince of Wales's trip is one of the natural incidents of the existence of the Indian Empire, and to fight against the visit, while not objecting to the Empire, is one of those halfway performances for which British republicans have a special fancy. The release of the Fenians would be tantamount to a declaration that any man might with impunity give you a black eye in the street if he would solemnly pledge himself that his object was the general elevation of the community. The Fenian movement was based upon the theory that war is declarable at any moment in any place by any person. Great preparations are being made for the O'Connell Centennial, but the venerated Catholic clergy in Dublin are said to have got hold of the movement, and, with their accustomed tact, are converting it into a huge Ultramontane demonstration, and so driving off the Protestants.

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A curious point of ecclesiastical law has come before the Arches Court in England. A Mr. Jenkins was dissatisfied with a sermon of his pastor, Mr. Cooke, on the eternity of future punishment, and wrote him a letter remonstrating with him upon his views. Whereupon, Mr. Cooke, by way of retaliation, looked into a book compiled by Mr. Jenkins, entitled 'Selections from the Old and New Testaments,' and discovered that he had cut out from these selections "all passages concerning Satan or evil spirits," and then informed him that he considered this "terrible evidence" of the extent to which he (Jenkins) "would go in mutilating the Word of God," and that until he made amends for it in a proper manner he should not give him the communion. Jenkins appealed to the bishop, who blew hot and cold alternately, and finally refused to decide the matter extra-judicially; and the minister reported that he had repelled Jenkins from the altar, as a "common and notorious defamer of the Book of Common Prayer," but offered, in negotiations with Mrs. Jenkins, to admit her husband to the sacrament if he would admit "his belief in the devil"—a compromise which Jenkins refused with scorn. Accordingly, the parties went into court, and the case was elaborately argued before the Dean of the Arches, Sir R. Phillimore, who holds that Jenkins is a "criminous layman," "a defamer of the Book of Common Prayer," "a slanderer of God's Word," and an "evil liver," and therefore unfit to receive the sacrament, and that he will have to believe in the personality of the devil and in the eternity of damnation in order to recover his standing. As this leaves Jenkins in a very uncomfortable position, he has naturally appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, holding that the decision in the 'Essays and Reviews' case covers his, and releases him from the necessity of believing either in the devil or the eternity of future punishment. It will be very curious to see what he will do in case he is beaten in the court of last resort, whether he will stay "criminous" or swallow the obnoxious doctrines, and, if the latter, what will be the effect on the sale of his 'Selections from the Old and New Testaments.'

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The news from Spain reports continued Alfonsist successes, and a consequent rise of the Spanish funds on the prospect of a dissolution of the Carlist forces, but this news about the funds would be more trustworthy if the figures were given. The Carlists have undoubtedly suffered reverses, but the importance of them has yet to be seen. The Cable also announces that the new constitution is nearly complete, and that it provides liberty of worship within doors for Protestant sects, while making the Catholic Church the church of the state, and maintainable out of the public funds. The support of the other sections of Moderates and Monarchists is said to have been secured for the Constitution, and the Republicans are too much disheartened to offer any opposition; so the probability is that it will go into force, and that the Cortes will be summoned under it, and the machinery of regular government once more set in motion. The Pope, who was at first disposed to throw his influence into the scale on the side of Don Carlos, has now so far recognized Don Alfonso as to send a Nuncio to Madrid. The French are now busily engaged in guarding the frontier to prevent the retreat of Carlist troops across the line, which looks as if they believed the Alfonsist military reports.

## CHRISTIANS IN POLITICS.

THE address of the Indian Commissioners to the "Christian Public" touching the charges made against Secretary Delano and Commissioner Smith, is very suggestive in more ways than one. It draws attention, in the first place, to the fact—and it is a very remarkable fact—that the President of the United States had been obliged, in sheer despair of securing honesty and efficiency in any other way, to confide the selection of the officers in an important branch of the public service to the missionary societies of the various religious denominations. He tried to have the duty of feeding and managing the Indians turned over to officers of the regular army—a body of men already in the service of the Government, and which has given the highest proof both of honesty and capacity in every position in which it has been placed, and whose ordinary work brings it into constant contact with the Indians—but he found himself foiled in this by the action of Congress, which passed a bill turning every officer out of the military service who accepted an Indian agency. The places were evidently needed for a very different class of men. This resource being cut off, he determined to throw the responsibility on the various religious organizations, and asked them to furnish him with commissioners and agents, and they are doing so. The reason why it is so difficult to get the Indian subsidies properly distributed is very simple. All the other disbursements of the Government are made to civilized men and women, who understand accounts and weights and measures, and have sufficient intelligence and knowledge of the law and of the modes of legal redress to be able to look after their own interests. The Indians, on the contrary, not only have no knowledge of accounts or of the law, but do not understand the mechanism of civil society. They consequently either do not know when they are cheated, or, if they know, are unable to help themselves. The distribution of stores to them, therefore, offers more chances for fraud than any other branch of the public service, and it is sought eagerly by the most dishonest men. If there be any branch of the public service the moral tone of which is high, the Indians should for these reasons be handed over to it. The army is such a branch, but, for the reasons above stated, the army cannot be made available for the work. The President has, therefore, tried to create a corps for this special duty, by practically adopting the rule that nobody but men who have made a public profession of religion shall be put in charge of the Indians—for this is what handing the work over to the missionary societies means in practice.

It is easy to show, however, that the arguments in favor of the adoption of this course with regard to the Indian service differ in degree only, and not in kind, from the arguments in favor of putting religious men in all other departments of the public service, or, in other words, of handing the state over to the church. There is doubtless more need of them in the Indian service than in others, but there is need of them in all. They are needed in the Pension Bureau, in the collection of the internal revenue, in the appraiser's office at the Custom-house, and in all other positions where a great deal has to be left, without check or control, to the officer's honesty and fidelity. The missionary societies have no special facilities for dealing with the Indian service. They doubtless have in their employ or within their knowledge a considerable body of persons possessing special fitness for the work of Christianizing or civilizing savages, but they have no peculiar facilities for supplying men with special fitness for the work of disbursing Government money in large amounts, or for making large contracts for supplies of various kinds and seeing that they are properly executed. Indeed, any large business house which had a great deal of this kind of work to do, would never think of applying to missionary societies for men to do it. If, therefore, the religious organizations are fit to take charge of the Indians, they are fit to take charge of the Treasury and the Attorney-General's office. If we need religious men for Indian agents, we need them for collectors and appraisers and marshals. There is no escaping from this conclusion. The temptations to knavery may be less strong in these latter offices than in the Indian agencies, but they exist in all. If nothing but the church can reform the civil service, to the church let us go. Every poor white man who pays a tax, or draws a pension, or sues out a writ, is as much entitled to its protection as Red Cloud or Lone Wolf.

What are the objections to this course? Why should we not make a profession of religion, or a certificate of religious character from some religious association or denomination, a condition of entrance into any branch of the civil service? Why should we not hand all the whole work of Governmental administration over to the missionary societies, for instance? We think the answer to this is furnished by the recent history of the Indian Bureau, as well as that of some other places of trust and profit in the public service and elsewhere; but, before stating it, we will say frankly that we think the selection of all employés from among the professors of religion would, for a while, be an enormous gain on the present system. It would supply a test of character of very great value the first time it was applied, because there is no question that, taken as a whole, the members of churches are more likely to be honest, upright, and trustworthy than the rest of the community. One sees why this must be so without taking any very high or spiritual view of the matter. Persons who make an open profession of religion may be divided roughly into three classes: (1) really spiritually-minded persons of pure lives, who have a longing for communion with God, which finds expression and satisfaction in the public worship and various other ministries of a religious organization; (2) persons with more or less desire for right living, but with so little strength of will and so much carnal weakness that they are constantly giving way to temptation and losing their self-respect, and join the church as a kind of external help in satisfying the demands of their own consciences; and (3) the worldly schemers who have no religious sentiment whatever, and no belief in God or devil, but have acquired skill in the use of religious terminology, and see, or think they see, that religious profession is a powerful help in trade and commerce. As regards the first two classes, church-membership is unquestionably a means and a sign of a higher than the average morality. As regards the last, it is unquestionably also a powerful restraint. There is many a man of this class whom the church probably keeps out of jail by the help and comfort it brings him in business and in society, and by the way in which it concentrates public opinion on him. If anybody were to determine, therefore, in a general way, that he would employ none but church members, he would find that on the whole he was making his selection from an excellent class, and stood a better chance of being served well than if he trusted to the ordinary modes.

But if the Government were to attempt to carry the plan General Grant has resorted to into the whole service, certain evils would show themselves speedily in a very aggravated form which are already showing themselves in a slight one, and from which religion would be and is the first to suffer. The selection of officers from among church-members would put a premium on the profession of religion which would enormously increase the class who resort to it as a help to selfish ends and in a spirit of complete hypocrisy. In the next place, it would enlist the spirit of denominational pride on the side of all persons actually employed, and make it a permanent and powerful shield for wrong-doing. What a strong and unruly spirit this is, and what a grief and shame it has been to really religious men in all ages, those know who have even a very slight acquaintance with ecclesiastical history. The *esprit de corps*, even in purely secular bodies, is a strange breeder of unscrupulousness and blindness; when touched by devotional feeling, it will carry even conscientious men to extraordinary lengths of deceitfulness and pride. There has, in fact, been nothing, in the history of any secular organization for ordinarily moral objects, more remarkable in this way than the investigation of the frauds in the Methodist

Book Concern two or three years ago. Protestantism has not nearly so much of this debasing dread of scandal as Catholicism, but it has enough to be ashamed of. Then, too, all religious teachers, and most religious professors, dwell so strenuously on the necessity of a change of heart in the religious sense, and promise so much effect from it on conduct, that they are in some degree, though often unconsciously, pledged to the support of a religious person under all circumstances. A charge of any kind against him is met with a strong presumption of innocence, based on the mere fact of his religious standing, so that he is not expected even to answer at all until things reach a point at which a man of the world would be already ruined.

The inconveniences of such a state of things in the public service it is needless to point out. It is in the first place in the highest degree objectionable, and full of danger to character, to treat anything as a qualification for a place of trust or profit which is not capable of submission to any external test, and of which it is not possible to learn anything except from the candidate's own story—as, for instance, the state of his heart. For the purposes of religious co-operation and fellowship his own story is enough, because he has no motive for deception; but to make professions of faith a passport to an Indian agency or a fat contract or other profitable place, is to furnish a temptation of the strongest kind to hypocrisy in its lowest form. In the second place, to shield an official from investigation, for instance, or justify his silence under accusation, on the ground that as a religious man he is not under the same obligation to answer as a mere worldling, is to create a privileged class of the most odious kind. No government has any right to create any such distinction as this involves, and no government is fit to create it. Besides which, such a distinction puts a strain of the most serious kind on religion itself, for when a professor, after kicking against enquiry and standing on his religious character, is finally forced to submit to it, and is, as sometimes happens, found to be wanting, his fall, by the attention and disgust it excites, brings religion itself into a discredit which a hundred blameless Christian lives are not sufficient to overcome. In fact, it is only by living under the common law, and claiming no privileges or exemptions or presumptions which other men may not claim, that a Christian can, as such, do any good in politics. So far from trying to withdraw himself from investigation on the ground that he is pious, he ought to submit himself to it all the more readily for that reason. He ought not to allow his church standing, whatever it may be, to be put forward as a substitute, either in whole or in part, for any wise or salutary mundane precaution against fraud and incompetency in the public service; and the first and greatest of these precautions lies in the rule, that when a man is called on to account he shall account promptly, and that when he is accused he shall answer frankly. To allow the church to be used as a sanctuary for sluggards or thieves would be a very extraordinary thing in this day and generation, after all the experience the world has had of the results of ecclesiastical administration of temporal concerns; and we would warn religious people against the consequences to religion of their taking the ground, with regard to any man in public life, that his spiritual condition, as described by himself, raises, or ought to raise him, above suspicion.

## THE WITHDRAWAL OF CAPITAL FROM TRADE.

THE report of commercial failures during the first half of the year 1875 is not altogether encouraging. In six months, 3,377 failures are reported—a number exceeded in only seven full years out of the last twenty. Unless the number during the last half of the year should be much smaller, the aggregate for 1875 will exceed that of any year in our history except 1861. Comparison of this report with those of previous years reveals some very instructive facts.

To those who anticipated speedy relief from the legislation of last year, or of Congress at its last session, this report is especially discouraging. They believed that disorder had been caused by a deficiency of circulation, and clamored for "more money." Congress "unlocked forty millions," according to Senator Morton's theory, by abolishing the reserve against circulation. They clamored for "free banking," and complained that States of the West and South were in distress because they had not as much bank circulation *per capita* as the Eastern States. Congress permitted, under the national system, absolutely free banking, and unlimited issue of currency. For more than a year we have enjoyed the manifold blessings of an "unlocked" currency, and for nearly six months the incalculable benefits of free banking. But these six months have brought more failures than any six months of our history, except at the beginning of the civil war. If inflationists could in any way be brought to comprehend the first principles of finance, this experience might convince them that disorders of industry exist which require, not more currency, but more capital, and that the mere possibility of further inflation has caused much capital to shrink from risks and withdraw from active employment.

Indeed, far above the level of the Granger, the Communist, or the blatant demagogue, there are practical men of business, and writers on financial topics, who do not fully realize the enormous withdrawal of capital and credit which has occurred. It is generally assumed that the average liabilities of the thousands of firms that fail give an approximate indication of the average liabilities of solvent firms. The failures represent all classes, as to magnitude of business, mercantile standing, and supposed resources. If the solvent firms enjoy larger credit, it may also be presumed that they are more cautious and do not stretch it to the utmost. But the average liabilities of firms failing in 1875 have been only $22,191, while the average liabilities of firms failing in 1873 were $44,085. If we may infer that the average liabilities of solvent firms have been reduced in nearly the same proportion, it would seem that nearly one-half of the indebtedness borne by the commercial classes when the disorder culminated in 1873, has now been discharged. In the lists from which records of failures are taken there are about 650,000 solvent firms. If the average indebtedness of solvent firms is not larger than that of those which have failed, the aggregate liabilities of commercial firms in this country were reduced from about $28,000,000,000 in 1873 to about $16,700,000,000 in 1874, and have been further reduced to about $14,430,000,000 in 1875. These figures serve to give an approximate idea of the current liabilities at different periods, the aggregate indebtedness incurred during the year being three or four times as great. But if nearly $14,000,000,000 of current liabilities have been discharged since 1873, credit and capital to that amount have been withdrawn from active employment.

In one point of view, this is a healthy symptom. Indebtedness is being reduced. The proportion of business done on a cash basis has largely increased. The average time of commercial notes has been shortened. But there has also been a great shrinkage in business transacted, a withdrawal of many millions of capital from employment, and an increase in the number of failures, notwithstanding the reduction of indebtedness and the greater caution in transactions. This is the most significant feature of the report. The following statement shows the number of failures in certain years, the amount of liabilities, and the average liabilities to each failure, and in the last column the aggregate exchanges of the New York Clearing-House during the twelve months ending September 30 of the years named:

| Year. | Failures. | Liabilities. | Average. | N. Y. Clearings. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1857 | 4,932 | $291,750,000 | $59,154 | $8,333,226,718 |
| 1858 | 4,225 | 95,749,000 | 22,662 | 4,756,664,386 |
| 1859 | 3,913 | 64,394,000 | 16,456 | 6,448,005,956 |
| 1860 | 3,673 | 79,807,000 | 21,728 | 7,231,143,056 |

| Year. | Failures. | Liabilities. | Average. | N. Y. Clearings. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1861 | 6,993 | 207,210,000 | 29,631 | 5,915,742,758 |
| 1862 | 1,652 | 23,049,300 | 13,452 | 6,871,443,591 |
| 1863 | 485 | 6,864,700 | 14,154 | 14,867,597,848 |
| 1868 | 2,608 | 63,774,000 | 24,452 | 28,484,288,636 |
| 1869 | 2,799 | 75,054,000 | 26,814 | 37,407,018,986 |
| 1870 | 3,551 | 88,242,000 | 24,849 | 27,804,539,405 |
| 1871 | 2,915 | 85,252,000 | 29,245 | 29,300,986,682 |
| 1872 | 4,060 | 121,056,000 | 29,750 | 33,844,369,568 |
| 1873 | 5,183 | 228,499,000 | 44,085 | 33,972,773,942 |
| 1874 | 5,830 | 155,239,000 | 26,627 | 20,850,681,962 |
| 1875 | 3,377 | 74,940,809 | 22,191 | . . . . |

The figures for only six months of 1875 show failures exceeding in number and liabilities the average for eight full years out of fourteen. Yet the average of liabilities to each failure is lower than in any year except four. The credit system is apparently less overstrained than it has been in any year since the war, and scarcely more than in 1860, a year of marked prosperity. This disorder, then, can no longer be attributed, as by many it has been, to mere overtrading and abuse of credit. Its causes lie deeper. There has indeed been abuse of credit, beginning as early as 1871, and culminating in 1873. But even at its maximum the average of indebtedness was much smaller than in 1857, and in 1874 it was reduced to about $26,000, an average scarcely higher than that of prosperous years after the war. Nevertheless, the number of failures does not diminish, as it did after the credit-panic of 1857, but increases with alarming rapidity. After the panic of 1857, though the average of liabilities decreased 61 per cent. in a single year, the aggregate of business transactions represented by the clearings of the New York banks decreased at the same time only 43 per cent. But after the disaster of 1873 the decrease in New York clearings was almost precisely as great as the decrease in average liabilities. The clearings in 1874 were 38.6 per cent. less than in 1873, and the average liabilities 39.6 per cent. less. These facts all point to the same conclusion—that the shrinkage in business has been very great, if not quite as great as the shrinkage in credits and liabilities. Although the indebtedness of the commercial classes has been so far cleared that, under ordinary circumstances, business would be in a very healthy condition, capital still shrinks from risk or long investment.

Much of this unwillingness to invest is due to the crusade which has been made in several Western States against those public enemies, the bondholders, railroad-builders, bankers, manufacturers, and capitalists generally. Counties have set on officials to swindle their creditors. Legislation against railroads has approached the point of confiscation. For the taxation of manufacturing and banking capital, States have passed laws so oppressive that even their own courts have interfered. The Western Communist, whose notion of government seems to be that it is divinely appointed as the means by which the many may rob the few, is responsible already for much commercial and industrial disorder, and has not yet seen the end of it.

But in its dealings with the national finances and credit the same spirit has doubtless done much greater mischief. All investments and business ventures depend in a large degree upon the conduct of the Government. As soon as there was a prospect of a new inflation of the currency, capital began to seek safety, just as the passengers on a Western steamer beg to go ashore when the hands begin to roll tar-barrels into the furnaces. Not even the disaster of 1873 caused as much alarm, or inflicted as great injury upon commerce and industry, as the subsequent uncertainty respecting the financial course of the Government. Every hoarse cry for "more money," every demonstration against the bondholders, drives millions of capital to its hiding-places. Nor can we reasonably expect to see marked improvement until political events have fixed the policy of the Government for some years to come.

## THE WORLD'S FAIR, 1876.

COLUMBIA, puzzled what she should display
Of true home-make on her Centennial Day,
Asked Brother Jonathan: he scratched his head,
Whittled a while reflectively, and said,
"Your own invention and own making, too?
Why, any child could tell ye what to do:
Show 'em your Civil Service, and explain
How all men's loss is everybody's gain;
Show your new patent to increase your rents
By paying quarters for collecting cents;
Show your short cut to cure financial ills
By making paper-collars current bills;
Show your new bleaching-process, cheap and brief,
To wit: a jury chosen by the thief;
Show your State Legislatures; show your Rings;
And challenge Europe to produce such things
As high officials sitting half in sight
To share the plunder and to fix things right;
If that don't fetch her, why, you only need
To show your latest style in martyrs—Tweed:
She'll find it hard to hide her spiteful tears
At such advance in one poor hundred years." J. R. L.

## THE PRESUMPTION OF INNOCENCE.

DR. LEONARD BACON, of New Haven, has written a letter to the New York *Tribune* defending himself against the charge of indiscretion in preaching in Plymouth Church. Upon the propriety or impropriety of this we have nothing to say, nor do we mean to revive the old question of Mr. Beecher's guilt or innocence. But the following passage in the letter seems, as coming from an eminent minister and an eminent instructor in theology, to call for some criticism, as the ideas it reveals as to the nature of proof are calculated to mislead a great many persons on what is in these days a very important matter, viz., the conditions on which a man holds his reputation:

"The man who is charged with an infamous offence, and denies the charge, may rest his defence upon his character. We accept his denial, and wait for proof from the accuser. Mr. Beecher has denied explicitly, and under oath, the charge preferred against him; and, having denied it, he has a right to be regarded as innocent until his guilt is proved. Messrs. Moulton and Tilton, having slowly accumulated, through a period of three or four years, their material of war, and having had the help of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler in devising the plan of the campaign, made their attempt. They had the power of the State of New York to compel the attendance of witnesses, and to make them testify. They had professional advocates of most distinguished ability to examine and cross-examine witnesses, to marshal their evidence, and to argue for them. Their side had the first word of statement to the jury, and the last. It is difficult to say what advantage they could have had which they had not. But after a protracted trial—the most protracted, I believe, save one, in the history of litigation—the result is, on their part, a failure. They undertook to prove Mr. Beecher guilty of a definite offence, and they have not done what they undertook to do. He, therefore, stands just where he stood at his first denial of the charge. The attempt to prove him guilty having failed, the legal and common-sense presumption of his innocence remains unimpaired.

"I have no right to demand—nor has any man a right to demand—that he shall positively prove his innocence. The burden of proof rests on those who accuse him. Our duty is to wait, not for proof of his innocence, but for proof of his guilt."

In the paragraph we have cited, Dr. Bacon uses the word "proof" in two very different senses, without giving the slightest intimation that there is any distinction between them. In other words, he talks of judicial proof as if it were real proof, and *vice versâ*. Judicial proof is evidence, offered under certain artificial rules of restriction, sufficient to satisfy a legal tribunal, *such as it is, or whatever it may be.* Real proof is evidence, offered without any restriction except such as is imposed by general experience, sufficient to satisfy any mind trained in the weighing of evidence and drawing of inferences. But the importance, as regards character, of a man's failing or succeeding in proving a thing even judicially, depends on the nature of the tribunal. Failure to prove a thing before the Supreme Court of the United States would, for instance, be much more serious than failure to prove it before a New York police justice. Failure to prove a thing to the satisfaction of a jury depends, too, for its importance, on the composition of the jury. If the jury be composed of educated, acute men, accustomed to the examination of complicated transactions, and with much experience of business and of life—such, for instance, as what

is called a "struck jury" here, or a "special jury" in England—failure before it means a great deal more than failure before an ignorant jury of small dealers totally unused to legal or other discussion, and without training of any kind. And, after all, the finding of the best legal tribunal is weighty in different degrees. When they find a man guilty, or acquit him, they do not do so with mathematical certainty or nicety. They simply say that, after weighing as well as they could two sets of probabilities, and hearing a large number of witnesses whose testimony had various degrees of probative force, the balance seemed to them to incline for or against the defendant. All that the defendant can then say, out of court, is, that "I have submitted the whole matter to half-a-dozen men, or one man of great learning and experience, or to twelve men of no learning and little experience, and they came to the conclusion that I am legally innocent. This is called in legal nomenclature acquitting me, or declaring that the proofs against me were not sufficient. You may not agree with them, but you must admit this creates a presumption of greater or less strength in my favor, with which I must now be satisfied." In Mr. Beecher's case the result has not been as favorable as this. The proofs have been submitted to a very ill-qualified tribunal, of which only three-fourths have decided in his favor. For legal purposes, this amounts to a failure of the plaintiff to prove his case; but for moral or intellectual purposes, it does not. The failure, in short, is technical, not real, even if we take the word proof in its narrow judicial sense. If Dr. Bacon's use of the word "proof" were correct, Mr. Beecher might at one period have correctly said that he had "proved" his innocence by walking barefoot over nine red-hot ploughshares. The assertion, therefore, that Mr. Beecher "stands where he stood at his first denial of the charge," is ambiguous and misleading. Technically, in the eye of the law, he does so stand. Tilton has acquired no legal rights against him which he did not possess when he published his charge. But really, in the moral and intellectual, and let us hope religious forum, his position has since then been considerably modified by the production of a large number of circumstances which were not known when he made his first denial, and which did in the forum above-named raise a presumption that he had committed a certain offence and had tried to hide it. Before Tilton had submitted any of his proof, to Tilton's simple assertion Mr. Beecher's simple denial was a sufficient answer. The public had no right to ask anything more. But when Tilton produces a number of documents written by Mr. Beecher, and a number of acts acknowledged by Mr. Beecher to have been committed by him, and capable of the interpretation Tilton puts on them, the burden of proof "does not any longer rest on those who accuse him," as Dr. Bacon says. According both to "the legal and common-sense" view, it is transferred to Mr. Beecher. That is, he is bound to show that the more obvious meaning attached to his letters and acts was not the true one; that, on the contrary, they pointed to something different from what they seemed to point to. The opinion most intelligent men hold about Mr. Beecher's guilt or innocence turns on the extent to which they think he has succeeded in making this explanation, and those who say that they are waiting for proof of his innocence are not without justification. His defence, in fact, has consisted in the interpretation of his letters by the aid of his character and surroundings. The burden of proof, therefore, not only rests on him, but he unavoidably assumed it the day he took the stand.

A useful illustration of the situation may be found in the case cited by Bentham, where a robbery is committed in a house, and, one of the servants disappearing on the same night, suspicion fastens on him, and he is arrested. Suppose, however, none of the stolen property is found in his possession, and he is acquitted on the trial, because the proof is not sufficient. Now, here the man was entitled to the benefit of the legal maxim which has been evidently running through Dr. Bacon's mind, "That he must be treated as innocent until he is found guilty." That means simply that he must not before conviction be subjected to any avoidable inconvenience or vexation, and he must not be convicted if the jury have any doubt about his guilt. Juries are always directed by the court to acquit in case they have such doubt, and acquittals on this ground are of everyday occurrence, but they do not amount to a certificate of innocence. The Scotch law has, in fact, provided the formula of "not proven" for the expression of this conclusion by the jury. In the case above-mentioned, for instance, there is no direct evidence of participation in the robbery. But once the man's flight is proved, the burden of proof is transferred to him; and if he wishes to clear himself completely, he is bound to furnish a satisfactory explanation of his flight. This explanation might be unsatisfactory and acquittal still follow on the ground of doubt, but his character would remain damaged. He could not go about seeking a new place as a spotless man on the ground that, although he fled, and could not satisfactorily account for his absence, the jury were not satisfied of his guilt. The very phrase, giving the prisoner "the benefit of a doubt," illustrates the distinction between the "legal" and the "common-sense" view of this matter. The doubt is legally a "benefit" to the prisoner, as it saves him from going to jail, with its attendant inconveniences. It is not a moral or social "benefit." On the contrary, acquittal on such grounds leaves a person's reputation seriously injured. Take as another illustration the case of a man whose roommate is found in the morning shot through the head. The burden of proof is on those who accuse him of murder, as long as he holds his tongue. But suppose he tells two different stories about the matter—one, that he shot his friend by accident in loading his pistol; the other, that his friend shot himself in the night. The defendant then at once becomes burdened with the necessity of explaining these contradictions, and the result of the trial might depend largely or wholly on his success in doing it; the effect on his character certainly would. In short, there is no such general rule as Dr. Bacon lays down. Any acts or utterances of a man's own which point to his commission of an offence, impose on him the necessity of producing positive proof that they meant something else; or, in other words, of producing another set of facts than the one produced by the accuser which will account for these acts or utterances. Mr. Beecher's case is a very interesting one, but it must not be allowed to lead us into mental and moral confusion.

## THE COMTE DE PARIS'S HISTORY OF THE WAR.

PARIS, July 16, 1875.

THE third and fourth volumes of the 'History of the Civil War in America,' by the Comte de Paris, have just appeared. The Prince originally thought that he could finish his work in four volumes; but I doubt whether he will be able to do so in eight. When he comes to the end, he will have a right to say, "Exegi monumentum." I notice a great progress in French style as the work advances; the language has more firmness, the author is becoming more familiar with the wonderful resources of the French language. The great difficulty in a history like this is perspective. The details of sculpture on the face of a great temple need not, and in fact ought not to be, as minute as the details of an isolated statue; there must be a proportion between the importance of an event and the amount of details bestowed upon it. My attention ought not to be too much drawn to some points, and ought to be concentrated on some capital events. If any reproach could be addressed to the Comte de Paris, it would be for an excess of conscience which makes it difficult for him to neglect anything; he is afraid of showing any partiality—of appearing unjust to anybody. He takes the most extraordinary pains to collect information and to make his readers profit by all that he has acquired.

The third volume opens with a section which will be read with a peculiar interest, as the Comte de Paris was a witness and an actor in all the events he describes. It is the history of McClellan's campaign in the Virginian Peninsula. With its four chapters, entitled "Williamsburg," "Fair-Oaks," "Gaines's Mill," "Glendale and Malvern," it might form a separate book. It is by far the most dramatic part of the work, not only on account of the singular interest of its sanguinary conflicts, but also of the tone of emotion which pervades it. This unfortunate campaign was the first in which the Comte de Paris was engaged. He must have had all along the keenest feeling of curiosity, and his vivid descriptions show how well his mind preserved the image of the battle-fields on which his spurs were won. He always speaks with affection and gratitude of his chief, General McClellan, but his love of truth sometimes forces from him declarations which show how much McClellan was wanting in some of the qualities of the great strategist or tactician. When the army arrived before Yorktown, nobody was there but Magruder with a very small force; he had remained contrary to orders, and contrived, by placing his men with great art, to make McClellan believe that a large army was before him. "Deceived by appearances," says the Comte de Paris, "McClellan thought that he should find behind these mysterious forests the Confederate army which a month before had evacuated Manassas, and he dared not give the sabre-stroke (*coup de sabre*) which would have torn the frail curtain spread before his eyes by a clever adversary." Magruder, though he disobeyed his orders, enabled General Johnson to leave the Rapidan, to send some of his forces to the Peninsula, and to concentrate the rest round Richmond. After two weeks of delay, McClellan commenced the attack against Yorktown.

The bloody conflicts of Fair-Oaks are narrated with much detail. General Sumner had, with much pains, succeeded in crossing the Chickahominy, which was rising and threatened to destroy the bridges thrown across by the troops. Here, again, I will quote the opinion of the Comte de Paris:

"Half the Federal army remained inactive when it might have transformed into victory the battle of Fair-Oaks. General McClellan had indeed felt how important it was to help Sumner by a movement of all his right wing. From his headquarters at Gaines's Mill he saw the smoke, which rose above the trees, tracing the undulations of the battle-field and marking the constant progress of the enemy. He had two army corps under his hand. Before him the Chickahominy, though rising, was still practicable; two bridges, already much advanced, could be finished in a few hours; on the opposite hill, which commanded this approach, there was no work of the enemy; we saw only, on the most prominent parts of the plateau, one or two regiments which went to and fro with a suspicious ostentation. McClellan could have left a division with the great park of artillery and the dépôt, and with three others he might, in the neighborhood of New Bridge, have fallen on the Confederate flank. . . . All was ready for this movement, when McClellan consented to wait till next day. It was a great misfortune for him, as he thus lost a *unique* occasion in the course of the campaign."

The sanguinary battle of Gaines's Mill obliged McClellan to lead his army across a most difficult country to the James River, which was a safe line of communication; and the Confederates suffered a crushing defeat at Malvern Hill. The Confederates, inflamed by their first successes, hoped to force McClellan and his army to capitulate; but their hopes were frustrated; McClellan had only shown Richmond to his army and had not been able to enter it; but once on the James River he was perfectly safe, and the Southern army suffered severe losses.

The second book of the third volume contains the account of the naval operations before New Orleans, Memphis, Vicksburg, and Fort Pulaski; the third brings us back to Virginia and to Maryland, and ends with the battle of Antietam, which put an end to the invasion of the latter State. The Comte de Paris says that on the morning of that great battle McClellan had at least 50,000 combatants, while General Lee had only 25,000. The losses on both sides were enormous; and the victory of McClellan, in the opinion of the Comte de Paris, would have been much more pregnant in its results if General Burnside had moved with more rapidity. "We insist upon his slackness not only because it lost for McClellan all the fruits of his victory, but also because it shows the difficulties which, in improvised armies, lie in the way of a commander's combinations. The example is all the more instructive as Burnside was a personal friend of McClellan, and a very brave and loyal officer, who had shown at Roanoke a true military capacity." At the end of the battle the two corps remained inactive when their action would have been all-important, because McClellan was deceived as to the number of his enemies (in his official report, he estimates their number at 97,000 men), and was wrongly convinced of the necessity of keeping troops in reserve. "Still," says the Count, "if Burnside had followed more exactly the instructions of his chief; if he had in the morning made a general attack; if, after having crossed the Antietam, he had not waited two hours before taking the offensive, he would certainly have placed Lee in a most perilous position." These two hours gave Hill time to arrive from Harper's Ferry and to take part in the action. Lee, nevertheless, had suffered a great defeat, and was obliged to retreat. Washington was no longer threatened and Pennsylvania was protected. Twenty thousand men, killed or wounded, remained on the narrow battle-field; and the sacrifices of the Northern *corps d'armée* had been so severe that McClellan may be excused for not taking the offensive immediately. General Lee silently retired to Virginia in perfect order, but with a diminished army and without having attained his object.

The fourth volume begins with an account of the now-forgotten operations in Kentucky and in Tennessee. It is perhaps a pity that this part of the work is not a little more condensed; these lateral operations, if I may call them so, could have no decisive character, and the reader will always return with pleasure to the incidents of the great duel between the armies which defended and threatened in turn Washington and Richmond. I remembered, as I read the chapters on Fredericksburg and on the useless efforts of Burnside and Hooker, the dark hours when it almost seemed as if a decisive victory would ever be refused to the North. The end of the fourth volume, under the title of "Politique," is a most interesting and elaborate account of the political difficulties which were, from the beginning to the end, connected with the history of the war. These difficulties came from the outside and from the inside; the blockade of the Southern ports and coast at once gave rise to the most perplexing international questions. The history of the Confederate privateers will be found related with the most minute details in the work of the Comte de Paris.

"As for the *Alabama*," writes the Count, "its career was from the beginning a perpetual violation of the law of nations. As soon as it was armed, this ship, constructed in England, armed with English guns, and manned, with a few exceptions, by Englishmen, began its campaign without being registered in a Confederate port. The Americans did not much exaggerate when they called it an English pirate, and they were in the right when they asked the British Government to seize her as soon as she arrived in an English port. They were not heard. The *Alabama* went to Nassau, and encountered the most friendly treatment from the authorities. The international law only allows a belligerent steamer a certain amount of coal, calculated upon its distance from the nearest ports; but Semmes could at Nassau embark as much coal as he liked. In the last three months of 1867 the *Alabama* destroyed twenty-eight large merchant-ships. After having burned them, she kept their chronometers as trophies, and brought their crews either to the Bermudas or to Nassau, where she was always sure to find aid and protection. . . . Marine insurance soon rose to such a point that the Americans were obliged to denationalize their merchant fleet, and it was forced to take the English flag."

The Comte de Paris writes a long chapter on the laws which the war made necessary. He shows what measures were taken by the Governments at war during the first years of the struggle in order to raise their large armies and to provide them with all the necessaries and accessories of war. I am not aware that the history of all the war measures of Congress has ever been condensed before, at any rate in such a complete and systematic manner. There was one great war measure which deserved the special place which the Comte de Paris has given to it. His fourth volume concludes with the history of the great struggles which ended in the proclamation of emancipation.

"Notwithstanding," says the Comte de Paris, "the prudence of his language, the President did not conceal on which side were his convictions; but he was not carried away by his anti-slavery opinions, and he thought only of his special mission—the maintenance of the Constitution and the re-establishment of the Union. He did not believe that he had the right to compromise this end either by a premature abolition or by an excessive respect for the Southern institution. Like an experienced pilot, he observed, with his hand on the helm, the direction of the high winds which pushed the ship confided to him. As soon as he made up his mind, he assumed bravely the responsibility of his act, and executed it with resolution. We believe that he chose the opportune moment; it was the day after the victory of Antietam, and this great decision was an answer to the invasion of the loyal States by the Confederate armies."

I take leave of this great work with regret that a meagre review cannot do full justice to its exhaustive, conscientious character. The task which the Comte de Paris has undertaken is a very hard one, and thus far he has accomplished it with great success, and we can only hope that he will be able to bring it to its termination.

## AUSTRALIAN PARTICULARISM.

MELBOURNE, May 17, 1875.

THE past two months have been barren of incident. Parliament is not sitting, and there has luckily been no tragedy of exceptional interest like the wreck of the *Gothenburg*, which I described in my last letter. But there has been much political discussion on matters that will one day be of great importance. For nearly a year past active public men in Victoria and in New South Wales have been devising schemes that Australia may be adequately represented at the Philadelphia Exhibition. The Commission in Melbourne determined to recommend a preliminary exhibition within our own limits, and not unnaturally thought that Melbourne, the largest and most central town, would be the best place to have it in. Their chairman, Sir Redmond Barry, whom you will probably see in America as representative of Victoria, wrote in this spirit to Sydney. I think it probable that Sir Redmond, who is a pompous and not very wise old gentleman, had irritated his colleagues in the sister colony by some faults of manner. Anyhow, his letter produced an explosion of wrath, in an answer which has since been disavowed as "not intended for publication," but which, nevertheless, appears to express the feelings of many people in New South Wales. I pass over the personalities in which Mr. Joubert, the secretary of the New South Wales Commission, has indulged, as they only show individual bad taste. What has impressed me most is the outburst of the narrowest local feeling. "Though we may love Australia much, we love New South Wales more." "We do not see that New South Wales has any nationality beyond its own nationality, and we do not say this in any selfish spirit, but with the view that any merit New South Wales may possess may not be absorbed in other nationalities." Accordingly, the government of New South Wales has resolved to have a separate exhibition in Sydney. Meanwhile, the Queensland government follows suit by voting a grant of money toward the purposes of the Philadelphia Exhibition on condition that nothing sent from Queensland be first exhibited in Melbourne. Curious, is it not? Here are some half-a-dozen colonies settled within a century, and mostly within forty years, by men of the same race, language, and religion, with none of the differences that distinguished New

England from Virginia, and with scarcely any division of interests. Yet were the British Government to attempt to join any two together, it would, in all likelihood, provoke a rebellion, and no one talks of a federation but as a dream of the future. We call ourselves Australians abroad, but are as jealous for our special colonies here as if each were a great nation with a separate history.

More important to us in Victoria just now seems the question in what way we are to increase our taxation. We have a revenue of about four millions a year. Of this less than half comes from taxes, the remainder being derived mainly from sales of lands and railway receipts. As our population only numbers 800,000, we may fairly claim, I think, to pass for a rich community, and we have not yet exhibited our ignorant impatience of taxation. But our form of government is costly and our real wants great. Need I tell you that in a country with universal suffrage every district claims its share in the public expenditure, and every unemployed man expects a billet on the Government works? We have lately introduced a system of free and compulsory education. It has met with friends and foes alike of the right sort, and within about two years has taken a fast hold on the population. If the compulsory clauses in it are enforced, which has not been the case hitherto, it will, I believe, go far towards training up an intelligent and law-abiding people. But the experiment is a costly one, as the state has to build schools over a country as large as Great Britain. We are therefore just now in exceptional need of money, and, as it happens, the revenue for the year shows signs of decrease, especially in the customs duties. The contrast with New South Wales, which shows a surplus of £800,000, is a little humiliating, but the causes are not far to seek. Our gold-fields are yielding less than they did; the better half of our public lands has been alienated; and our industry is crippled by heavy protective duties of the most foolish kind. Wise legislation might open purchased lands to the gold-miner, might obtain a higher price for the unsold lands and would undoubtedly consign the whole existing tariff to the flames. But no party is strong enough to legislate wisely, and our statesmen must content themselves with deliberating in what way a new tax may be imposed.

Victoria is not the only colony in these parts that has been spending a little too freely. In South Australia, a small but very prosperous colony, the ministry have contrived to anticipate a rapidly-rising revenue to a rather serious extent. Probably both colonies will soon figure again in the London market as borrowers. The fact is, our public men out here are all more or less demoralized by the example of New Zealand. That erratic little federation, for it can scarcely as yet be called a colony proper, has been afflicted with every species of experiment that the British Government or the madness of projectors could inflict upon it. It has had an Anglican settlement on High-Church principles at Canterbury, and a rival settlement under the auspices of the Scotch Kirk at Dunedin. It has had and has survived the Wakefield system. It was defended for some years at a cost of several millions by the Home Government, and has been allowed to defend itself, with the curious but not unnatural result that the war almost instantly collapsed. Moreover, it still boasts a constitution in which the principle of self-government has run mad, so that every province has a separate governor, and almost every district a town-council. Lately, it has been dominated by a gentleman of an audacious genius for finance, who may rank in his small way with projectors like Law and Mirès. Mr. Vogel, a German Jew by extraction, who owed his rise in the first instance to his ability as a speaker, came into power in New Zealand at a time when the province seemed to be hopelessly crushed by the large public debt, incurred chiefly for the Maori war. He saw that it was as easy to fail for a large as for a small sum, and more creditable; and at once instituted a system of borrowing on a colossal scale. The money obtained in England is spent partly on public works, partly on bringing out immigrants, and partly, unless I am much mistaken, in paying interest to creditors. You will have seen the controversy he has lately waged on the subject with Mr. Fellows, in *Fraser's Magazine*. Knowing something of New Zealand as a traveller, and having talked much with those who belong to it, I can only say that I regard the island as hopelessly bankrupt. There is already an acknowledged debt of nearly fifty pounds a head, or about twice the proportion owed in Great Britain; and for this there is nothing to show but a few short, unconnected, and partly unfinished lines of railway. The last loan of four millions has been raised at a considerable discount (91); and the New Zealand correspondent of the *Argus* is obliged to admit that "not to have got it would have involved a suspension of public works, and meant ruin." Meanwhile, all classes in New Zealand are delighted with Mr. Vogel's policy. It is a millennium of contractors, laborers, tradesmen, and land-jobbers; all the more so as every province is copying the example set by the central government, and is raising and spending money recklessly. New Zealand is so rich in natural resources that I have some faith in her pulling through ultimately, especially if the crash comes soon. But if her example should infect us on the continent, the consequences will be very disastrous; for our credit stands high, and our natural wealth is, I think, not so great as New Zealand's. I do not suppose either our public loans or the shares of our private companies are likely to find their way to the New York market; but if they should ever come there, the American public will do well to beware of them. We are a singularly wealthy community, often troubled with having more capital to invest than labor to purchase with it, and so thrown upon land-jobbing, stock-jobbing, and other such reservoirs and outlets of accumulated wealth. Given a sound speculation it will always find subscribers, who will only want a little more than English rates of interest. A speculation must be very rotten indeed before we admit our friends in England to a share in it; and from what I know of their trustfulness, they will take all that has any element of good.

# Notes.

D. VAN NOSTRAND & CO. have assumed the publication of Major Geo. H. Elliot's valuable report to the Treasury Department on 'European Light-House Systems.'——Bachelder's 'Popular Resorts, and How to Reach Them' may be recommended among summer guide-books for its abundance of information, fair map, and very good and numerous woodcuts. It will hereafter be made an annual publication, with additions and revisions (Boston: Lee & Shepard).——Bradley, Garretson & Co., Philadelphia, have procured the English plates of the Rev. J. G. Wood's 'Bible Animals,' and made a reprint from them, to which they have added specially prepared articles by Dr. McCosh ("On Evolution") and by Dr. March ("On Research and Travel in Bible Lands"). Dr. McCosh concludes that "we do not as yet see all things reconciled between these two sides—the side of Scripture and the side of science; but we see enough to satisfy us that the two correspond." Dr. March in like manner says: "Let the naturalist trace connection and development along all the ascending grades of being from the floating slime of the sea to the full-formed and perfect man. . . . Still the one book of divine revelation shall be in harmony with all truth."——F. Leypoldt has in press 'The Stationers' Hand-book for 1875-6,' edited by H. D. Monachesi and Albert B. John. It promises to be very useful to the trade.——Bulletin No. 34 of the Boston Public Library devotes seven closely-printed pages to a comprehensive survey of the literature of the history of Boston during the Revolutionary period, beginning with the "writs of assistance" in 1761 and ending with the evacuation of Boston, in March, 1776. Somewhat more than two pages are similarly occupied with a directory to works on ornament and decoration. It is announced that the cards of the public card-catalogue will hereafter be printed in autograph fac-simile by Osgood's heliotype process.——The 'Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1874' have just been published. Of the eight papers printed entire, it is noticeable that at least five, and we should say six, would be proper contributions to a *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*. Is not this a sign that such a journal could now be sustained by the colleges of the country, as abroad by the gymnasia?——We have been reminded that as Suetonius (Claud., 21) expressly records the incident *Ave imperator*, the statement that he does not, which, on the authority of the *Academy*, we attributed last week to Adolf Stahr, is certainly incorrect.

—The *Atlantic* for August contains as its most important contribution Mr. Lowell's poem delivered at Cambridge on the Washington centennial. This makes the third "occasional" ode which Mr. Lowell has within a few years written to commemorate important historical events, the other two being the "Commemoration" ode read at Cambridge at the end of the war, and the ode read at the Concord celebration in April last. They all necessarily relate to the same theme—the love of country and the duty of self-sacrifice—and yet it was equally necessary that they should be different. Such a test of originality as this has seldom, if ever, in recent times—that is, since the absolute duty of writing occasional poems ceased with the extinction of the old system of patronage—been put to any one; and Mr. Lowell has certainly survived it. There is quite as much originality in this last poem as in either of the other two, and though we shall ourselves always like the Commemoration Ode best, we cannot deny others the right to a different opinion. There are in the present poem, indeed, single lines that fasten themselves upon the mind with greater tenacity than any in the

Commemoration Ode—though we should maintain that there are whole passages in the latter, as, for instance, that beginning

"Some day the soft ideal that we wooed,"

which are finer than even the most terse and incisive single line can be. Besides Mr. Lowell's poem, there are a number of articles which are sure of attracting attention, particularly the opening chapter of Mrs. Kemble's "Old Woman's Gossip" and Mr. D. A. Wells's article on Free Trade.

—*Scribner's* has a good article by Colonel Waring describing the little-known Channel Island of Jersey, but the brilliancy of the *Atlantic* obscures this and most of the other magazines of the month. The *Galaxy* is not remarkably interesting, and neither "Nebulæ" on the Beecher Trial nor "Driftwood" on the Centennial—or, as Philip Quilibet prefers to call it, the centenary—has that startling interest which we always expect the "end men" of a magazine to develop. Whether the same causes which have such a bad effect on the newspapers in summer also affect the magazines, we do not know, but we should hardly think they ought to. The annual recurrence of the "silly season," as it is called in England—and the readers of editorials on "Tottie" and "Bobbie" and "How shall we dine?" and "New York as a Summer Resort," and on "Earnestness," "The Little Ones," and "The Star System," know that it is not an entirely transatlantic division of the year—is due to the fact that an editorial page must be filled both summer and winter at any cost, and that in summer topics give out, though the space to be filled does not diminish. There is a real difficulty about writing editorials at a time of year when no events worth speaking of happen, which must tinge the vexation of the thoughtful reader of newspapers with a sort of pity for the overtasked brain of the poor devil of a journalist, but there is no such excuse for the magazines. The magazine editor is not a person who must discuss topics of the day; he may print anything in the world, on any subject under heaven, from a review of Mr. Gladstone's theological writings down to a contribution from Josh Billings; he may print an article on hanging when no one is under a sentence of death, on ice in the middle of summer, on the scenery of Manila when no one is caring or thinking about Manila, and a serial story by any author of any country or degree of fame. Besides this, he has the names of his contributors to display, and altogether, with these manifold advantages over the journalist, he must be held, it seems to us, to a rigid accountability at all seasons of the year. Because this is a dull time of year, and nothing is going on, is all the more reason for him to exert himself. We therefore must hold up the August number of the *Atlantic* to the emulation of the other magazines, and trust that their editors will not again allow the comparison to be so glaring.

—Little, Brown & Co. have received and have sent us the second volume of the new 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (Anaxagoras—Athenry). It is rich in contributions from England's most distinguished specialists, and is especially strong in the department of science. Here, for example, we have articles on the Animal Kingdom, by Huxley; on Anthropology, by E. B. Tylor; on Apes, freely illustrated, by St. George Mivart; and on Astronomy, by Richard A. Proctor. The last-named topic, together with Astrology, occupies eighty-five pages. The art of war, as discussed under Arms and Armor, Army, Arsenal, and Artillery, fills an equal space. Arboriculture, Archæology, and Anthology are also treated at some length. The leading geographical articles are Asia, Arabia (by W. Gifford Palgrave), and Argentine Republic. The author of the last-mentioned article makes the ill-considered statement that the Argentine Republic's "extent in latitude is greater than that of any existing country," excepting the barren foreign regions of British America and of the Russian Empire. He arrives at this conclusion by conceding the Republic's claim to the whole of the Patagonian territory; but even so he cannot reckon more than 32 degrees between the Bolivian frontier and the Straits of Magellan. Now, Brazil extends 34 degrees south of the equator, besides 4½ degrees to the north of it. Arizona and Arkansas fall within the present volume, as do also the Appalachian Mountains; and American affairs are incidentally alluded to under Aqueduct—where the Croton is described and figured—under Army, where the enormous muster on both sides in our civil war, and the rapid dissolution of our forces at the close, are remarked as amazing—and under Architecture, where to make amends for ten lines of text (perhaps as much as we deserve for public buildings) the Capitol at Washington is well pictured. The article on Architecture is, indeed, the *pièce de résistance* of this volume, occupying nearly 100 pages, or an eighth of the whole. It is the joint work of Prof. T. Hayter Lewis and George Edmund Street, and is, as might be expected, an admirable performance. A few paragraphs at the beginning are devoted to the nature and theory of architecture, a few towards the end to its present position; and at the very end a chapter on the application of color to architecture has the effect if not the intention of a stimulus to the profession. The rest is systematically historical. The following pleasantry on modern architecture is worth quoting:

"We need scarcely add that it is developed in every conceivable style. If a church is to be built we may, indeed, pretty safely predict that it will be in one of the many pointed styles, but even then it may be English, French, or Italian. But of any other kind of edifice no one could safely predict the style. Probably it might be safe to assert that a theatre would not have (as Covent Garden in London had) a Grecian Doric portico, or an Egyptian pylon be made to do duty (as in Piccadilly, London) for a couple of shops. One might also be tolerably sure that a monument to a distinguished person would not be a granite column with a staircase up the middle, and a statue almost out of sight, with a lightning conductor through the head at top (as at the Duke of York's column, London). But short of this, almost any prediction as to the style might come true; and as nearly every building of note throughout the world is brought to the eyes of the public by means of engravings or photographs, there seems little chance of its being otherwise."

The whole subject is judiciously and copiously illustrated with woodcuts, and also with several steel plates, of which the volume has twenty-five in all, including maps of Arabia and of the Argentine Republic. Distinctively British articles are those on Archery and (for the space allotted to it) Annuities.

—'A Report on the Hygiene of the United States Army,' with descriptions of military posts, is promulgated by Circular 8, Surgeon-General's Office, 1875, in a volume of nearly six hundred quarto pages, with a skeleton map and many cuts. This description of posts, skilfully compiled and condensed by Assistant-Surgeon Billings from the regular and special reports of the medical corps, is a valuable medical geography of the country; and, in addition, has a very practical use in acquainting officers ordered to new stations with their respective peculiarities. In this regard it is a topographical directory and military guide-book, being a later and revised edition of Circular 4, 1870, which we noticed when issued. It has, besides, a special value to the civil sanitarian in, among other matters, the discussion by a number of independent observers of the fitness of the regions bordering the Rocky Mountains for consumptives, the general conclusion which is reached being that the dryness of the air and the incentives to outdoor life are the essential hygienic elements. But the cream of the volume is Dr. Billings's own paper on Military Hygiene, which, including the special reports and orders on which it is partly based, takes up fifty-five pages. It might well be reprinted as a monograph for frequent consultation by both line and staff. His premises are unimpeachable, his conclusions are well defined and fairly drawn, and his style is a model of clearness and force. Dr. Billings believes that the service loses annually one hundred men by death and two hundred men by discharge for disease from preventible causes. Of these he reckons one-third as lost by overcrowding and by badly-ventilated barracks and guard-houses. Those familiar with the army know that the arms and accoutrements, and usually the quarters, are models of neatness; but intelligent observers have long been aware of what these reports clearly demonstrate, that personal cleanliness is often maintained with great difficulty, from the utter want of provision for bathing, and that the men are frequently packed into the most unsanitary barracks. He remarks with much force: "A dirty man will, in most cases, be a discontented, disagreeable, and dissolute man; for the condition of his skin has much more to do with a man's morals than is generally supposed." And, "no real saving is effected to the Government by expending the health and lives of its employés instead of sufficient money to allow them to have a sufficient supply of fresh air." It is a common belief that ours is the best-fed of all armies, but a careful calculation made by Surgeon Perin, embodied in the report, shows that the ration does not fulfil the physiological indications; and his recommendations for a definite increase and redistribution of its constituents are adopted. A few technical changes, that on their face appear reasonable, are also proposed.

—On the subject of clothing, opinions of commanding-officers given in compliance with a recent order are summarized, from which it may be pretty clearly inferred that, although there has been considerable improvement within a few years, the standard of ordinary commercial honesty, to say nothing of hygienic fitness, has not yet been attained in the quality of many articles. "Practically, the soldier purchases much clothing from traders, in order to protect himself against extremes of temperature, which cannot be done by the exclusive use of articles furnished by the Government." It is a pity that the reporter has allowed this important subject to pass without vigorously asserting the hygienic unfitness of much of the clothing for the work expected of its wearers. In the matter of hospitals, Dr. Billings is a recognized expert, and he observes that the question, "What is the best plan for an hospital?" is often asked, as if but one set of conditions

were possible. The fact is, that hardly any two hospitals can or should be alike. Most of the military hospitals are small wooden structures, designed to last ten or twelve years, and those lately built are very suitable. He describes the newly-erected fifty-bed hospital at the Soldiers' Home as an attempt to solve some of the problems of civil-hospital construction. This presents certain novel and apparently useful features, especially in the arrangement of the domestic offices and in the ventilation, which we have not space to analyze here, but which the constructors of permanent hospitals on limited ground would do well to examine. For reducing to their lowest terms the formulæ of some very difficult problems this essay should take a high rank, and the Surgeon-General and his corps are to be congratulated on the possession of so acute an analyst. The quotations from the reports of Drs. Smart, Bill, Perrin, and Smith, incorporated in Dr. Billings's paper, as well as many of those which make up the descriptions already referred to, give renewed evidence that many members of the Army Medical Department are of more than ordinary culture in their profession.

—The life of Bishop Thirlwall, or more properly the Right Reverend Connop Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's, was so uneventful as to make his biography little more than a catalogue of his writings. Of them, of course, the most important was his 'History of Greece,' though at the age of eleven the future historian gave early proof of his interest in and fitness for literary work by a volume called 'Primitiæ; or, Essays and Poems on Various Subjects—Religious, Moral, and Entertaining. By Connop Thirlwall, eleven years of age; the preface by his father, the Rev. Thomas Thirlwall, M.A., etc., etc. 1809. 12mo. Printed for the author.' This was followed in 1825 by a translation of Frederick Schleiermacher's critical essay on the Gospel of St. John, with an introduction by the translator; and this again by the 'History of Greece,' which would to-day probably be the standard modern history of the country to which it relates had not Grote already begun to work upon the same subject. Thirlwall's history has, probably, suffered unjustly in popular estimation through the brilliant success obtained by his successor, but it is a mistake to suppose that one supplants the other. It is really Mitford who has been supplanted both by Thirlwall and Grote, the latest of the three having in the preface of his own work paid his predecessor the high compliment of saying that had Dr. Thirlwall's history appeared a few years earlier, he probably would "never have conceived the design of the present work at all." Grote was impelled to his undertaking by the sense of the unfairness and partisan character of Mitford, who had the historical spirit in about the same degree that it was possessed by Alison, or let us say Walter Scott; and if a fault is to be found with his history, it is that the author was at too great pains to show the other side—the bright side of Athenian democracy. Dr. Thirlwall had no party spirit, and on the whole we may agree with the German criticism on both of them taken together, that they are "two English works on the history of Greece such as no other nation can boast of." Dr. Thirlwall first published his history as a contribution to Lardner's 'Cabinet Cyclopædia' in 1835 *et seq.* He was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1825, but abandoned the profession three years later, and became rector of Kirby-under-Dale in Yorkshire. He was born in 1797.

—The "General Medical Council of Education and Registration" includes representatives of all the medical colleges and licensing bodies, as well as of all the universities, of England, Ireland, and Scotland. The interests of the crown and of the public are also represented by six delegates of the Government. The Council make a register of all legally-qualified practitioners, see that the examination tests are sufficient, and provide a list of drugs and medical preparations as a standard by which medical prescriptions are to be dispensed. No practitioner whose name is not on the register can enter any of the public services, nor can he recover debts at law for medical assistance. During the latter part of June, as we learn from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the Council have been debating, by request of the Government, the propriety of assenting to Mr. Cooper-Temple's bill for registering foreign degrees of women from certain eminent universities which at present admit them to study and graduation, and, besides this, the whole question of the advisability of admitting women to the study and practice of medicine, and of enabling them to obtain "registerable degrees or licenses." A report from a special committee of review was adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the Council, which cautiously declared that, notwithstanding there are in the opinion of the Council special hindrances to the practice of medicine by women which cannot safely be disregarded, the Council is not prepared to say that women ought to be excluded from the practice of medicine. At present there is no licensing body or university which admits women to examination; and the one English lady registered as a practitioner was admitted to examination by the Society of Apothecaries, who thereupon devis a means for barring the door against other medical aspirants of the other sex. Mrs. Anderson had passed by means of instruction obtained by "authorized lecturers" in full courses of lectures specially delivered for her behoof. The Society have now resolved that they will admit no one to examination who has not attended the lectures "in a recognized school." Dr. Parkes, one of the heads of the English medical profession, with Professors Humphry and Rolleston, were the most earnest advocates among the General Medical Council for the admission of women to the register. Dr. Wood, of Edinburgh, emphatically warned the Council against giving even a negative encouragement to women to enter on a career which required such qualities as strength, endurance, the power to witness scenes of suffering and of blood, and others which are equally foreign to the female character, while it tended to force them into situations destructive to female modesty and delicacy. Mr. McNamara, of Dublin, contended that there is nothing which a lady must witness or take part in as a doctor which she does not witness and take part in as an hospital matron, lady nurse, or Sister of Mercy; that experience had shown that such duties were no more injurious to the finer feelings of women than of men; that there were few operating theatres in which ladies now did not render calm and effectual aid, and those who did so were acknowledged "to be among the noblest specimens of womanhood." The result is that the Council intimate that if any of the nineteen licensing bodies in the United Kingdom choose to admit women to an examination, they, the Council, will be happy to register the license so granted. But if not, then the Council suggest that a special examination be instituted and placed by authority under their supervision, with power to register the certificates granted as licenses to practise medicine. The women, it seems, prefer the standards by which men are tried. The Government, accordingly, have now to ascertain, before further legislative action, what are the intentions of the licensing bodies.

—Next Tuesday (August 10) the founder and Nestor of the "Science of Judaism," Leopold Zunz, will celebrate his eighty-first birthday. It is gratifying, in connection with this statement, to be able to announce that the first volume of his 'Gesammelte Schriften' has recently left the press (Berlin). As early as in the year 1818, Zunz published 'Etwas über die rabbinische Literatur,' and drew, even then, with a master-hand the outlines of an exact, scientific treatment of Jewish literature and history. He subsequently edited a *Journal of the Science of Judaism*, published his master-work, 'Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden,' his instructive book, 'Zur Geschichte und Literatur,' various volumes on the history of the liturgies and rituals of the Jews, a number of smaller works, and of learned papers printed in divers periodicals. In all his numerous writings he has avoided hollow phrases, shallow declamation, and subjective "gushing," and has ever been eminently objective and exact. We may conclude this note with a word of Steinschneider's: "To praise the writings of Zunz would be an offence to our readers."

—Another exact writer on Jewish matters is the Rabbi of Szegedin, Leopold Löw. Jewish archæology, in its widest sense, is the province of this great scholar. While Frankel, Fassel, and others have written in a dogmatic and unhistorical method on "Mosaico-Talmudical law" (a peculiar designation, which in itself involves an unscientific idea), and thereby led their confiding readers to the false conclusion that the law as laid down in the *Shulchan Aruch* had been invariably the law in all the centuries from Moses to the present age; while Ewald, De Wette, Saalschütz, and others treated in a similar manner of the Biblical and post-Biblical archæology of the Israelites, and thus confounded the different epochs of history, Löw has followed another and a more correct method. In every instance, he examines the historical development, pursues it from period to period and from century to century, and, with an erudition rarely to be met with, shows what variations and alterations have taken place in the course of time. His most recent book ('Die Lebensalter in der jüdischen Literatur,' Szegedin, 1875) is another of his many valuable contributions to the history of the inner life of Judaism. In this work, the author discusses individual man in his different stages of life from the standpoint of Jewish law, custom, liturgy, and ritual, and by this treatment succeeds in keeping the various periods of history distinctly separate. Besides Rabbi Löw, there is in the Austrian empire another great Jewish savant, Mr. O. H. Schorr, in Brody. There can be no question that Löw and Schorr are the two most eminent Jewish scholars of the present time in all Eastern Europe. Mr. Schorr is the author of the 'Hechalutz,' a collection of learned papers, written in a fluent and beautiful Hebrew, on Jewish history, literature, and archæology. The ninth volume of the 'Hechalutz' (the last thus far) appeared in Prague in 1873, and contains a number of articles of high merit on the proper nouns

in the Talmud, on rabbinical etymology and mediæval Hebrew poetry, also reviews of Schatzke's 'Mafteach' and of Bober's edition of the 'Pesikta.' It must suffice here to have called the attention of the friends of Jewish literature to Schorr and his exceedingly interesting and instructive *annuaire*.

## GARDINER'S CHARLES I.*

MR. GARDINER'S work is characterized by a spirit of laborious research and studied impartiality. Of the first characteristic no praise can be too high. To investigate original authorities, to discover, where possible, new facts, to deem no labor too great by which an error, however small, may be corrected, is the primary duty of an historian. History, it can never be too often repeated, is a court always open to the reception of new evidence and always prepared to revise a verdict on the production of new facts. Generalization and the promulgation of so-called historical laws have their place in the work of an historian, but these laws themselves are nothing but convenient formulas for the summary statement of facts, and must themselves be modified whenever shown to be inconsistent with any well-established discovery. As experiment is the life of physical science, so investigation into authorities is the very soul of history. The writer who produces new facts or brings forgotten facts into prominence supplies at once the test by which received beliefs may be confirmed, and also the only means by which such beliefs can be permanently modified.

In both these respects Mr. Gardiner's research has done good service. The general effect of his last two volumes will be to confirm the estimate of Charles and his opponents which is current among all candid enquirers. That Charles was, though not the worst man, yet nearly the worst ruler who ever sat upon the English throne; that his reign was from its beginning to its close a series of blunders, and of blunders which might have been avoided even by kings who have never ranked high among statesmen; that, on the other hand, the great merits of the Parliamentary leaders were mixed with some great defects, and that neither Charles nor his opponents saw, in the earlier stages at least of the struggle, either the exact nature of the crisis or the precise mode in which the difficulties of the period ought to be met, are conclusions which have been long formed by competent judges, but which receive the strongest confirmation from Mr. Gardiner's work. It is, however, certain that if Mr. Gardiner leaves our general view of the period undisturbed, he does a good deal to modify received impressions as to details, and does something to put the character of the statesmen of the time in a new light. Few persons, for example, are fully alive to the momentous importance of the years 1624–1628 in their bearing on the Revolution to which they formed a prelude. Mr. Gardiner makes clear even to the most ignorant reader that before Charles ascended the throne he was involved, mainly by Buckingham's folly and his own incapacity, in a maze of political complications out of which it would have been difficult for a man with a clearer head and more determined will than Charles to have found his way with credit. Mr. Gardiner also establishes past a doubt that neither the Court nor the patriots understood the state of the Continent, and that this ignorance caused the most hopeless blunders in the conduct of foreign affairs. All parties wished to do something for the cause of foreign Protestantism, but no man, unless it were possibly James I., seems to have even half realized the difficulty of interfering with effect in the European war, and James I. lacked the resolution to follow the dictates of his intelligence. The Parliament wished for a war with Spain. The Court at first aimed at an interposition in Germany. Buckingham, who really ruled the country, wished to achieve some great political triumph which might redound to his own credit and that of England. How this long game of cross-purposes led, as was natural, to the ruin of England's allies, to the discredit of England's name, and, it may be said, to the death of Buckingham, is made clear to all who read Mr. Gardiner's pages, and can scarcely be understood by any one who has not waded through the details of blundering intrigue which these pages record.

These details certainly modify the impression which has been formed of Buckingham. He was not a mere favorite; "but if it is just to class him amongst ministers rather than amongst favorites, he must rank amongst the most incapable ministers of this or of any other country." His incapacity seemed to the men of his age even greater than it was, since they did not or would not acknowledge that for the errors of Buckingham's policy the king was fully as responsible as the minister. With that tendency to cling to fictions which has always been the weakness of English Liberals, the patriots of 1628 deceived themselves into the belief that nothing but the arts and fascinations of the favorite divided the king from his people. The intense hatred of Buckingham, which made even good men applaud the crime of Felton, can only be understood by recalling the veneration for the crown which made even patriots trust that the king was all wisdom and goodness, and that all the wickedness and folly of past misgovernment could be laid on the duke. Before Buckingham's death, indeed, statesmen had begun to perceive that the removal of the favorite would not be a sufficient cure for the diseases of the state; but even in 1628 few persons had detected all the defects of Charles. Alexander Gill, who shocked Oxford fellows by saying, "The king is fitter to stand in a Cheapside shop with an apron before him, and say 'What lack ye?' than to govern a kingdom," must have been a man of insight; for the net result of Mr. Gardiner's careful and not unfriendly study of the king's character is that his great fault was (to call things by their plain name) stupidity. The most envenomed partisanship could hardly have stripped Charles so completely of the halo with which false sentiment has crowned him as the impartial candor of Mr. Gardiner. Whoever wants to see Charles as he was, and not as he has been painted, should read the history of his married life. His marriage contract involved a breach of faith either with his people or with the French king, and Charles so mismanaged matters as to break faith with France without conciliating the good opinion of his subjects. This may be thought a matter of high politics, in which any man may blunder; but it does not require the wisdom of a statesman to avoid scenes such as that described in the following passage:

"For three days Charles kept entirely aloof from his wife, waiting sulkily till she should come and beg his pardon. . . . She sought him out and asked him in what she had offended him. He expected her, he answered, to acknowledge her error. . . . Would he not tell her what her fault had been? The question seemed to take him by surprise. After some hesitation he said: 'You told me that it rained when I said it did not rain.' 'I should never have thought that to be an offence,' she replied; 'but if you think so, I will think so, too.' Pleased with such . . . humility, Charles took his wife in his arms and kissed her."

This passage is noteworthy. It exhibits the king's stupidity, combined with his liking for dishonest servility. His speech and Henrietta's reply fully explain how it was that Charles began as the despot and ended as the slave of his wife. His domestic troubles betray also his utter incapacity for upright dealing. The terms of the marriage were in effect that the king should protect the Catholics. He not only broke his engagement, but never was able to understand how either Henrietta or Louis should feel the breach a grievance. This trait is one of considerable consequence, for Mr. Gardiner obviously attributes the king's duplicity mainly to his want of clearsightedness:

"When he entered into an engagement, he either formed no clear conception of the circumstances under which he would be called upon to fulfil it, or he remembered too clearly this or that consideration which would render his promise illusory, or would at least, if it had been spoken out, have prevented those with whom he was dealing from accepting his word. When the time came for him to fulfil it, he could think of nothing but the limitations with which he had surrounded it when his word had been given. Sometimes he went still further, apparently thinking that it was right to use deception against those who had no right to know the truth."

These sentences exhibit the peculiar kind of impartiality which characterizes Mr. Gardiner's treatment of history. It is something different in kind from the attempt which must always be made by every conscientious historian to state the truth, and, as far as he knows it, the whole truth in respect both of men and of events. It means in Mr. Gardiner's mouth, and, what is much more than this, in his practice, the endeavor to stand aloof from all party sympathies and to judge of the actors in history from their own point of view. He attempts, that is to say, to be neither a Puritan nor a Cavalier, but to write of Eliot and of Laud in the same manner in which Eliot or Laud might have written of himself in a candid biographical confession. This attitude of sympathetic neutrality is connected with Mr. Gardiner's habits of patient enquiry. The more closely you study the details of a man's acts, the more the complexity of his nature becomes apparent to you, and the more difficult you find it to describe his course of action and motives in a few decisive sentences. The more, that is to say, the mass of evidence increases, the harder it becomes to sum up the case either for condemnation or for acquittal.

When it is admitted that Mr. Gardiner maintains with rare success the position of rigorous impartiality, a question arises whether "impartiality," as distinguished from the fairness which is the duty of every writer, is such an absolute and undoubted merit as it appears to Mr. Gardiner, and will be held by ninety-nine out of every hundred of his readers. In history, as in every other branch of knowledge, the object to be aimed at is the attain-

* 'A History of England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I. 1624–1628. By Samuel Rawson Gardiner.' London: Longmans & Co.

ment of truth. The position of a neutral and sympathetic observer is the right one for a searcher after truth if two assumptions be granted: first, that in revolutions one party is pretty nearly as much in the right as the other; and, secondly, that the right way to judge of a man is to try to look at him from his own point of view, and, borrowing an expression from the law courts, to "give him" in every questionable case "the benefit of the doubt." Now, both these assumptions contain an element of truth, but they are far from being absolutely true, and confidence in them may lead to as great error as can the unfairness of fanatical partisanship. In every great struggle, men good, bad, and indifferent will be found on each side, but in all the important contests which have divided mankind there is (if the facts can be ascertained) a discernible distinction between the right side and the wrong. That good men, for example, sided with Charles I. can be doubted by no one but a bigot or an ignoramus. But that, especially in the earlier stages of the contest, the goodness and the wisdom of the nation were enlisted on the side of the Parliament, seems to us, as it apparently does to Mr. Gardiner, as certain as anything can be about which sensible and good men as a matter of fact disagree. The Parliament, that is to say, were in the right, and the Court were in the wrong; but once admit this fact, and the attitude of "neutrality" becomes both artificial and out of place. It is both weak and unfair to talk of men whose conduct is, to say the least, misguided, in the language which you apply to statesmen whose conduct you hold on the whole wise and patriotic.

The attempt to estimate historical characters sympathetically is also open to a further objection. It is impossible really to know that one looks at events with the eyes of Charles, or Eliot, or Wentworth. The endeavor to do so involves an historian in a labyrinth of uncertain hypothesis, which is all the more misguiding because its true character often escapes both writer and reader. Nor is there the least reason to assume that the view which, for example, Charles took of events would be, even could it be actually known, the right or the true view; and the vain effort to deal sympathetically with individuals is certain to render an historian somewhat confused and uncertain in his judgment of men and parties. Take, for example, Mr. Gardiner's description of Charles's character, as an analysis of an at any rate possible character: it has great subtlety and even, it may be admitted, considerable value; but it conceals from careless readers the obvious and important fact that, whatever may have been the cause of the fault, Charles was a systematic liar whose word no man could trust. As another example, both of the good and the bad side of Mr. Gardiner's method, readers will do well to study his picture of Wentworth. The fact becomes, it is true, apparent that Wentworth's policy was never in perfect sympathy with that of the patriots amongst whom he was numbered. It is also clear that his disposition and talents fitted him for official rather than parliamentary life. It is easy, that is to say, to perceive how naturally he might glide to the side of the Court, and without any change of character pass from the position of an opposition leader to that of the minister who more nearly than any other statesman overthrew the liberties of England. But to account for a change is not to justify it, and Mr. Gardiner seems in this as in some other cases to forget that every crime which has been committed from the murder of Abel downwards, has in a sense been natural and could be accounted for by a sufficient knowledge of the criminal's character. Wentworth does not become the less a traitor to the cause of freedom because his treachery was connected with peculiarities of his character and position. The damning fact remains, and must for ever remain unchanged: the man who had led the patriots and opposed the Court accepted a peerage, took office, and devoted his whole talents to the service of the crown in its struggles with his former associates. "No word has been found too hard for the great apostate, the unworthy deserter of the principles of his youth. Those who have studied the true records of the session which had just come to an end (1628) are aware that he was neither an apostate nor a deserter." A study of Mr. Gardiner's account of that session will convince students that Wentworth, like all strong men, was true to himself, but will leave them in doubt whether Mr. Gardiner's impartiality comes as near the truth as the indignation which has branded Wentworth with the stigma of apostasy and desertion.

## EGYPTIAN HISTORY.*

DR. BIRCH has done so much good work, and his name stands so deservedly high as an Egyptologist, that it seems almost ungracious to criticise this effort to bring within the knowledge of the general reader the results of recent scientific researches into the mysterious civilization of the Pharaohs. Yet the very eminence of the author's name is likely to tempt many to procure his little volume in the hope of obtaining a clear and definite idea of what is positively ascertained with respect to the ancient Misraim, and it is our duty to warn the casual reader that he will vainly seek in Dr. Birch's pages for what he might reasonably expect to find. The book, in fact, has all the appearance of perfunctory labor, performed at the instance of an enterprising publisher, by a scholar annoyed at being interrupted in his original researches, and utterly careless whether the uncongenial employment either did credit to himself or was of benefit to his readers.

So careless, indeed, has been Dr. Birch, that one never knows whether a statement made on one page may not be contradicted on the next. His history opens (p. 23) with the unqualified assertion that "the first monarch of the country was Mena, or, as he is called in Greek, Menes," which hardly prepares us for the remark which we find on turning the leaf (p. 25) that Menes "must be placed among those founders of monarchies whose personal existence an enlightened criticism doubts or denies." Equally puzzling to the novice in Egyptology is the contradiction between the statement (p. 24) that "the dyke of Cocheiche," the "great work" of Menes, "still exists in the neighborhood of Cairo," and the declaration on the next page (p. 25) that "nothing known to have been made in the time of Menes remains." In a book which commences after this fashion, we ought not to be surprised to read (p. 73) of the famous Labyrinth of Amenemha III. that "according to Herodotus it contained 600 chambers, or rather passages, 300 of which were above the level of the ground, and as many below"; and then on the next page (p. 74), in an unnecessary repetition of the description, that it contained "a great number of chambers, according to the account of Herodotus, 4,500 above and below"; nor, further, that this gigantic construction is attributed to Amenemha III. on pp. 71–2, and to Amenemha IV. on page 75. Had any one but Dr. Birch informed us that Egypt was "exposed on the West to the incursions of the barbarians of Western Asia, whose only curb was the intervening desert" (p. 123), we might have been disposed to attribute the blunder to a dense ignorance of elementary geography, but in him the only explanation possible is careless indifference. So when (p. 177) he says that the "Egyptian vassals" of Assyria "were tired of their dependency on Egypt," we find it difficult to understand the process of thought which assigns that as a reason for their revolt against Assurbanipal of Assyria in favor of Tirhakah of Ethiopia. We may charitably believe that it is only a printer's, and not an author's, blunder which informs us that Necho II. (p. 187) "conceived the idea of joining the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea, now for the first time realized by the Suez Canal"; but charity itself would be at a loss to condone the statement that the circumnavigators of Necho brought back to Egypt "the startling account that they had seen the sun rise at their left hand" (p. 188)—a phenomenon which was presumably familiar to every Egyptian who chanced to look southwards at sunrise. To make amends for this, however, Dr. Birch on the same page "startles" us by telling us that "Necho was the last Egyptian monarch who had relations with the Jews," and then two pages later (p. 190) informing us, under the reign of Necho's grandson, Apries, that the Jewish king "Zedekiah made an alliance with the Pharaoh, and Apries marched against the Babylonians, who retired at his approach."

It is hardly worth while to multiply instances of similar carelessness; but even less comprehensible is Dr. Birch's indifference to the subject of chronology. To the general student, the duration of the Egyptian civilization is perhaps the most interesting problem in its history, and any book on the empire of the Pharaohs is fatally defective which omits to give all authentic material shedding light on the disputed question whether the Egyptian dynasties can be traced back to more than 5000 years B.C., as computed by many competent authorities, or whether, as Bunsen asserts, the limit must be placed at about 3600 B.C., or whether an even shorter period must be assigned to them. Dr. Birch evidently is disposed to restrict their duration to narrow limits, for the title-page claims as the scope of his book the history of Egypt "from the earliest times to B.C. 300," while the heading of his first chapter states its subject to be "from about 3000 B.C. to 2000 B.C." Yet he does not say a word to explain his assigning to Menes this date of 3000 B.C., nor does he condescend to give his reasons for practically discrediting Manetho. In fact, the most attentive study of his pages fails to afford materials for constructing an Egyptian chronology. Sometimes the duration of a dynasty is stated, but more frequently it is omitted, without a word to indicate whether this arises from pure caprice or carelessness, or whether there is valid reason for the omission. It is the same with the several reigns, the duration of which is frequently not stated, and that this is not caused in all cases by absence of facts is shown on p. 189, where, under Necho II., a stela at the Serapeum is quoted as fixing "the duration

* 'Ancient History from the Monuments. Egypt from the Earliest Times to B.C. 300. By S. Birch, LL.D., etc." 1 vol. 12mo. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1875.

of the reigns of his immediate predecessor and successor," Psammetichus I. and II., though that of the former is not mentioned. Enough figures, however, are scattered through the volume to exceed the limit of 3000 B.C. assigned as the approximate date of the foundation of the monarchy.

It is not likely, however, that many students will puzzle themselves over the enigmas so provokingly set forth by Dr. Birch, for the volume is so lacking in all attractiveness of style and all sense of historic proportion, that few will, probably, be found to persevere to the end of even its very moderate number of pages. Parts of it are encumbered with a profusion of unnecessary and unimportant details, presented in the dryest manner; while other portions are meagre to absolute baldness. Archæological discussions are thrust into the midst of historical narrations, as though the contents of the author's note-books had been emptied out and thrown roughly together in chronological order, without a thought of classification or arrangement; and the whole is written in a style of singular clumsiness. In fact, it is impossible to avoid the belief that such frequent confusion of expression betrays confusion of thought. What, for instance, is the idea sought to be conveyed by this: "According to the Greek accounts, the twenty tributaries of kings reduced to twelve in number formed a dodekarchy" (page 182)? Or this: "Two obelisks of black granite in the British Museum, formerly founded at Cairo, show the admirable finish which prevailed at this period" (page 201)? As obelisks cannot be said to be "founded," we are reduced to the conclusion that the British Museum was "founded" at Cairo. Or this: "Another account of the same plan places it in the mythical ages of the followers of the god Horus, a parchment or leather roll of that date having been found in a brick wall of the southern temple, built by King Pepi or Phiops of the sixth dynasty" (page 38)?—where there is nothing in the context to relieve the evident absurdity of attributing an existing "parchment or leather roll" to "mythical ages."

Were this work the production of a mere bookseller's hack we would not weary our readers by even this brief exposition of its shortcomings, but its author's well-earned reputation gives it importance, and we can only regret that so useful a design should have been executed in so imperfect a manner by a man who on every page shows a familiarity with his subject which ought to have rendered the volume one of the highest value. It is not only a disappointment in itself, but its existence is an evil, in possibly preventing some better attempt to supply an acknowledged want, and in diverting, for a time at least, Dr. Birch's attention from the original researches in which he is so competent to extend the limits of positive historical knowledge.

## THE TABERNACLE OF THE HEBREWS.*

MANY pious and otherwise well-informed and clear-headed people entertain the idea that the mere reading of the Pentateuch would be sufficient to produce clear and adequate knowledge of the tabernacle of the Israelites, the sacrifices offered therein, the attendant priesthood, etc., etc. The contrary, however, is true, and the superficial reader is in danger of filling his mind with conceptions totally erroneous if he cannot, over and above his Bible reading, call to his aid some auxiliary branches of learning, such as, for instance, those parts of history, archæology, and linguistics which shed light upon Hebrew antiquity. In the work before us, or rather in the first part of it, the author has given a lucid and complete exposition of the construction of the tabernacle as erected by Moses in the Arabian wilderness, of its sacred furniture and other appurtenances, and of whatever else related to the sanctuary. Mr. Atwater has shown that he is able to treat a subject systematically and to write on it clearly. To any one desirous of becoming familiar with the Bible view of the tabernacle and the things connected with it, Mr. Atwater's exposition can be recommended. His standpoint is, of course, the so-called orthodox one. Whatever is contained in the Bible, from the first verse in Genesis to the last in Revelations, is assumed to be literally true. So firmly does he stand on this basis that he does not even think of refuting critics like Bohlen, Vatke, Colenso, and others who have tried to prove that the Book of Exodus was of a very late origin, and that the tabernacle described in it had never any historical existence. Consequently, Mr. Atwater accepts all the laws of the Pentateuch as of Mosaic origin (p. 115); considers Psalm cxxxii. as having been written by King David (p. 109); understands the Ebed Jehovah, so often mentioned in the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, to be the Messiah, and chapter liii. of the same book to be a prediction that the Messiah will die as an expiatory sacrifice (p. 422); states that a pattern of the tabernacle to be built was shown by God to Moses while he spent forty days on Mount Sinai, and that then and there he received from the Lord minute specifications regarding the construction of the tabernacle and all its component parts, and full explanations of all its symbols and meanings (pp. 3, 9, 135), etc. We only state a fact when we assert that our author cannot reasonably expect a general assent to such views. How it was possible for him, resting upon the letter of the Scriptures alone, to suppose the cherubim as conceived by Ezekiel to be identical with the conception of the cherubim in the Mosaic tabernacle (p. 19) we do not know. There can be no doubt that the idea of the cherubim was an indefinite one, and that we have no right to confound the guardians at the gate of the lost paradise and the golden images upon the ark of the covenant and the supporters and carriers of the chariot-throne of Jehovah as seen by Ezekiel in his prophetic vision. The prototypes of the Hebrew cherubim—the Assyrian ki-ru-bu—had also no certain crystallized form and shape, as has been recently shown by Schrader, Lenormant, and other Assyriologists. They varied much in their appearance, and the numerous copies lately excavated differ considerably one from another.

In the second part of his work, Mr. Atwater has undertaken to explain the symbolism of the Hebrew tabernacle and of the Mosaic *culte*. Here the commentators and interpreters stand on more slippery ground. There is, first of all, a class who, like Winer, are inclined to the opinion that the tabernacle was only a copy of the usual Oriental tents, and who deny that it had any symbolical significance at all. Others, like the learned and ingenious Bähr, have found in this tabernacle, in its appurtenances, in the whole *culte*, inexhaustible materials for the most fertile reflections and for an insight into the attributes of the Divine King and his relations to the chosen people. To the latter class Mr. Atwater belongs, justly siding with those who ascribe a symbolical meaning to the tabernacle. That, moreover, a Christian theologian of orthodox tendencies should insist on a symbolical interpretation is quite natural. For the New Testament not only warrants such symbolical explanations of the tabernacle, of the sacrifices, the priesthood, etc., but it clearly teaches that the outward institutions of Mosaism were symbols conveying to the eye of sense higher ideas of a transcendental nature. While, in general, the New Testament, Philo, Josephus, the Talmud, the Midrash, the mediæval rabbis, and many eminent minds amongst modern Christian commentators, agree in this, that the Mosaic *culte* was of a symbolical nature, they disagree most decidedly in the explanation of the details. Thus, for example, Philo and Josephus start from the supposition that the tabernacle was a microcosm, a counterpart of the macrocosm, of the infinite universe; and this supposition we meet again in the commentaries of some later rabbis, who designated the tabernacle as an *olam katon*. Some doctors of the Talmud, the Kabbalists, Nachmanides, Moses Isserles, interpret the tabernacle as an imitation of a similar structure in heaven. The rationalizing Maimonides sees in it a palace erected to the glorification of the King of Kings, and, starting from this hypothesis, he explains the single parts accordingly. It is obvious that in such exegetical guesswork, where an exuberant fancy may play an important part, artificial and far-fetched results, and sometimes even ridiculous conclusions, may be reached. Or is it not altogether fanciful when, in the chapter treating on the significance of Biblical numbers, Mr. Atwater says (p. 190) that the three days spent by the Israelites in waiting before God revealed himself from Mount Sinai, were a reminder, in the number of days thus spent, that the Being whom they expected was infinite and divine?

Our author, however, is not satisfied with the symbolical explanations. He says that, besides its symbolism, the tabernacle had a typical or prophetical nature, a designed reference to Christ and Christianity, and he adduces passages from the New Testament in corroboration of this view. If, *à priori*, anything in the Old Testament having any real or supposed resemblance to something in the New Dispensation is taken as a "type," as a "shadow of things to come," then we leave the field of sober exegetical science and betake ourselves to the realms of—homiletics. A preacher may give such fanciful typical explanations, but not an historian or a commentator. For the work of a preacher is not exegesis, or history, or archæology. With him his Scriptural text is but a peg on which to hang, more or less loosely, his dogmatical or ethical teachings. The Biblical scholar, however, has nothing to do with any preconceived systematized theology. In his investigations he has to apply the same rules and to follow the same method as any other historian. It may be argued that the New Testament justifies and demands the typical or prophetical explanation of "types" found in the Old Testament. In answer to this, it is sufficient to point to the large number of learned orthodox divines who consider the New Testament passages in which matters and things in the Old Testament are applied to New Testament doctrines and ideas as homiletical applications, and not as finally and authoritatively settling the original meaning. And it is now generally conceded that the orthodox soundness of no Christian

* 'History and Significance of the Sacred Tabernacle of the Hebrews. By Edward E. Atwater.' New York: Dodd & Mead. 1875.

scholar can be questioned on the sole ground that he believes such passages to contain but the *Midrashim*, or the spoken or written sermons of St. Paul and other New Testament authors.

*Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Junior, of Massachusetts:* 1744-1775. By his Son, Josiah Quincy. Second edition. (Boston: Press of John Wilson & Son.)—We are glad to see a second edition of this agreeable memoir of a man whom only an early death prevented from occupying a high place among the eminent patriots of the Revolutionary period. As it was, his short life permitted him to give abundant proof of his ability and courage, not merely that kind of bravery which consists of pugnacious resistance to oppression, but also the kind which, the world over, gains the most lasting praise, and at the same time earns the most immediate hostility. Mr. Quincy was one of the counsel who, in the tumultuous days after the Boston "massacre," had the courage and professional sense of duty to undertake the defence of Captain Preston and his soldiers. This seems now, undoubtedly, the necessary act of a high-minded man, but, in the excited state of popular feeling then existing, it had to the mob the appearance of a desertion, by one of the American leaders, of the common cause. When we read the letter of Mr. Quincy's father, printed in this volume, in which he prays that the story just come to his ears of his son's defection may not be true, and notice the agonized expressions with which he dwells upon an act which we regard as equally to his son's credit, we cannot help getting a vivid idea of the dangers that surrounded him in the path of professional duty. Mr. Quincy's life, after it became known that he had undertaken the defence of the British soldiers, was not at all safe, though he was notoriously one of the most ardent lovers of liberty in Massachusetts.

From the time of this trial to the year of his death and the outburst of the war, Mr. Quincy was occupied with an increasing practice, and soon also with the care of his health, which gave early signs of decay. He was active in forming the plan of a continental correspondence, and his trip through the colonies, of which his journal preserves some interesting memoranda, was in great measure devoted to this object. A few months before his death he went to England, where he did much to reassure the friends of America in and out of Parliament, and obtained political information of a valuable nature, which was sent home to his wife under an assumed name. The account of his English visit, and the impressions made upon his mind by the corruptions of the times, are instructive and entertaining, and his *naïf* remarks upon what he hears and sees bring out very strongly the difference in morality and political honesty then existing between the governing class in England and the corresponding class here. Evidently, any one who went over to England at that time expecting to find in the Englishmen concerned in the administration a set of bloodthirsty tyrants, deaf to the voice of self-interest, who were bent on reducing the colonies to the condition of Asiatic satrapies, were apt to find that they had been much mistaken; that the "administration" was composed of a number of agreeable, gentlemanly men, who talked pleasantly, admitted that there had been much misrepresentation and misunderstanding, and were very glad to ask an intelligent American to dinner, but who, of course, must keep their places by supporting a certain policy, and who found that money was generally the easiest means of doing it. The prevailing atmosphere of corruption strikes Mr. Quincy very forcibly, and he gives a good illustration of the state of affairs by the story of an after-dinner remark to him of an English gentleman, who says in his ear confidentially, "My dear sir, rely upon it, if you are corruptible they will corrupt you."

Had he lived, Mr. Quincy would unquestionably have been one of the first lawyers and politicians of his time. His oratory, from the accounts left of it, must have been persuasive. It is difficult now, accustomed as we are to a more Saxon English, to enter fully into the spirit of the rhetoric of a hundred years ago, when the language in common use among men of talent was so much more Latin than it is now. His antiquated style, in which "speech" becomes "oration," "father" "parent," "freedom" "liberty," and so on, has perhaps a somewhat irritating effect upon our ears, and produces every now and then the impression that language must have been looked upon by our grandfathers not so much as a vehicle for the expression of thought as a kind of decorative art. It is an unjust impression, however, for they used merely the tongue in which they were brought up, as we do.

By a curious fate, Mr. Quincy did not live to see even the opening scenes of the conflict which he did so much to bring about, though on the occasion of the Boston "Tea Party" he was able, with the prophetic voice of a dying man, to foretell to the crowd gathered about the Old South Church the coming events. He died at sea in April, 1775, within sight of land, a few days after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord had given the signal for the Revolution to begin.

*Speeches Delivered in the Congress of the United States.* By Josiah Quincy. 1805-1813. Edited by his Son, Edmund Quincy. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.)—These speeches recall the style of oratory of the time at which they were delivered, and they have little in common with the approved Congressional oratory of the present day; but the manner seems much less remote from us than the matter of them, and they may still be studied with profit as models of forensic delivery. The argument is solid and logical; there is no buncombe, no triviality, no nonsense; the rhetorical ornaments are few; and the dignity and self-restraint of the speaker are manifest on every occasion where there is a temptation to forget them. Frankness, sincerity, and forcibleness characterize every one of the fourteen speeches embraced in this volume. Mr. Quincy spoke with the confidence of a real representative, who feels the community at his back not as urging him on, but as sustaining him at every point, and with the courage of a man of breeding—"a man whose ancestors have been planted in this country now for almost two centuries;" . . . "who has a family, and friends, and character, and children, and a deep stake in the soil;" . . . "who is self-conscicus of being rooted in that soil as deeply and as exclusively as the oak which shoots among its rocks." Many of the speeches here preserved have a present as well as an historical interest, as, for example, the one on the influence of place and patronage. That on the invasion of Canada (Jan. 5, 1813) has many applications to our recent politics. Mr. Quincy tells of certain Pennsylvanian Germans who "are taught to believe by their political leaders, and do at this moment consider, the allegation that war is at present existing between the United States and Great Britain to be a 'federal falsehood'"; just as certain Republicans nowadays are instructed and do believe that the allegation that the Southern States are at peace with the Union is a "rebel falsehood." People then "did not understand that an invasion of Canada was to be, in truth, only a mode of carrying on an electioneering campaign"; nor do they now fully comprehend that the domestic invasions contrived for the manufacture of Southern "outrages" were only another mode of controlling the elections—by intimidation where votes were lacking. It was in this same speech that Mr. Quincy conjured up a phantom which even then, eighteen years before Nat. Turner was heard of, it required great boldness to allude to except with bated breath, by remarking that it appeared absolutely impossible "that bounty should be offered, and proclamations issued, inviting the subjects of a foreign power to treason and rebellion, under the influences of a quarter of the country upon which a retort of the same nature was so obvious, so easy, and in its consequences so awful." But Mr. Quincy knew no fear in such matters, and in his speech on Louisiana as a State (January 14, 1811) did not hesitate to express his conviction that the proposed step was a virtual dissolution of the Union, and would be so regarded by his constituents. His prophecy of evil has been justified, but in a different manner from that in which he foresaw it. The Constitution, he said, "was never constructed to form a covering for the inhabitants of the Missouri and the Red River country; and whenever it is attempted to be stretched over them it will rend asunder." Disruption would ensue as a consequence of "changing all the proportions of the weight and influence possessed by the potent sovereignties composing this Union." Mr. Quincy dreaded transgressing the natural boundary of the Mississippi and the introduction of "strangers" to an equal share in the original partnership. Eleven years later, President Monroe prepared a message for Congress containing "a strong argument against making any territorial settlement on the Pacific, with a decided expression of opinion that they would soon separate from this Union." His cabinet objecting, the message was never sent. Calhoun and J. Q. Adams, as the latter tells us, both agreed in thinking that a separation would not take place. Adams "thought a government by federation would be found practicable upon a territory as extensive as this continent, and that the tendency of our popular sentiment was increasingly towards union."

This volume is a valuable contribution to the history of a period which, as the editor remarks in his preface, "is too remote for the memory of the mass of living men, and not remote enough to tempt the hand of the philosophic historian." Each speech is prefaced by a brief note conveying all the necessary information in regard to the circumstances under which it was delivered.

*The French at Home.* By Albert Rhodes. (New York: Dodd & Mead. 1875.)—Mr. Rhodes knows his subject evidently to such depth as he pre-

tends to fathom it, and he has written an amusing, though an extremely light, little volume. The American demand for information about Parisian manners and customs seems to amount to what is commercially called a "steady run," and it might be less intelligently supplied than in these pages. The author's observations of external characteristics is very lively and persistent, and if he is not very strong as a reasoner, he is an excellent taker of notes. He does not pretend to moralize, but simply to report definite facts, and the merit of his book is in containing a great many of these, of a minute kind. His picture is a friendly one, and we have no disposition to quarrel with it. Moreover, his attitude is the right one, in that he accompanies his generalizations, such as they are, with a number of examples and anecdotes. In some points, however, Mr. Rhodes is open to criticism. That he is writing to explain and elucidate French matters to an ignorant public (as the rudimentary character of much of his information implies) is a reason against and not in favor of his incorporating uninterpreted French phrases into his style. In this way he constantly puts the cart before the horse. "The country of the Tender" is impossible English, besides being an inexact translation. The French phrase is the "pays de Tendre"—not "*du* Tendre." The "garments that are left out of the hands of the aunt" is an awkward form for a first allusion to the pawnbroker; the "addition" for the "bill" is a needless Gallicism; and to speak of "walls of that bluish-gray *affectioned* by painters" is very bad indeed. Is not Mr. Rhodes also rather lax sometimes in his economic statements?—as when he says that "twenty-five thousand [francs a year] for a bachelor" will yield "an apartment in the Boulevard Malesherbes, *au second*, with a cook and a man-servant, a horse and coupé, a box at the French Opera, breakfasts at home, and dinners at the Imperial or Jockey Club; the dwelling consisting of five rooms, with objects of art, one or two of some value." We rather think that the bachelor in question would have to be a thrifty fellow to extract these multifarious luxuries, in the current year, from the income mentioned by Mr. Rhodes, ample though it seems. His programme has an anachronistic sound; it reads like a tender memory of the golden age of Louis Philippe. We must add that the publishers of the present volume have disfigured it with "numerous illustrations" which have been transferred without acknowledgment from certain French publications of thirty years since, and have neither merit nor suitableness. We have an impression, indeed, that some of them (or some of the series to which several of the cuts belong) have already figured as stolen goods in an American book published twenty years ago and written by Mr. J. J. Jarves, entitled 'Parisian Sights and French Principles.' This little book, by the way, had in some degree anticipated Mr. Rhodes—how effectively, our memory does not serve us sufficiently to say.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* |
|---|---|
| Art-Journal, No. 7, July, swd. | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Büchner (Luise), Deutsche Geschichte von 1815-1870, swd. | (B. Westermann & Co.) |
| Bartlett (J.), Familiar Quotations, Seventh ed. | (Little, Brown & Co.) |
| Buckland (F.), Log-book of a Fisherman and Zoölogist. | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Catalogue of the Library of the Hartford Young Men's Institute. | (Hartford) |
| Chambliss (Rev. J. E.), Life and Labors of David Livingstone. | (Hubbard Bros.) $4 50 |
| Cruikshank (G.), My Sketch-book. | (J. Sabin & Sons) 6 00 |
| De Forest (J. W.), Playing the Mischief, swd. | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Elliot (Maj. G. H.), European Light-house Systems. | (D. Van Nostrand) |
| Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. II. | (Little, Brown & Co.) |
| Griffiths (Prof. W. H.), Lessons on Prescriptions and the Art of Prescribing. | (Macmillan & Co.) 1 25 |
| Life of Saint Teresa. | (Macmillan & Co.) 3 00 |
| Morgan (N.), The Skull and Brain. | (Longmans) |
| Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, 1873-75. | (Boston) |
| Poor (H. V.), Railroad Manual, 1875-76. | (H. V. & H. W. Poor) |
| Portfolio, No. 67, July, swd. | (J. W. Bouton) 1 00 |
| Stewart (J. A.), Butler's Pictorial History of the United States. | (J. H. Butler & Co.) |
| Thackeray (Miss), Miss Angel, swd. | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Tennyson (A.), Queen Mary: a Drama. | (J. R. Osgood & Co.) 1 50 |
| Ten Brook (A.), American State Universities. | (R. Clarke & Co.) 3 50 |
| Waring (Col. G. E., jr.), Whip and Spur. | (J. R. Osgood & Co.) 1 25 |
| Whitmore (W. H.), Genealogy of the Payne and Gore Families, swd. | (Prince Society) |
| Workshop, No. 6, swd. | (E. Steiger) 50 |
| Wheildon (W. W.), New History of the Battle of Bunker Hill, swd. | (Lee & Shepard) 50 |
| Wingate (C. F.), Views and Interviews on Journalism. | (F. B. Patterson) 2 00 |
| Ward or Wife? swd. | (Harper & Bros.) |


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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 12, 1875.*

## The Week.

SENATOR MORTON was, in 1866, in favor of the payment of the bonds in greenbacks. Within two or three years, having found out how the cat jumped, he turned right about, and denounced savagely anybody who proposed to pay the bonds in paper. Last year he was in the Senate the most ardent advocate of inflation. He ridiculed specie payments as a chimæra; declared that the "people wanted more money," and ought to have it; cited the example of Austria and Italy as proof that nations prosper most where their money is irredeemable paper; and inveighed against the advocates of resumption as "book men" and "theorists." In fact, he poured forth folly and ignorance like a spring flood, and helped to fill the business men of the country and its foreign creditors with alarm. On Saturday last he made a speech at Urbana, Ohio, in which he appeared as a hard-money man and opposed to inflation; he showed, as has been so often shown before, that paper "based on the entire wealth of the nation" was a humbug and delusion, because what was the use of "basing" it on the wealth of the nation if the wealth of the nation could not be used to redeem it? He acknowledged that the time had gone by, if there ever was a time, when inflation could do any good, and that the panic must now be allowed to run its course "until the times are relieved by economy, industry, and the operation of general causes." And he maintained that we must now get back to specie payments steadily and gradually. All this may be creditable, but can only be considered creditable at the expense of the Senator's judgment. That is, if he is honest, we are forced to set him down as ignorant and foolish. The Republican papers which are now glad of his help in Ohio are of course ready to overlook his financial somersaults, and he will slip back into contraction and hard-money without exciting much attention; but his performance is worth the notice of political philosophers as an illustration of the way in which a thoroughly unprincipled politician keeps afloat and in office from year to year, without much discomfort or inconvenience.

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Senator Morton's account of the real issues raised in the Ohio campaign is, we need hardly say, that they relate wholly to the condition of the South, where the rebels are still rampant and unrepentant and the colored people unprotected; and he declares that what the Democrats are really after is the acknowledgment of Confederate war-claims, the payment of compensation for the slaves, and the disfranchisement of the negroes, and he reiterates in the fullest manner his belief in the "outrages" of the canvass of last fall, and denounces those who considered them untrue. In fact, he makes the insecurity of the Southern negro again the main reason for the continuance of the Republican party in power. It ought to be said that since Mr. Pierrepont assumed the Attorney-Generalship accounts of "outrages" have entirely ceased to come in from the South—an extraordinary circumstance, to which Mr. Dawes pays too little attention. As the slaughter of the colored man is going on steadily, by what infernal device are the reports of it prevented from reaching Washington?

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The Governor's Canal Commission has made its first report, giving the history of what is known as the Denison Contract. Mr. Denison contracted with the State in 1869 to do some work on the Erie Canal for the sum of $74,183 40. In May, 1875, he had succeeded in doing two-thirds of the work, and in drawing from the Treasury the sum of $417,571. It is needless to say that the work is badly done, and in part worthless, or that Mr. Denison has swindled the State out of a very large sum of money, which must be recovered, if at all, through the courts. There is another side of the question which is far more important, however, and that is the account given by the Commission of the means by which Mr. Denison was enabled to enrich himself. They find, first, that the contract was let without any preliminary survey, map, or estimates, required by law; second, that the Division Engineer never made any such drawing, map, or estimates, required by law; that the State Engineer and Surveyor never approved them, as required by law; that O. Bascom and John D. Fay, Canal Commissioners, falsely certified that they had examined and approved this survey, etc., which was not in existence at all; that the Contracting Board directed that these non-existent maps, plans, and estimates be adopted and advertised for letting, and that the contract was then advertised. The Commission also find that this mode of letting contracts on false certificates was the regularly established practice. Now, of course, Mr. Denison is a bad man, and has committed frauds; but what is to be said of the management of its affairs here exhibited by the State of New York? The Commission say in so many words that all this fraud was "only possible through the culpable neglect or connivance of the Canal Commissioners, engineers, and inspectors in charge." There is no reason to believe that, on the whole, these officers will be any better in the future than in the past, so that the report amounts to a confession of the complete break-down of the whole system of canal management. It amounts to an almost mathematical demonstration that the checks and safeguards established to protect the State are themselves rotten, and the State cannot manage its own business. What practical way out of the difficulty there is except a sale of the canals for what they are worth, we cannot perceive.

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A very unpleasant scene occurred at the Police Board in this city the other day, when General (Baldy) Smith addressed his colleagues. General Smith is an officer and a gentleman, who, when recently appointed by Mayor Wickham, found himself in somewhat strange company. The investigation now pending into the manners and morals of the force by the Committee of the Legislature has shown both of them to be in a very bad condition, we presume greatly to General Smith's disgust, who can do nothing to remedy it, as he forms a minority of one. He has accordingly since his appointment taken very little part in the proceedings of the Board, and has occupied himself with making observations and collecting facts illustrative of the state of the police. On Saturday last, thinking the time had come to speak out, he addressed his colleagues, offering several amendments to the rules and regulations, and complaining of the way in which previous recommendations of a similar character had been disregarded. He declared the force to be in a demoralized and disorganized condition, and to be growing worse every day. He also avowed his want of faith in the present Board, and his belief that there was a combination among the Commissioners to prevent any improvement, and gave as his authority for this statement Mr. Disbecker, one of his colleagues, and an appointee of Mayor Havemeyer, and accused this worthy of having offered him (General Smith) his vote for the presidency of the Board, for a higher price, however, than he was able to pay. Turning to old Mr. Matsell, the General then denounced him as having been "editor of the *Police Gazette*, a school for thieves," when he was appointed Superintendent, and declared that to have been "the best text-book for young villains he had ever read." Matsell at this turned red, and, after saying that he had dissolved his connection with the *Gazette* when he was appointed, finally muttered that he "was proud of his connection with it." There is little doubt that Matsell's "sentiments" are now "embittered." He "feels unkindly" towards General Smith. He thinks General Smith ought not to have "got excited." He looks upon General Smith's views of the *Police Gazette*

as monarchical, and wonders what he is after, and whether a thousand dollars would not "make it all right" with him.

Since the attack on the Commissioners by General Smith, there has been a terrible commotion in the Board, all the members of which have been interviewed, and explained their positions. Matsell was found quite ready to talk, and explained to the reporter who came to get his views, swearing meanwhile like a pirate, that Gen. Smith did not know what he was about. The *Police Gazette*, he said, while he had charge of it, was the terror of the criminal classes. They dreaded it more even than they did the police. This shows what a pity it was that Matsell did not go on publishing it as Commissioner. With the "finest police in the world" under him, and the *Police Gazette* as the official organ of the Board, the thieves and murderers would probably by this time have all left the city. The Commissioners have held a meeting, at which all concerned have made speeches, and Disbecker has managed to get up an "issue of veracity" between himself and General Smith; but the difficulty is that people generally trust General Smith, while they do not believe a word that Disbecker says.

The dead-lock which has now for some months prevailed in the government of this city seems to have come to an end through the removal of the Corporation Counsel, Mr. E. Delafield Smith, and the appointment of a Democrat, Mr. William C. Whitney, in his place. There can be no doubt that this is an improvement, and an indication that Mr. Wickham's intentions are good. It also seems to show that the slight coolness which had begun to make itself apparent between the Mayor and the Governor is not likely to "split the party." In fact, the citizens of New York now have for the first time in its history the satisfaction of knowing that their three great officers, the Governor, the Mayor, and the Boss, are all honest men, belonging to the same party, and working together solely for the public good. They are, to be sure, surrounded by bad men, but, unlike some other eminent reformers in similar difficulties, they appear to have got the better of their "wicked partners," and even go to the length of disciplining them. With Tammany Hall behind them, and their important patronage, they have power to give the city at least an opportunity of good government, for which they will be held to a strict accountability.

Nothing of a startling character has been developed in mercantile affairs during the week. There have been no suspensions directly caused by Duncan, Sherman & Co.'s failure, and it is becoming evident that there will be none. There was, however, on Monday a suspension (that of Archibald Baxter & Co.), caused by the derangement of the foreign-exchange market. In London, Alexander Collie, of the bankrupt firm of Collie & Co., has absconded, and thereby virtually admitted the charge of fraud which was made by the London and Westminster Bank. The markets for gold, merchandise, and securities have been feverish but not excited nor active, the disposition being general to await further developments as to the crops. The damage already done by the heavy rains can be no more than guessed at, and what the weather will be until the harvests are completed of course cannot be foreseen. Among business men the feeling, however, is that the autumn trade will be fully satisfactory, and already it has commenced, in some departments, in a way which justifies that opinion.

After the failure of Messrs. Duncan & Sherman, a very familiar phenomenon presented itself in Europe—that is, England and the Continent began to swarm with people who were short of money owing to this unlooked-for disaster. Most of them, of course, belonged to that class who are always short of money, whose "remittances" never arrive, and who are thereby placed in a most embarrassing position. Usually, they have to be very vague in their accounts of the cause of their misfortunes, so that when a well-known banker fails it is a perfect godsend to them, by enabling them to garnish their story with names and dates and circumstances. It is the wants of these unhappy persons which appear to have inspired the afflicting accounts of the distress of the American travellers in Europe who carried Messrs. Duncan & Sherman's credits, and especially that of the schoolmistress who, having only six dollars when the news reached her, started for home in the steerage, while her friends put about twenty-five dollars into a Cable message announcing that she was on her way. The real bearers of these credits have been relieved from their embarrassment by an advance of $250,000 to Messrs. J. S. Morgan & Co. to meet their claims by Mr. Alexander Duncan, the father of Mr. William Butler Duncan; but what will become of the poor fellows who hold no credits, and whom this failure enabled for a brief period to wear the robes of sudden and unforeseen misfortune? The charitable will now refer them to Messrs. J. S. Morgan & Co., but Messrs. J. S. Morgan & Co. will not heed them.

So much has been said of the great "coal monopoly" of the Reading Railroad, that its evils have come to be taken for granted as something not needing proof. At last, however, the Pennsylvania victims of this gigantic engine of fraud and extortion have demanded an investigation by the Legislature of the State, and have, in return, brought more facts to light than they bargained for. The Company attacked showed fight, and the President, Mr. Gowen, a man of remarkable ability, only begged that the investigation might be thorough. He took the investigating committee to the mines, and showed them the character and extent of the property and its importance, and then proved, first, that the price of coal had steadily been declining; second, that there was no combination in existence to keep it up; third, that the Reading road sold coal along its line at nearly, if not quite, the cost of its production, not from motives of philanthropy, but to build up business which would need transportation; that, besides this, the monopolists had made a vain effort to introduce co-operation among their employés, by offering to contribute money to be added to any savings of the men, the whole to form a fund by means of which each man might acquire an interest in the stock, but that the trades-unions had frightened the men out of it; that the monopolists had also a regular system of promotion, and always pensioned their retiring employés, or their families in case of death.

Having brought forward these facts as pretty good proof that the Company were not keeping the price of coal up, or grinding the face of the poor, Mr. Gowen took the offensive, and enquired where the attacks on the road came from, and showed pretty conclusively that the petitioners for the investigation did not represent consumers at all, but retailers, who were threatened with a loss of business because of the effect on prices exercised by the Company; that they sold at much higher prices than any one else; and that even as retailers they were entitled to no consideration, inasmuch as they cheated their customers by selling short weight; and he managed to produce the exact number of pounds which one or two of their tons contained, and which was four or five hundred pounds out of the way. There seems to be little in answer to all this from any quarter. The most curious part of Mr. Gowen's speech is that in which he shows how the monopolists themselves are oppressed by the labor-reformers and politicians. The Company is of course the great taxpayer of the region in which its mines lie, while it has no share in the government, which is carried on by the "citizens"; in other words, by the miners, led by the labor-reformers. When a strike occurs, the towns or counties immediately levy a tax, which is paid by the Company, and is then distributed among the men as "out-door relief." Another way is to vote large sums of money for keeping the roads in repair, the amount spent on one road being $2,725 per mile annually. Besides this extortion, the monopolists are every year or two threatened with some hostile legislation or other, and Mr. Gowen gives an exam-

ple of this in what was called the Labor Tribune Bill (it actually passed one reading in the House of Representatives), by which all the industrial works of Pennsylvania were to be managed by and to be subject to the control of a board called a tribune, composed of twelve men, of whom one was to be the secretary of internal affairs, one a coal operator, one a manufacturer, and the other nine laborers, and the decision of this tribunal upon any question of dispute was to be final, and, if it was not obeyed, the disobedient offender was to be imprisoned for seven years.

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Brother Shearman was treated with great forbearance by the press during the late trial in Brooklyn, but he does not seem to have appreciated it. In spite of his prominence in the proceedings, little or no allusion was made to his unfortunate antecedents, and he might, if he had pleased, have gone to Europe for his holiday without note or comment. But he has grossly abused his privileges, for, instead of taking his vacation quietly, he has delivered a short discourse on the trial to a London congregation, in which he gave a slanderous account of the manners of American ministers towards the female members of their churches, and seems to have told a direct falsehood about Mr. Fullerton, of the counsel for the defence, in ascribing to that gentleman belief in Mr. Beecher's innocence, and alleging that he, for that reason, refused to address the jury, and confined himself to cross-examination. This makes it necessary to warn the English press and public against Brother Shearman as an untrustworthy person. Although a member of the New York bar, he is not a member of the Bar Association, and could not, we venture to assert, obtain admission to that body. Moreover, he first became known to the public about 1869 by acting not only as James Fisk's lawyer but as his confidential agent and attorney, occupying an office at the Opera-House, and devoting himself exclusively to the scoundrel's "business." He was, too, principally instrumental in obtaining the fraudulent and corrupt orders from Barnard for which that judge was subsequently driven from the bench, besides figuring largely in most reckless and shameful litigation of the Erie Ring. His income derived from this position during the two or three years in which he held it must have been very great. His appearance in the Brooklyn scandal as Mr. Beecher's friend, confidant, and counsellor, and as clerk of the church, was, as far as Brother Shearman himself was concerned, not surprising, for it promised some sort of resuscitation for his reputation; but that Mr. Beecher should have sought or permitted it, was regarded by most people outside the church as simply of a piece with the friendship with Tilton, and the still warmer friendship with Moulton. Both Mr. Beecher and the church will find out, however, before this affair is over, that character *is* of some consequence in this world, and that lachrymoseness (Brother Shearman seems to weep at will) is no substitute for it. We advise Dr. Parker and other Congregational ministers in England not to trust or encourage public statements from Brother Shearman, but pass him on quietly to the mountains, or the baths, or wherever he is going.

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The escape from jail at Columbia of ex-Treasurer Niles G. Parker is said to have been taken resignedly by a community which he had already plundered to such an extent that they grudged the costs of jail maintenance and further prosecution. He seems, in fact, to have been almost invited to walk off by the liberty allowed him outside of his cell and the absence of the usual restraints on the visits of friends and relatives. His son was in the plot, but the accomplice who took the leading part, and who has since been arrested, was one Mattison, a United States revenue collector, who was out on parole after having been a year in prison on the charge of murdering a man whom he was seeking to arrest. He and a colored boy had horses in readiness for Parker as soon as the latter had reached the ground by means of the lightning-rod. Parker then rode to a place appointed, at which he found, as the story goes, "his $6,000 horse," once on whose back he doubtless felt himself beyond pursuit. He has, however, been recaptured and locked up again, even if we are not permitted to say secured. His flight, meantime, has served the useful purpose of a confession, and has given the moral climax to his career. If the State were only concerned with establishing his infamy, it could well afford to let him go—we had almost said Scott free. There is some hope, however, that his partners in robbery may be discovered through him. Of one thing South Carolina may be assured, that the exemplary punishment of this adventurer will not impair in the slightest her cordial relations with Massachusetts.

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The O'Connell Centennial has been celebrated in all the principal cities of Great Britain and Ireland and America with great state. In Boston, it drew forth an oration from Wendell Phillips, and a speech from General Butler, in which Butler denounced the Puritans as bigots and vagrants; declared that before 1798 the Irish were a "happy, prosperous, and industrious people" of 8,000,000, but that after that period the oppression of the Government and of the landlords reduced them to 4,000,000, and mentioned that the Jacksons, Johnsons, and Polks, and other North-of-Ireland Presbyterians, had come to this country in search of religious liberty. He confessed that he looked forward "to the time when Ireland should govern New England, and New England govern the United States," and expressed a strong admiration of the Catholic Church and great horror of scepticism. For a "not very remote son of Ireland," which he declares himself to be, Butler's knowledge of Irish history is somewhat scanty and confused, but is quite sufficient for purposes of imposture. In Dublin, the procession was charged repeatedly, and thrown more or less into disorder, by a body of mounted coalheavers, who had a dispute of precedence with some other portion of it. The audience subsequently refused to hear the Lord Mayor read Lord O'Hagan's speech, which the latter was prevented from delivering himself by a domestic bereavement, on the ground that his lordship was too "Whiggish," and the banquet broke up in a row before the regular toasts were reached and the gas had to be turned off to prevent a general mêlée. "The boys" who took part in these tumultuous proceedings would probably answer unfriendly criticism of them in the words in which Wendell Phillips disposed of O'Connell's violence of language, that "stupor and palsy never understood life." There were to have been fireworks on the evening of the third day's celebration, but they were forbidden by mayoral proclamation, owing, it is said, to the receipt of confidential information from Cardinal Cullen that extensive arrangements had been made for a fight. The root of the trouble seems to lie in the hostility of the Fenian element to the "Home Rulers," and of the Home Rulers to Fenians and everybody else.

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A judgment which, if confirmed in the court of last resort, will have considerable importance in Italian politics, has just been rendered by the Civil Tribunal at Mantua upon a disputed claim to an ecclesiastical benefice. Two communes in that province—San Giovanni del Dosso and Frassino—have refused to receive the parish priests assigned to them by the Archbishop, and have, at an open meeting in their piazzas, elected others by 207 votes to 47. One of them—he of San Giovanni del Dosso—had already got into possession of the temporalities, but he of Frassino had not. Under these circumstances, the Archbishop applied to the court of law to oust them, and produced his own authority under the canon law as proof of their want of qualification. The Court, however, after full argument, held that it knew nothing judicially of the canon law; that, as the Archbishop had not obtained the royal exequatur, it knew nothing of him either; and that, on general principles, the people of a parish cannot be denied the right of electing their own pastor. As the priest of San Giovanni is in possession of the living, he continues to hold it, having been appointed by the Archbishop some time before his election as a "stated supply"; but the new priest of Frassino, not having received a canonical appointment, the Minister of Worship refuses to deliver the temporalities of the parish to him, although the Court gives him possession of the parish church,

## THE O'CONNELL CENTENNIAL.

THE celebration of the hundredth anniversary of O'Connell's birthday by Irishmen in various parts of the world has naturally been enthusiastic. His fame is one which Time only enlarges and confirms. The memory of his defects of method, which were very numerous and striking, of course have passed away with the generation which witnessed them. What the present generation knows of him and remembers is, that he found the Irish Catholics in a condition of great political degradation, and that he emancipated them; and that he began the conflict against the most tremendous odds when he was still a young man, and had won the day before he was fifty, though in winning it he had to attack the most stolid and self-satisfied and imperious race in the world in their very dearest and most deeply-rooted prejudices, and to attack them too with nothing but his tongue. It was a great victory, there is no denying. Never yet in the history of peaceful agitation has one man done so much, for O'Connell was himself the Catholic movement. If he had been taken out of it after the first small meeting, there would have been nothing left of it, and Emancipation would have come rather from the slow development of the English conscience than in the nobler and better way, from the struggles of the Irish Catholics themselves.

But then Time does not do as much for his work as it does for his memory. Since his day, Ireland has played a considerable part in European politics; before his day, little or nothing was known of it beyond the fact that it was a discontented and powerless province of Great Britain. Cold criticism has, therefore, inevitably taken the place of respectful sympathy. From admiring the great thing which O'Connell did, people have taken to asking, What is the value of the new element which he has introduced into British politics; what has been the nature of its influence on the march of European and American affairs?—for its influence has been felt on this side of the water as well as on the other. Political and social progress, people remember sadly as well as joyfully, did not cease with the passage of the Emancipation Act by the British Parliament. There was still a world of work to be done on the Continent as well as in England before the cause of civil and religious liberty could be said to be fully triumphant. There were innumerable social problems to be solved, too, all of which needed all the care and judgment that Christendom could supply. The Irish Catholics appeared on the scene as speakers, writers, and legislators, just as the ideas which had been suppressed by nearly forty years of war and tumult were again beginning to find expression and to fill the world with a strange but not ungrateful impatience and foreboding. People, therefore, who are neither Irishmen nor Catholics say, when they are called on to clap hands because O'Connell was born one hundred years ago, something of this sort: "With the emancipated Irish Catholic we are very familiar. There are few parts of the world in which he is not now to be found; and wherever he is, he is apt to make his presence known. We are glad that Daniel O'Connell was successful in liberating him, because we are sure, from all we hear, that his condition before Emancipation was degrading. Emancipation was, therefore, very well as far as it went; but then it did not make the world perfect. A great deal had to be done after O'Connell's death, even for religious liberty; and before we begin our rejoicings over O'Connell's birthday, we should like, for the better regulation of our enthusiasm, to be informed what kind of part the school of politicians which O'Connell founded, and which received his maxims and traditions, has played in the work of political and religious progress. You must excuse us, but we have got over the idea we once had, that when you hear that a man is free you need ask no more about him. We have been taught by bitter experience that it is also necessary to ask what use he has made of his freedom. We must, therefore, enquire what sort of contributions Irish Catholics have made to the work in which we are all engaged, and how far their teachings have prepared or prompted them to become in all lands the friends of the causes which we, as liberal and progressive men, have most at heart, before we join you to the full extent in your rejoicings; and yet we do not deny that your hero was a great man."

Nor is this by any means an unreasonable view to take of O'Connell's responsibility. He could not have been expected suddenly to make the Irish Catholics austere and astute politicians of the Anglo-Saxon type. He could not change their history or their traditions or their temperament, nor could he probably have secured from them the support which he received in the earlier portion of his career had he been a man of finer fibre, or nicer taste, or more delicate conscience. He was rough, but he had rough work to do. He might have employed rhetorical weapons which would have had more weight in the House of Commons than the somewhat ruffianly invective in which he shone and habitually indulged, but then he spoke for Kerry and Sligo more than for Westminster, and he never could have made the hearts of his constituents throb with phrases which London drawing-rooms would have pardoned or admired. But then, when Emancipation was secured, and its triumph left him in possession of power which any monarch in Europe might have envied, and gave him the hearts of many millions as hearts have perhaps never before been given to a man, he deliberately and with set purpose proceeded to use it to strengthen and perpetuate the influence of the Catholic clergy over the masses whom he had brought on the stage of political life, and whose political prophet he was. There is no doubt he was himself a devout Catholic, and that when he beslavered the "venerated clergy" with his praises in Conciliation Hall, he felt all he said. He was doubtless conscientious in his endeavors to preserve their place for them in Irish politics, and to exalt it, and to give Irish politics ane eclesiastical hue, and make the Church a prime object of national concern, and to discourage purely secular ways of looking at things. But then his sincerity made his influence on the course of Irish political thought none the less hurtful. It preserved and stimulated that unfortunate tendency—which was natural and useful enough in the earlier stage of political development in which O'Connell found his Catholic countrymen, but which, when fairly admitted to the community of European nations, was a heavy burden and impediment—the tendency to act as a clan, through chiefs or tribunes like O'Connell himself, and to leave to them the work of thinking and deciding. It helped to perpetuate that separation of the Irish Catholics from their Protestant countrymen which has been to them the cause of unutterable woes, and has made their country a den in which the beasts of religious fanaticism, after being driven from every other civilized country in Europe, have found a refuge. It prevented them, too—which was also a great misfortune—from obtaining their legitimate weight and influence in either the British Parliament or any other deliberative assembly in which the leading political races in our day have a majority; for a party which has the priest behind it is now, in every parliament in the world, hated and distrusted and despised.

Though last, not least, it cut them off from political communion with the great Liberal party in all European countries, and has made them the bitter enemies of the movement which, in spite of many mistakes and drawbacks, has for fifty years made European politics a steady march towards a sounder and more enlightened polity—the movement which has given us a new Italy, a new Germany, a new Austria, and which, unless all signs fail, will give us, before long, a new France and a new Spain. Everywhere Irish Catholics have been found among its bitterest enemies, and it is characteristic and significant that the attempt to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of O'Connell's birthday in Dublin should have been a clerical affair with a strong Ultramontane tinge, and that the proceedings should have been marked by a succession of fights, and that the banquet should have ended in a riot which was only quelled by turning off the gas. We mention the fight and the riot not in jest, but in sober earnest, as illustrations of the points on which O'Connell's influence was defective. It was in no sense steadying; it did nothing towards the cultivation of a political sense or of a national public opinion. It did nothing for toleration, for mutual forbearance and the openness to conviction, for the regard for experience, which are the only sure foundations of modern states. It did nothing to bring Ireland into the

European commonwealth, or to bring Irishmen into true sympathy with the best tendencies of the time. The result is that Irish Catholics form everywhere a party to themselves, the wires of which are pulled more or less at Rome, and which circulates the Encyclical with more or less publicity as a serious political document; and which never sees politics as what it really is—not a picnic, or a jollification, or a high mass, but a piece of business as dry and laborious as book-keeping and as solemn and momentous as war. The Irishman who will deliver his countrymen from their subjection to the Church, and at the same time teach them the value in politics of sober-mindedness and the dangers of over-cultivation of the imagination, will do for them far more than O'Connell did; but such an Irishman has yet to show himself. The figures they cut in this country as the tools of demagogues like Butler and Banks, and the pleased and tickled protégés of musical rhetoricians like Mr. Phillips, are in fact melancholy illustrations of the smallness of the results which O'Connell accomplished.

## PROFITABLE AND UNPROFITABLE ECONOMY.

IN a time of great business depression like the present, the numerous suggestions as to the remedy which are made every day, are all entitled to a certain amount of respect, because they all contain a certain amount of truth. It is true, for instance, that too much of the floating capital of the country has been fixed in undertakings not immediately remunerative, and that, therefore, we ought for the present to avoid such undertakings. It is true that the habits bred by the war have tempted a great many people into living very expensively, and that in times like these they ought to reduce their style of living. It is true, also, that the experience we have had of the tampering of Congress with the currency since the panic, has probably aggravated the distrust with which the paper-money is regarded, and that this aggravation is very natural, and that, therefore, increased caution in business operations is desirable. But then, a large number of financial prophets and advisers are not content with these admissions. They insist upon it that what we need above all things is economy, and that the worse the outlook is, the more we must economize; that everybody must save as much as he can by cutting down all his expenses; and that after each failure he hears of he must cut them down still more. In fact, to listen to some of them, one would imagine that there could not be any recovery until we had "touched bottom," and that touching bottom meant general restriction to the bare necessaries of life.

Now, there is in a great deal of this talk the inconsequence which economists have often pointed out in the phrase a "general rise of values," which some people occasionally use, meaning thereby an increase in the value of everything together, including gold and silver. It needs but very little reflection to see that this is a chimera. But the notion that any process of recovery can take place through universal economy, or, in other words, universal diminution of consumption, accompanied by a universal increase of production, is also a chimera. If we all consume less, we cannot produce more, because the producers and consumers are the same persons. Therefore, the current newspaper advice on this subject needs considerable revision. If everybody reduces his expenses in every direction, he undoubtedly effects for the moment, say for a month or two, a considerable saving; but as soon as he attempts to increase his production he discovers that, if his neighbors have all been following his example, his market is gone. The position in which one now so frequently finds a newspaper prophet, urging his fellow-citizens to buy no new shirts this year, and at the same moment mourning over the slackness of work in the cotton-mills, is an obvious illustration of the fallaciousness of his theory. The fact is, universal economy as a means of recovery from a commercial crisis is an absurdity. Economy, to be effective, must be combined with steady or increased production; or, in other words, must be practised by only a portion of the community. If all classes undertake to practise it for any great length of time, the result will be somewhat like that of an attempt to lengthen a garment by cutting a piece off one end and sewing it on at the other. The elementary principles of political economy have been often illustrated by an account of the doings of a small company of shipwrecked artisans on a remote island. One, for instance, is a shoemaker, one a baker, one a tailor, and one a hunter, and they all exchange their products, and live happily. But it is easily seen that if, by way of remedying some imprudence or excess on the part of one of their number, all of them determine to consume as little as possible, their abstinence cannot possibly result in their all growing rich. Some have to consume freely to make the production of the others of any immediate benefit to them.

General or national economy may prove an effective means of increasing the national wealth, and of recovering from a crisis, if there is a good foreign market for the products of the national industry, but we have long proclaimed by our legislation our indifference to a foreign market, and have so arranged matters as to discourage foreigners from buying anything from us except for gold. The result is that when we fall into a slough like the one in which we find ourselves at this moment, and we all begin to "economize," there has to be a cessation or great diminution of production in all branches of manufacture. Our mills close or are on half-time, our furnaces are put out, our railroads carry freight below cost, and there is general stagnation, until a short harvest in Europe creates a foreign demand for our agricultural produce. It is undoubtedly this rather than our economy which is now going to set us on our legs again. Of course there has been what is called a "general liquidation," which some people talk of in a solemn manner, as if it were the means of making a solid addition to the wealth of the country. What they really mean by the term is a general settlement of insolvent debtors with their creditors, either by announcing that they cannot pay or by paying what they can. But then nobody is made any the richer by this process. The good it does lies in the fact that it frees some men from anxiety, and makes others acquainted with the exact state of their own affairs. It thus does much towards bringing about a return of prosperity, not by directly increasing the national substance, but by helping to restore confidence. And the restoration of confidence is after all the great thing we need; not more money, as some think, or low living, as others think. Periods of prosperity are not periods in which everybody is well off, but in which the belief that he is likely to be well off stimulates everybody's industrial activity. We are made busy and productive, not by being rich, but by expecting to be rich.

During the last six months the value of the exports of thirty-one leading American products from the port of New York has fallen off, even as compared with the same period in 1874, by over $27,000,000, or about fifteen per cent. During the same period our imports of coal, of manufacturing chemicals, of hemp, of dressed and undressed hides, of india-rubber, of molasses, of nearly all metals, of sugar, of tea, of rice, of saltpetre, and of fine woods, have also fallen off heavily—some of them enormously; in other words, there has been a great decline, as compared with last year, in the purchase of the raw materials of American industry. Some people maintain that this is a good, healthy state of things, and contains, in some mysterious manner, the seeds of recovery. Indeed, their argument, if pushed to its logical limits, would lead us to the conclusion that, through total idleness, and an absolute cessation of trade, provided they were accompanied with rigid asceticism, lay the true road to a revival of business. The truth is that the condition we are in is one of disease; the only satisfactory feature about it is that it is not hopeless or even dangerous, and that with time and care we shall be as well as ever again. But chuckling over the weakness of our limbs, the lowness of our pulse, and the shattered state of our nerves as gratifying symptoms, is not a rational performance. The state of stagnation which follows a panic in a commercial country is in reality a slight and temporary return towards barbarism. People

consume less and produce less for the same reason that they consume little and produce little in Mexico and Guatemala—that is, owing to a low sense of security about the future. Their state of mind about business becomes somewhat assimilated to that of the inhabitants of badly-governed countries in which the police are powerless or the courts venal. They want enterprise, and prefer living abstemiously to working hard or taking risks, just as the Costa-Ricans do. They cannot, however, get out of this state of mind by sitting still and saving in their clothes and food. The cure lies in the revival of confidence in the future, and this comes back, in the absence of fresh disasters, through the operation of time. When we say cheerfully that "business is reviving," that the mills are fully employed, that the furnaces have again been lighted, we simply mean that people have begun to take heart and create demand by buying again. The notion that this demand is the result of the accumulation of wealth during the previous bad year is a hallucination. The only good way in which the prevalent depression has really contributed to revival is by supplying cheap money to such manufacturers as use borrowed capital. With money at three or four per cent., the cost of production is of course lessened to those who can produce at all, and the consequent lowering of prices tempts unwilling purchasers into the market. But the depression which follows a crisis, being mainly moral, has to be dissipated in the main by moral remedies. Economy is a good thing if accompanied by industry and a good market, but not otherwise. In the one case, it is the virtue of an Anglo-Saxon; in the other, the vice of a Neapolitan.

## A JUDICIAL ELECTION.

IN May, 1870, an election was held which was probably as important as any which has occurred in the history of New York. In that month the people chose a new court of last resort, consisting of six judges and one chief judge, to declare for the next fourteen years finally and irrevocably the law of the State. The election, too, was important in another point of view, for in it for the first time the elective system was supplemented and perfected by the introduction of what is known as the "minority principle." This principle had been developed by European publicists for the purpose of remedying certain defects in representation, but its application to courts of law had not occurred to Hare or Mill, probably because they were unfamiliar with what we may call judicial politics. It was left to the thinkers of New York to invent a proportionally represented party bench, and it was to the hands of William M. Tweed that the execution of this scheme for the perfection of the elective system was entrusted. To that large class of patriotic Americans who, though debarred from all active participation in politics, still continue to take a speculative interest in the government of the country, it may be interesting to know what were the results. The real competition was between the four candidates of the minority—that is, the Republican candidates. An amendment to the constitution had provided that each party could vote for four candidates, but that the six having the highest number of votes should be elected. The four candidates of the majority could be chosen, and two of the four candidates of the minority. It had been settled in public opinion that the four Democratic candidates, Allen, Grover, Peckham, and Rapallo, as well as Chief-Judge Church, would be elected. The contest was between the four Republican candidates as to which two of them should have the largest number of votes.

The whole vote of the four Republican candidates in the State was:

| | Charles J. Folger. | Charles Andrews. | Charles Mason. | Robert S. Hale. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 154,930 | 154,092 | 152,306 | 150,862 |
| In the City of New York | 26,406 | 23,635 | 22,246 | 22,034 |
| Outside of the City | 128,524 | 130,457 | 130,060 | 128,828 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Chief-Judge Henry R. Selden | 151,978 |
| In New York | 22,187 |
| Outside of the City | 129,791 |

By the vote of the city, Folger, from being the lowest of the Republican candidates, was made the highest. Andrews, from being 397 ahead of Mason, was made 1,786 ahead. It is to be noted that the whole five—the Chief-Judge and the four Judges—were voted for on one ballot. We will now see where and how Folger and Andrews were put ahead of their ticket.

The official returns show that in the Fourth Election District of the Eighth Ward the vote was as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allen | 512 | Mason | 157 |
| Grover | 512 | Andrews | 157 |
| Peckham | 512 | Folger | 669 |
| Rapallo | 512 | Hale | 157 |

It will be seen that the regular Democratic vote in this district was 512 and the regular Republican vote 157, as appears also from the vote in the same district on the Chief-Judge:

| | |
|---|---|
| Church | 512 |
| Selden | 157 |

Notwithstanding this, we find that Folger received 669 votes, a number which happens, by a curious coincidence, to be the exact sum which would have been obtained if some inspector had added the regular Democratic vote to the regular Republican.

But we shall see as we go on that Judge Folger and Judge Andrews were popular men in New York in 1870. They had strong "personal magnetism," and though they were Republicans, the Democrats, even in the best-disciplined districts, could not be kept from voting for them. In the Second District of the same ward the regular Democratic vote was 942 and the regular Republican was 15, and the official record is as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allen | 942 | Mason | 15 |
| Grover | 892 | Andrews | 65 |
| Peckham | 842 | Folger | 115 |
| Rapallo | 942 | Hale | 15 |

This is the first symptom of the incontestable unpopularity of Grover and Peckham, by reason of which fifty Democrats go over in a body to Andrews, and no less than one hundred to Folger. It may be thought strange, to be sure, that a Democrat, merely because he disliked Grover and Peckham, should insist on voting for Andrews and Folger, but it seems, from the vote of the Fifteenth District next following, that the sturdy Democrats took a secret pleasure in emphasizing their dislike for Grover and Peckham in this way:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allen | 1,003 | Mason | 19 |
| Grover | 503 | Andrews | 519 |
| Peckham | 503 | Folger | 519 |
| Rapallo | 1,003 | Hale | 19 |

Here we have no less than five hundred Democrats deserting the unpopular Grover and Peckham, and casting their votes solidly for the people's favorites, Folger and Andrews. A more emphatic rebuke than this has seldom been administered through the elective machinery. Curiously enough, however, the result tells, not against the Democrats, but in favor of Andrews and Folger, and against Mason and Hale. The upshot of this determined voting is that in these three districts of the Eighth Ward Folger and Andrews gain over Mason and Hale as follows: Folger, 1,112; Andrews, 550. It was noticed at the time that this ward in which the Andrews and Folger votes came out so strong was "Michael Norton's Ward"; but what this means we do not know.

The Sixth Ward also went against Peckham, but here the anti-Peckham Democrats were all Folger men, as the vote shows. In the Ninth District the vote was:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allen | 1,031 | Mason | 14 |
| Grover | 1,031 | Andrews | 14 |
| Peckham | 930 | Folger | 115 |
| Rapallo | 1,031 | Hale | 14 |

101 votes were transferred from Peckham to Folger. On Chief-Judge the vote was: Church, 1,031; Selden, 14. In the Tenth District Folger gets 300 votes at the expense of Peckham, and Folger's gain in the whole ward is 401 votes.

In the Seventh Ward the result shows that the voters were rather arithmetically than politically interested in the election, for beyond the usual interest in Andrews and Folger, their only object seems to have been to have each man on one side get exactly the same number of votes that his opponent did on the other. Whether there was any connection between the mathematically-balanced character of this return and the fact that this was Tweed's ward, we are unable to say. The vote in the Sixth District was as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allen | 120 | Mason | 120 |
| Grover | 500 | Andrews | 500 |
| Peckham | 500 | Folger | 500 |
| Rapallo | 120 | Hale | 120 |

Andrews and Folger each gain 380 votes.

In the Tenth Ward, Grover and Peckham were not so unpopular with their own party as in other parts of the city; in two districts (the Fourth and Fifth) the votes were as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allen | 251 | Mason | 111 |
| Grover | 376 | Andrews | 111 |
| Peckham | 376 | Folger | 236 |
| Rapallo | 376 | Hale | 111 |
| Allen | 276 | Mason | 131 |
| Grover | 392 | Andrews | 131 |
| Peckham | 392 | Folger | 247 |
| Rapallo | 392 | Hale | 131 |

Allen, it would appear, had not a satisfactory record in the Tenth Ward, for no less than 125 Democrats in a body deserted him in one district, and 116 in the other. An inspection of the vote shows that his votes were transferred to—we should say cast for—the indomitable Folger. In the remaining districts of this Ward, however, Peckham's unpopularity becomes painfully manifest. In the Eighth District the vote was :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allen | 260 | Mason | 103 |
| Grover | 260 | Andrews | 103 |
| Peckham | 192 | Folger | 171 |
| Rapallo | 160 | Hale | 103 |

From which it appears that no less than 68 of what we may almost call the anti-Peckhamites went up to the polls to swell the vote for Folger. Discipline told no better in the Tenth District, where 117 Democrats "went back" on their ticket, and sent Folger forging ahead :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allen | 324 | Mason | 75 |
| Grover | 324 | Andrews | 75 |
| Peckham | 207 | Folger | 192 |
| Rapallo | 324 | Hale | 75 |

In the Eleventh District the vote was :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allen | 619 | Mason | 198 |
| Grover | 619 | Andrews | 198 |
| Peckham | 619 | Folger | 373 |
| Rapallo | 619 | Hale | 198 |

showing the same extraordinary popularity of Folger that we noticed in the Fourth District of the Eighth Ward. There we had 512, and here we have 175 citizens coming from their workshops and their professions to record their approval of Folger, while caring so little for the other candidates that they do not cast even a single vote for any of them. Far otherwise was it in the Twelfth District, where the vote,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allen | 366 | Mason | 60 |
| Grover | 366 | Andrews | 60 |
| Peckham | 251 | Folger | 175 |
| Rapallo | 366 | Hale | 60 |

makes us wonder at the extraordinary sagacity of the Democratic party at large in managing not only to elect Folger, and to express their thorough disapproval of Peckham, but also to elect the latter at the same time. To transfer votes from your own candidate to an opponent, and elect the latter, is easy enough ; but to do this, and yet elect them both, has been, we believe, seldom attempted with success before. The fact that Folger's gains amount in this Ward to 716, shows how foolish is the popular delusion that the cities have any jealousy of rural candidates.

Turning now to the Twenty-first Ward, and omitting the Fourth and Sixth Districts as being less remarkable, we find in the Seventh District an awful example made of the wretched Peckham, who is absolutely abandoned in favor of Folger :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allen | 510 | Mason | 7 |
| Grover | 510 | Andrews | 7 |
| Peckham | ... | Folger | 517 |
| Rapallo | 510 | Hale | 7 |

The vote in the Tenth District was as follows :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allen | 642 | Mason | 19 |
| Grover | 19 | Andrews | 642 |
| Peckham | 19 | Folger | 642 |
| Rapallo | 642 | Hale | 19 |

Peckham and Grover lose here 623 votes, while Andrews and Folger, strange to say, gain exactly the same number. The sum of the gains of Andrews and Folger in this ward is as follows : Folger, 1,616 ; Andrews, 623.

Such were some of the returns of the judicial election of 1870, in which, for the first time, the elective principle was fully tested by the combination with it of the "minority" system. Now, it has occurred to some censorious investigators that the remarkable popularity of Folger and Andrews might be accounted for by supposing that their extraordinary gains were not the result of living and breathing and voting Democrats actually going over to them in the flesh, but that the inspectors, in counting up the returns, subtracted from the Democratic side what they added to these popular candidates' votes, and even in one or two cases added them on without subtracting from the other side; and they insist that these votes are false and fraudulent, and should be disregarded. They say that if this were done the result would be as follows :

| | Folger gains. | | Andrews. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8th Ward | 1,112 | | 550 |
| 6th " | 401 | | ... |
| 7th " | 380 | | 380 |
| 10th " | 716 | | ... |
| 21st " | 1,616 | | 623 |
| | 4,225 | | 1,553 |
| Folger's false vote | 154,930 | Andrews's | 154,092 |
| True vote | 150,705 | | 152,539 |

We should then have, as opposed to the official canvass :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| True vote—Andrews | 152,539 | False vote—Folger | 154,930 |
| Mason | 152,306 | False vote—Andrews | 154,092 |
| Hale | 150,862 | Mason | 152,306 |
| True vote—Folger | 150,705 | Hale | 150,862 |

So that the popular Folger would not be a judge any more than William M. Tweed is a judge, while the popular Andrews would have only just got in by being 233 ahead of Mason, instead of 1,786. They say, too, that this fraudulent counting was the result of a bargain between the canal politicians in the interior of the State, who wanted Andrews and Folger elected, and Tweed. They say, too, that Folger ought to be got out by *quo warranto*, and that Andrews's extraordinarily large vote in the interior of the State should be accurately examined, to see whether this 233 ought not to be reduced, even perhaps to a minus quantity. But this is harsh and unkind, and tends to bring popular judicial elections and the minority system into contempt. What difference does it make if one or two judges were "counted in"? The rest were elected fairly. It is a pity to attract the attention of foreigners, who are sure to put the worst construction on everything American, to such matters as these, and the only effect will be to retard the revival of trade so confidently expected in the fall, and destroy the confidence of the people in the courts. If it is discussed, the next thing we shall hear is that there is corruption in some of the courts. We protest against it.

## ENGLISH AND SCOTCH EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS.

London, July 17, 1875.

A BLIND orator, well known in England, tells with some humor an anecdote illustrating at once the advantage to him of his blindness and the resources of newspaper reporters. He had on one occasion, in his early political campaigns, made an animated speech before what he was led to believe was a numerous and enthusiastic audience, and, catching the enthusiasm of his hearers, he had surpassed himself, and was well satisfied with his appearance. At the end of the proceedings he entered into conversation with one of the reporters, who spoke feelingly of the audience. There were but seven persons present, including the reporter, but the orator was unaware of this, and naïvely asked the reporter if he considered that he had had a good attendance. To which the reporter replied : "Well, I should not describe it as a *numerous*, but as an *influential* audience." Mr. Grant Duff must have felt last Friday that he too was addressing an influential rather than a numerous audience when he called attention in the House of Commons to a report recently presented to the Queen by a Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the endowed institutions of Scotland. Scotch questions are never popular in the House of Commons, but they generally command the presence of a fairly representative assemblage of the Scotch members of Parliament. By bad luck, Mr. Grant Duff's discussion came on at the dinner-hour, and his able and interesting speech was listened to by the Speaker and eleven other members of the House, Mr. Grant Duff making up the round dozen. This, as it turned out, was exceptionally unfortunate, because the discussion, though carried on by mediocrities chiefly in the House, became one of some importance, as it branched off from being merely a Scotch debate into one in which questions of policy regarding the application of endowments were raised.

Educational endowments, both English and Scotch, have been much before the public of late years. All important questions of state in this country go through several phases. They are taken up by men who are considered, if successful, enthusiasts, if unsuccessful, crotchety. For four or five, or it may be for twenty years, these gentlemen bring their pet subjects before the House of Commons year after year, and nobody pays the least attention to them. They are then in the mythical stage ; gradually the public or the press begin to think that there may be something in them. The divisions taken upon them in the House are scanned with some interest, and men consider how their constituents would wish them to vote upon them. They have then got into the early-history stage. The public become more interested in the questions, and the Government of the day are embarrassed to know how to deal with them. This gives rise to the Royal-Commission or Parliamentary-Committee stage, and the questions become matters of theoretical importance. The Royal Commission is issued. Being composed, as such things always are, mainly of members of Parliament and judges and other busy men who have more than enough to do in attending to their own work, the Commission takes four or five years to take evidence, collect statistics, agree upon its report, and frame it. The Report lies on the table of the Houses of Parliament for a year or so, when some one calls attention to it, and asks the Prime Minister, or the Minister to whose department the report refers, whether the Government mean to deal with the subject. The Minister thus interrogated gives an evasive answer, fears it is impossible to do justice to so important a subject during the present session,

but promises to give it his best consideration during the recess. This declaration brings the matter into the domain of practical politics. Nothing is done during the next session, but in the subsequent session a bill framed during the recess, and revised and re-revised by committees of the Cabinet, and perhaps by the entire Cabinet, is introduced, and the discussions upon this bill become the events of the year, and fill columns of all the metropolitan and the provincial newspapers during a whole Parliamentary session. The bill probably becomes an act of Parliament, unless it deals with matters which offend the dignity, or imperil the position, of the House of Lords, in which case it is thrown out by that body and stands over for another session. A public question, dealt with in this way, and most public questions are so dealt with, lasts about a quarter of a century, and then it comes to maturity.

National education has undergone this sort of treatment in England In 1833, the question of giving Government grants for educational purposes was mooted. In 1843, Lord Ashley brought forward a motion on the subject, showing that at that time the education grant for all England was only some £30,000, and that between one and two million children were growing up without education. In 1858, the question got into the commission stage, and in 1870 the Education Act was carried. In Scotland, the subject has been similarly treated—individual efforts for a series of years, a Royal Commission, and an act of Parliament, thirty years after the first gaspings of the question. Educational endowments have in both countries reached the stage of practical politics. Both countries have had their Royal Commissions. England, indeed, has had three Royal Commissions dealing with the subject. Under the first, an enquiry was instituted into the nine great public schools—Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Tailors', Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury. The second took up all the grammar and secondary schools in England, those standing midway between the elementary schools on the one hand and the nine public schools on the other. By the third, the revenues of Oxford and Cambridge were dealt with to this extent at least, that a full report upon the amount of funds in the possession of these institutions has been published, but without any recommendation as to the better application of the revenues. Acts of Parliament carrying out the recommendations of the two first of these Commissions have been passed, and are working fairly well. The report of the third is still lying on the table of the two Houses of Parliament, waiting for some one to call attention to it. But it is a large subject, full of difficulties. A timid Government like the one that now governs England—timid, I mean, in the sense of being afraid of exciting the hostility of classes in the country, or of individuals with votes, against itself—will not venture to deal with anything so risky, with anything, that is, which affects so many interests. The report will lie on the table of the two Houses for years before any action will be taken on it. Indeed, it is safe enough to prophesy that, until we have a change of Government and a ministry seated on the Treasury Bench with sufficient moral courage to venture on measures which may be unpalatable to influential interests, the wealthy endowments of Oxford and Cambridge, amounting in all to an annual revenue of £750,000, will remain untouched, doing no more good and probably no more harm than they have done for the last two centuries.

Scotland has just emerged from the operations of her Commission. Attention was, last Friday, directed to the report. The Government have promised to give it their consideration during the recess. Nothing, in all probability, will be done to carry out the recommendations next session—Government will still be considering the report. But the session of 1877 may produce a measure which will be carried in due course of time—all in the stereotyped form.

Funds reported on by these four Commissions and available in one shape or another from old foundations, and applicable in the main to secondary or higher instruction, exist in England and Scotland to the amount of something like one million and a half (sterling) a year (£1,500,000). Half of this belongs to the universities ; a fifth of it to the grammar and secondary schools of England ; and the remainder, in about equal proportions, is applicable to the nine public schools and to educational purposes generally in Scotland. The Commissioners who have reported upon the school endowments, both those of England and those of Scotland, concur to a large extent in their recommendations. They state that the funds were for the most part left some two or three hundred years ago by pious founders, who, seeing the want of educational institutions, especially for the poorer classes, desired to perpetuate their own names and improve the intellectual condition of their fellow-countrymen by providing means of education for the children in the locality in which the founders were interested. Within the last half-century, these funds have enormously increased in value. Means of education have at the same time been provided by the state, and facilities for locomotion have extended in a manner that could not have been foreseen when these foundations were instituted. The conditions of life are radically changed from what they were two hundred years ago. If these pious benefactors were now alive, they would, looking to the best interests of education, be the last people in the world who would wish to see their money spent in providing only the appliances of two hundred years ago. Schools built like monasteries, surrounded with high walls, and school-boys leading the lives of young Protestant monks, removed from the temptations and troubles of a wicked world, were very proper in the wild times of two hundred years ago. But nowadays, when the times are peaceful and orderly, and where life is free, it is a mistake to train up a lot of boys to lead monastic lives, such as they do in those cloistered palaces which surround Edinburgh in a circle, and are known in Scotland by the name of "Hospitals." In the old days, when no means of education existed for the poorer classes in any particular district, and no means of leaving the district short of expatriation were imagined, it was an excellent thing to found a school and provide for the education and maintenance of the poorer children in the district. But such conditions are now impossible. The state provides for the education of every child, and railways provide a means of moving from one locality to another. For these and similar reasons, one set of Commissioners after another have recommended that powers should be given by Parliament to the trustees of the foundations, or the governors of the several institutions reported on, to relax a little the stringent interpretations of the different deeds under which they severally act. In some cases, they have gone further and recommended that an executive commission should be appointed to assist the trustees or governors to prepare schemes for altering and modifying the trust-deeds, and even departing from them, with the view of making the foundations more suitable to the requirements of the present day. And certain of the Commissioners have been bold enough to recommend even more active measures in the direction of making it imperative on the trustees and governors to set their foundations to rights, giving power to the executive commission to do it for them if they fail.

The policy of these recommendations was touched on in the discussion of Friday. Mr. Grant Duff and Mr. Lyon Playfair, as might be expected of them, took at once an enlightened and practical view of the subject. They ridiculed the policy urged by one or two of the more weak-kneed among the speakers, that no alteration should be made in the foundations, and that no interference with the pious bequests of the bequeathers should be sanctioned. Mr. Macdonald, the miners' representative, was the warmest defender of existing abuses. He would protest against the smallest interference with the letter of the bequests. They were left for the education and maintenance of the poor of a locality, and, notwithstanding that the poor were amply provided for otherwise, these foundations, magnified a thousandfold from what they were originally, should be preserved intact for their original purposes. It was curious to hear a man who arrogates to himself the monopoly of representing the ideas of the workingmen take such a line as this. Funds were left for the purpose of releasing English captives from Barbary, as Mr. Lyon Playfair stated, and other funds were left for the purpose of killing ladybirds on Ludgate Hill—both excellent purposes in their way. But there are no British captives in Barbary, and no ladybirds on Ludgate Hill, and Mr. Macdonald would insist that the funds bequeathed for these purposes should be preserved intact until there were captives in Barbary and ladybirds on Ludgate Hill. Mr. Lyon Playfair is an old educationist who has seen the mischief that is done by the abuse of obsolete foundations. Mr. Macdonald, though as old in years as Mr. Playfair, is but a baby in educational questions. It is unnecessary to say that the feeling of the House was with the tried man, and not with the infant.

## SWISS NEWS.

GENEVA, July 16.

THE great bell of the Cathedral of St. Peter is tolling, and the sound of minute-guns is echoing to and fro between the Salèves and the Jura, for the funeral of the most illustrious of Swiss citizens and soldiers. William Henry Dufour, the hero of the war of the Sonderbund, of whom his fellow-citizens have long been wont to speak, with no small reason, as the "Washington of Switzerland," died on the 14th at his dwelling near Geneva, and this afternoon the whole people of the canton, with representatives of the national government, are gathering in the cortége that is to attend his remains to the ancient cemetery of Plainpalais. Since Switzerland became a nation, she has never mourned for a worthier son.

The great achievement of his career, the war of one campaign against the secession of 1847, would have been enough to endear him to his

country as its savior, even if his life had not presented many other claims to public gratitude and respect. I will not insist again at this time on the striking parallel between the Swiss and the American wars of secession. But as I look back on the early months of our war, when we were all fretting because General Scott was so slow, the thought occurs that the old man was aiming to reproduce the splendid work accomplished by Dufour so few years previously. The latter refrained from all armed collision until his full force was completely organized and equipped. In a country in which no force can be reckoned overwhelming and no enemy inconsiderable, he marshalled his imposing army with admirable strategy to compel an engagement upon advantageous terms, and the one conflict, resulting in the surrender of Fribourg, closed the campaign and the war, in the complete victory of the Union. But nothing in the war was so admirable as the prompt, hearty, and ungrudging peace which followed it, the blessings of which were gratefully ascribed on both sides to the knightly generosity and delicate tact of the commander of the victorious army. It is a singular testimony to the rare dignity of his character, that to-day the familiar picture of Dufour on horseback at the head of his staff should be hanging in almost every *chalet* of the lately rebellious Catholic cantons, and decked with tokens of mourning by the hands of the old soldiers of the secession.

There were many other public services rendered by General Dufour such as entitle him to a place in history. His engineering exploit in the construction of the Pont des Bergues gave him rank as Pontifex Maximus of the little republic. The first railroad in the canton, if not in the confederation, was constructed under his direction. The superb military map of Switzerland, known to all scientific travellers as Dufour's map, was the work of himself and his staff. His latest public act was that of presiding over the Geneva Congress of 1863, assembled to provide protection in international law for those who undertake the relief of soldiers wounded in battle. Having been during his whole life, military and political, a devotee of no party, he is mourned alike by all parties. In this respect, the day of his funeral is spoken of as an unprecedented day in the recent history of Geneva. Speaking generally, it may be said that the tempests in this tumbler of water never cease to rage. But to-day, when the places of business are closed by universal consent, even the restless demagogues of this fierce democracy have agreed to shut up, for the first time in a generation, their favorite temple of Janus Bifrons, and declare a Truce of God.

The fair city of Geneva, on this day of the pageant, is presenting an aspect strangely battered and forlorn. The trees are ragged with torn and shrivelled leaves and broken branches. The windows are shattered, and the slats of the window-blinds, dislocated and split, are hanging endwise. The skylights of the great hotels—so conspicuous a feature in most views of the town—are boarded over with fresh planks. In the suburbs and the neighboring country, particularly in Savoy, and in the valley of the Arve and Rhone below the city, the vine-crop is destroyed, and even the roots in the kitchen-gardens are mashed and killed by the plague of hail that came last week. Such a throwing of great stones out of heaven has hardly been recorded since the battle with the Amorites in Beth-horon, as thou goest unto Azekah and unto Makkedah. The result is likely to be a somewhat expensive addition to meteorological science; for in a town where so large a proportion of the population are members of some scientific association or other, it was the instinctive impulse of a multitude of people, first to shut their window-blinds, and then to get out their balances and commence measuring tapes and taking the weight and circumference of the hailstones in grammes and millimetres. The largest well-authenticated weight that I have seen reported is of about a pound and a half. But by frequenting the cafés, one may doubtless hear of stones twice that size. The most striking fact connected with the storm is that it was almost simultaneous with like storms at the outlet of two of the other principal lakes of Switzerland. Here at Geneva, the chief violence of the storm was concentrated about the confluence of the Arve and Rhone. In that region, the tiles upon the roofs were crushed under the falling blocks of ice. It was well for the people that it came at midnight; otherwise there could not but have been serious loss of life.

Naturally, with the usual perversity of Christian people in always resisting the teachings of the Bible on this point, from the story of Job's calamities down to that of the victims of the tower of Siloam and the man blind from birth—naturally, the Ultramontane prophets and priests find in these signs from heaven the indication of divine wrath at the ill-treatment of their sect; but are embarrassed, as such interpreters of the Divine mind are apt to be, by the awkward distribution of the judgments—faithful Toulouse that broke its Protestants upon the wheel, and Pesth-Ofen, unimpeachable n its Catholicity, having suffered worse than Geneva, while Soleure and Berne, whose sins against the Church exceed even those of the Genevese, suffer neither waterspouts nor hail. But really the succession of such disasters is extraordinary, and, if the moral explanation fails, it would be satisfactory to find a physical one. As for the freshets, they are easily enough explained by last winter's extraordinary snows. The Rhone is rapidly swelling, as the season advances, to the highest high-water mark of previous years. But this will hardly throw light on the waterspouts, the hail-storms, or the South American earthquakes.

The religious quarrels of Switzerland show no disposition to abate. The alienation between Hyacinthe and his late Liberal-Catholic associates is becoming more and more acrimonious, and puts an end to whatever prospect there may have been of his leading any extensive "Catholic Reformation"; while, on the other hand, it leaves the new political Catholic Church poorer than ever in all elements of moral dignity and strength. The Liberal Catholics are now occupying Mermillod's great church of Notre Dame for their services, and are hoping in some measure to make good the loss of Father Hyacinthe by securing for the vacant place the Abbé Michaud of Paris. But in the Bernese Jura, where the Protestant government of the canton has given to the new priests the churches, the parsonages, the salaries—everything, in fact, but the congregations, who decline to be transferred—it is found that so much of the action of the canton as banished the ejected curés from their old homes, and forbade them access to all their former parishioners, is contrary to the new federal constitution. By the middle of next November the old priests must be allowed to come back again; and it is prognosticated that from and after their arrival the weather in those mountains will grow unseasonably sultry for the *intrus* or *apostats*, as their successors are indifferently called.

I have space enough left for a few words on the subject of the Centennial Exhibition and its prospects in Switzerland. The Federal Diet has shown a cordial liberality in appropriating 250,000 fr. towards the expenses of the Swiss Department. But it is obvious that there is a perilous indifference, to say no worse, on the part of those on whom the success of the Exhibition absolutely depends—the manufacturers. A friend of mine in Germany, whose opportunities of exact information are unsurpassed, tells me that the feeling among the manufacturers of his region is more than indifference—that it is positive objection to exhibiting. From some quarter, malicious or at least mischievous stories, like the story that the goods of exhibitors would be liable to seizure for the debts of the Exhibition, are set in circulation. And it is boldly charged that some of the large importing houses conceive it to be for their interest to hinder that direct relation between smaller dealers and the producer that might result from an exhibition of the various products at Philadelphia. The Commission has serious need of a score or two of effective agents, well supplied with documents, to present in person to the manufacturers of Europe the reasons for their being well represented next year in the Philadelphia Exhibition.

## Notes.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. have in press 'The History of Co-operation in England,' by George J. Holyoake, and 'The Bric-à-Brac Hunter,' by Major H. Byng Hall.——Ginn Brothers publish immediately Hudson's 'Text-book of Poetry,' for use in schools and colleges.——Dr. Elliott Coues's 'Abstract of Results of a Study of the Genera Geomys and Thomomys' forms a part of the report of Powell's Exploration of the Colorado, and is published separately by the Smithsonian Institution. The gopher's chief utility appears to lie in the light he sheds on the development theory. Dr. Coues concludes that Geomys has, in the language of that theory, been longer in developing species than Thomomys, and has consequently "made itself into five or six firm species before Thomomys has succeeded in turning out more than one or two." To the scientific discussion a popular account of the habits of the Florida "salamander" (*Geomys tuza*) is added by Professor Goode.——The July number of the *American Journal of Numismatics* (Boston: A. Williams & Co.) begins the tenth volume. This publication still lacks adequate support, even "the editors themselves paying the subscription price." A steel plate in the present number represents the curious copper pieces known as "fugios"—the first coins issued by the United States—and the very rare Massachusetts pine-tree copper and halfpenny (1776) of which the dies are supposed to have been engraved by Paul Revere. ——The *Art Journal* for August (D. Appleton & Co.) has a pretty engraving of the "Young Shepherdess of the Abruzzi," after Michetti's painting, and woodcuts representing, at least suggestively, several of Fortuny's studies. A portrait of this lamented artist, and a sketch of his life by

Charles Yriarte, accompany them. The serial articles are descriptive of Landseer's here first published studies and sketches; the "Stately Homes of England"; and the Hudson River. The last-named series has also just been published connectedly under the title, "The Hudson River by pen and pencil, for tourists and others." It is cleverly illustrated by J. D. Woodward, and it is easy to forgive the little-travelled compiler of the letterpress for asserting that the Hudson excels in grandeur, in boldness of shore, and in the "broad majesty of its current," the Mississippi and the Missouri, the St. Lawrence, the Rhine, and the Danube, and apparently all other rivers. ——The announcement is made that Mr. J. C. Rodrigues, hitherto the sole proprietor and conductor of the newspapers *O Novo Mundo* and *La America Illustrada*, has disposed of them to an association of which he is the publisher and treasurer, and which will also carry on a general printing and publishing business in the Portuguese and Spanish languages. The success of these periodicals has been remarkable, and promises, under the new arrangement, to be even greater and more assured.

—The city of Hartford is famous for its private libraries, and is well known to have also a cultivated society, and to be the seat of a great deal of solid learning. We regret to observe, therefore, the difficulty which so old an organization as the Young Men's Institute experiences in keeping along. Indeed, from its thirty-seventh annual report, just received, the danger of its being compelled to close its doors appears very imminent indeed. And yet the library of the Institute is a very respectable and useful collection, numbering upwards of twenty-four thousand volumes, and well abreast of the publications of the day, and the reading-room is liberally supplied with American and foreign periodicals. The catalogue issued in 1873 is a very creditable offspring of the Boston Public Library's Catalogue, and answers every purpose of those who wish to consult the library. Nothing seems wanting but the public spirit to maintain the labored accumulation of three-quarters of a century; and such is the state of the Institute's finances that a writer in the Hartford *Evening Post* appears to think the only salvation lies in making a free library of it. If the city authorities are disinclined to take this step, there is wealth enough in Hartford to make the transformation easy. We venture to call the attention of worthy citizens who are now arranging their wills with reference to the founding of a new college in New England, to the opportunity which lies at their doors of putting their money where it will do more good.

—"T. B." writes us from Rochester: "I have never been in Africa. I do not know Dr. Nachtigal. I have seen neither his interesting account of his experiences in the Kingdom of Wadai, nor the *Pall Mall Gazette's* abridgment of it. But I read my *Nation*, and desire to believe all that I read in it; and when you call upon me, as you do in your No. 526 (July 29), to believe that the new-discovered realm contains 2,500,000 people upon an area of 3,000 square miles, my confidence is shaken. The population is certainly thick enough, but the story is 'too thin.' The simplest arithmetic suffices to show that upon an average square mile of this flourishing kingdom there are 833⅓ citizens of African descent. Yet in our State of New York there are but 100 persons to the same area; in Massachusetts but 150; and in compact and crowded little Belgium, with the densest population in the world, until the song of this delusive nightingale was sung, but half of the 833. But it is not in the least probable that Dr. Nachtigal said what is attributed to him. My purely *à priori* explanation is this: Dr. N. is a German, and addresses in German the Berlin Society. The *Gazette* is English, and makes a blunder which I have seen so often lately—even in the *Nation*—that it seems worth calling attention to with some special emphasis; and the blunder of the *Gazette*, which you would not have committed at first hand, you adopt by mere inadvertence. The German linear mile = about five English miles; the German square mile, therefore, = about twenty-five English; and the population of an African monarchy is the much more probable average of 33 to the mile, upon an area of some 75,000 square miles."

—In our article in No. 525 on "Class Morals and Government Morals," we spoke incidentally of the officers of the regular army as the one "body of men for the service of the state with morals rather above the average morals of the community at large." Some of our friends in the navy have delicately reminded us of an omission which we certainly had no intention of making, and of an apparent discrimination which we should be the first to repudiate. We unconsciously used the army as the type of the full military service of the country, the discipline of the two branches being essentially the same, and its effect on the character of officers precisely the same. In any comparison the navy has the disadvantage of being more out of mind, because, from the necessities of the case, more out of sight; but everybody knows that its administrative record is, in all respects, as clear and honorable as that of the army, and we regret that we should have seemed to imply the contrary.

—The latest novelty in journalism has enough merit in it to make one regret that it has fallen into vulgar hands. The third and fourth numbers of the London *Obituary* are before us, a weekly newspaper styling itself "a special organ of information and intercommunication at home and abroad." Its title is anything but cheerful; its pages are bordered with mourning rules; and its illustrations thus far are of cemeteries and tombs. Nevertheless the projector confidently expects to make it acceptable even to the young, and quite "indispensable to monumental sculptors, masons, and that trade generally." Not only will it be cherished in clubs, libraries, exchanges, and banking-houses, and be duly appreciated by solicitors, notaries, probate courts, and "those who seek next of kin," it will also "supply a handsome portfolio to adorn any drawing-room table." The record of deaths is of course the chief feature of the paper, and one can easily see how much (if it ever became the fashion to advertise in it as in the daily papers) this would recommend the *Obituary* to colonial readers, and how profitable it would be to the proprietor at five shillings the insertion. From an English point of view we judge this to be an idea worth carrying out, and the inventor has fairly conceived the necessities and the possibilities of his enterprise. The monuments of the illustrious dead furnish an exhaustless fund of artistic and historic material; and biography, genealogy, the statistics of population and of sanitary science, offer abundant supplies to the judicious editor. Some of the topics treated in No. 3 will illustrate the scope of the *Obituary*, and suggest other means of making the publication anything but dismal or repulsive: Old St. Paul's; Westminster Abbey, with Queen Eleanor's monument; Memorial Statue to Richard Baxter; Memorial to Byron; Greek Epitaphs; Proposed Wicker Coffin; Registrar-General's Report; Wills and Bequests (a regular department), etc., etc. The articles on "An English Officer Killed by a Tiger" and on the "Burial of the Ancient" at Columbia College might or might not be excluded by a severe taste. Such is certainly not the editor's, and we were thinking partly of that when we said the undertaking had fallen into vulgar hands. His own writing is slovenly and uncultured; he ekes out his columns with wishywashy and goody sentiment, and with "humor" which, we are sorry to say, is too often American; and his discrimination in making poetical extracts is not much above that displayed by afflicted relatives in the Philadelphia *Ledger*. He warns the public, however, not to "look for exciting tales and death-bed scenes" in his columns. The typography and general air of the *Obituary* are little attractive, and its illustrations are cheap. A very different thing it would have been if it had imitated the get-up of *Vanity Fair*, for example, and had used the heliotype from nature instead of photolithography in line copying.

—We learn from the *Athenæum* that Misses Jane and Isabella Bewick, of Gateshead, ladies now well advanced in years and daughters of Thomas Bewick, have signified their intention to bequeath the British Museum their entire and "probably complete" collection of proofs of cuts executed by their father and his less famous brother John. Some of these proofs are all that remains of the designs, the blocks and the original impressions having disappeared. They have all been classified chronologically in two large volumes by the Misses Bewick, and will be authoritative in determining the proper work of each of the several artists who bore the name of Bewick. With them are bound up a collection of original drawings by Thomas Bewick, partly, we surmise, "inedited," and partly studies afterwards engraved. We have often wondered how much Bewick delineated on the wood and how much he trusted to his graver. His immense productiveness led us to suppose that his design was slight before he began to cut it, especially if he had the object before him. That this was not always the case appears from the statement of the *Athenæum*: "Many of them [the drawings just referred to] are most exquisite little works, the tail-pieces and birds being especially beautiful; a small water-color drawing of a quail is charmingly delicate and precious beyond the common, and so are some of the original drawings for the famous feather tail-pieces. If Thomas Bewick had done nothing more than these tail-pieces, his fame would have been established." Those whose privilege it has been to visit the Misses Bewick have been shown their father's blocks carefully preserved in glass cases, and still capable, after all their usage, of giving clear and distinct impressions. They are not alluded to by the *Athenæum*, but their destination can hardly help being ultimately the British Museum.

—The Cable despatch announcing the death of Hans Christian Andersen gives the final intelligence of a career which, on the whole, was singularly fortunate and happy. We have indeed his own word for this, for in one of his books he has made the remarkable statement that were his life to be lived over again he could not ask that anything in it should be altered; yet his life was no exception to the general rule that the penalty of genius is suffering. Though he could look back on his early years with that pure content inspired by a true religious sense, there is no doubt that his childhood and first years of youth were only prevented from being profoundly unhappy by the soundness of his disposition and the buoyancy of his hopes of the future. His father belonged to a family that had once been rich, but for all that his child was the son of a poor shoemaker, discontented, naturally, with his lot, and seeking relief for his feelings in telling his children and friends stories of the former splendor of the family. This was hardly the education to encourage content and submission; but, to make matters worse, the boy, who was a sensitive, delicate, imaginative child, lost his father when he was only nine years old. He learned to read and write, and but little more, at a charity-school, and after his father's death he was sent to work in a factory, where he made his first acquaintance with the coldness and ingratitude of the world, the workmen, whom he tried to amuse by singing and reciting passages of poetry, giving him abuse and blows in return. Notwithstanding the aptitude which he early showed for dramatic literature, his mother determined to apprentice him to a tailor, while he, on his part, was trying to get some common employment about the theatre at Copenhagen. Misfortune seemed, however, to cling fast to him, and he was rejected on account of his awkwardness and ignorance, and obliged to apply to a joiner for employment. This occupation, for some reason, soon came to an end, and Andersen was thrown upon the world in a strange city at the age of fourteen, without money or friends. There was nothing left to try but his voice, which was a promising one, and he applied to the director of the Royal Conservatory, who found means to have him educated as a singer for the stage. At the end of six months his voice gave out. For two years he struggled on as well as he could, when suddenly the tide turned, and, his talents of one kind and another beginning to attract attention, the director of the theatre obtained permission of the king to have the boy educated at the public expense. At the age of twenty-three his success began with the publication of 'A Journey on Foot to Amak.' His poems and novels—particularly the 'Improvisatore'—soon gave him a world-wide reputation, but it is probably his stories for children which have made him best known and most endeared him to people of our race. He was fortunate in having for his translator Mary Howitt, who, though she may not have caught all the delicate shades of the original—if there can be said to be any original in the case of a writer who is equally enjoyed in any language—she certainly got the spirit of his humor, of his pathos and his simple morality. His stories for children might be regarded, if we did not know Andersen to be a born story-teller, as wonderful *tours-de-force*, so remarkably do they unite the interest of the old-fashioned fairy-tale handed down to us from generation to generation from our Aryan forefathers with the more subtle and refined interests that appeal to the conscience and heart. It is this last feature which makes his stories something beyond mere children's stories; so that the child who has read them may in later life read them between the lines, and find a deeper meaning in the chequered career of the little Tin Soldier and in the wonderful adventures of the Snow Queen than he dreamt existed before. It is impossible to believe that these charming stories could have been written except by one who had in his childhood often "eaten his bread in tears"; and so we too, who have read them, may say with Andersen, though more selfishly, that we should have regretted it if even his early life had been other than what it was.

—A remarkable contribution to the subject of European folk-lore has recently appeared at Palermo. Giuseppe Pitrè, a native of that city, has made the traditions of his country the study of his life, and has embodied the results of his investigations in his 'Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane,' in seven volumes. The first two volumes contain a collection of popular ballads and songs, the third a series of essays on popular poetry, and the last four a collection of tales in the style of Grimm's 'Hausmärchen.' Rich as Sicily is in popular poetry, it possesses a still greater wealth of popular tales, comparatively few of which have ever been published. In 1870, Otto Hartwig published at Leipzig ninety-two Sicilian tales, collected and translated by Laura Gonzenbach, with learned annotations and references by Köhler, and at the end of the second volume a few of the stories were given in the original dialect. But the present collection far excels anything previously done in this field in Italy and, we had almost said, in any other country, and is a monument of patient erudition and sound criticism. The stories are all given in the dialects of the places where they were collected, and these dialects are carefully and, for the first time, scientifically examined in the grammar. Finally, the glossary contains three thousand words. Our space will not allow us to say more than a word about the general character of these tales. In a country subjected to such vicissitudes as Sicily has been under the successive occupation of the Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Normans, French, and Spaniards, we should naturally expect to find traces of all these nations in the popular traditions. Such traces do in fact exist, but only to a limited extent, the great mass of the stories being the common inheritance of all Indo-European nations. Pitrè intends to continue his work with a collection of Sicilian proverbs, popular festivals, and children's games. He has in the May number of the *Rivista Europea* an interesting article on "Sicilian Popular Botany," giving the current insular traditions in regard to various trees and plants.

## A BEGINNER IN BOTANY.*

MR. RUSKIN, "having been privileged to found the School of Art in the University of Oxford," now proposes to found a new school of botany. Of course, it will be a vagarious school. One crying evil to be remedied is "that there are generally from three or four up to two dozen Latin names current for every flower," and "the most current and authoritative names" are "of the devil's own contriving." This is not seemly. As Wesley would not allow the devil to have the singing of all the good tunes, so neither will Ruskin allow him to have the naming of all the sweet flowers. He proposes "to substitute boldly . . . other generic names for the plants thus faultfully hitherto titled." He "will not even name the cases in which they have been made," but will "mask those which there was real occasion to alter by sometimes giving new names in cases where there was no necessity of such kind." That is to say, the evil of a redundancy of botanical names is to be overcome by making more, some of them avowedly needless; and innocent names are to suffer, lest bad ones should become notorious by being discarded without company. For it appears that the diabolical names to be sent to their own place in this reform are not discarded because they are cacophonous, although that is the common charge, but because they are immoral. Of the two evils to be dealt with, the first is simply a superfluity of Latin names; the second, and the worse, a superfluity of naughtiness. As Mr. Ruskin forcibly puts it:

"The second, and a much more serious one, is of the devil's own contriving (and, remember, I am always quite serious when I speak of the devil)—namely, that the most current and authoritative names are apt to be founded on some unclean or debasing association, so that to interpret them is to defile the reader's mind."

This reminds us of the fine lady who thanked Dr. Johnson for omitting indelicate words from his dictionary, to whom the blunt moralist rejoined: "I perceive, madam, that you have been looking for them." Now, if the case be really as is represented, the sound practical axiom, "Quieta non movere," would seem to suggest the proper treatment; for his purposes, one would think the Latin and Greek names might be left untranslated; and the reform might begin, and end, with the popular English names—almost the only ones the author may need to use—some of which are coarse and vulgar enough. Indeed, as to botanical generic names, far from finding any confirmation of Mr. Ruskin's sweeping charges, we can recall barely one or two the translation or etymology of which would be embarrassing at the parlor-table. Moreover, if the following passages really refer to "nomenclature" (though terminology seems to be meant), our author, upon his own showing, need not waste his time in the endeavor to reform it:

"The mass of useless nomenclature, now mistaken for science, will fall away, as the husk of a poppy falls from the bursting flower. . . . When the science becomes approximately perfect, all known plants will be properly figured, so that nobody need describe them, and unknown plants will be so rare that nobody will care to learn a new and difficult language in order to give an account of what in all probability he will never see."

Well, for that matter, the English Botany, in its various editions, furnishes fairly good figures of all British plants; and the *Botanical Magazine*—a page of an early number of which, eighty years old, is gibbeted by Mr. Ruskin—has gone on to figure more than 6,000 cultivated exotics, and is continuing at the rate of nearly a hundred a year. So that our author's ideal is practically all but realized already. There are well-nigh pictures enough, if one knows how and where to find them. And it amusingly appears, from Mr. Ruskin's trouble with St. Bruno's lily at the beginning, and from his investigation of moss further on, as well as from scattered

* 'Proserpina: Studies of Wayside Flowers, etc. By John Ruskin, LL.D. Part I.' George Allen, Sunnyside, Ossington, Kent; New York: John Wiley & Son.

statements, that his mode of proceeding in systematic botany is the simple one of searching high and low for a picture to match the specimen in hand. Accordingly, it is not surprising that his "botanical studies were, when [he] had attained the age of fifty, no further advanced than the reader will find them in the opening chapter of this book."

As to this, the conclusions which the reader will draw are all along anticipated by the author. Next to the pervading—well—bumptiousness, nothing is so prominent in the book as the profession, not to say the parade, of ignorance of the topics treated. As to "the elements of the science of botany," "I can scarcely say that I have yet any tenure of it myself." "And meanwhile I don't know very clearly so much as what a root is or what a leaf is." "Some one said of me once, very shrewdly, When he wants to work out a subject, he writes a book on it. . . . This book will be nothing but processes. I don't mean to assert anything positively in it, from the first page to the last. Whatever I say is to be understood only as a conditional statement—liable to and inviting correction. And this the more because, as on the whole I am at war with the botanists, I can't ask them to help me, and then call them names afterwards." So "for many reasons, I am forced to print the imperfect statement, as I can independently shape it." To get at the facts "I should have to write a dozen of letters before I could print a line, and the line at last would be only like a bit of any other botanical book—trustworthy, it might be perhaps, but certainly unreadable." The converse is preferred. Readable it certainly is, and in its way interesting, not so much for what it tells about botany as for what it tells about Mr. Ruskin; and the art-student, out of the abundance of golden chaff, may pick some grains of knowledge that might not otherwise fall in his way. But the seeker of botanical information must glean warily, especially where the author grows positive. For almost the only instance in which he does pronounce decidedly happens to be a vexed question in vegetable physiology, and there is reason to fear that he decides it wrongly. At least the recent investigators who have had the matter in hand in the way of experimental enquiry, will not agree with him that the plant can get water from the atmosphere directly and "for the most part does so; though when it cannot get water from the air, it will gladly drink by its roots." Still "our natural and honest mistakes will often be suggestive of things we could not have discovered but by wandering." Very likely; but why invite learners to go forth with him upon his wanderings? In many a book the want of sufficient knowledge is pleaded as an excuse; in this, it is paraded as a recommendation. Ignorance, no doubt, has its uses. But it is questionable whether teaching is altogether the best use to put it to. As the member of Parliament who yawned desperately while delivering his speech was thought to trench upon the privilege of his hearers, so the students of 'Proserpina' may complain that the playing of the rôle both of teacher and learner at once involves some incongruity and inconvenience.

The second part of 'Proserpina' has just come to hand. It treats of the leaf and the flower, in a discursive and oracular way, leading into æsthetical questions, where we need not follow and do not greatly admire. Now and then a scientific topic is taken up, and the point missed, as usual. Treating of foliage and its office, we are bid "to think awhile of its dark clear green, and the good of it to you." We look for an exposition of the fact, in which the whole meaning of vegetation inheres, that leaves under the sun's influence create all the food of the world, and are, therefore, the basis of all animal existence. Instead of which we have:

"Scientifically you know green in leaves is owing to 'chlorophyll,' or, in English, to 'green leaf.' It may be very fine to know that; but my advice to you, on the whole, is to rest content with the general fact that leaves are green when they do not grow in or near smoky towns, and not by any means to rest content with the fact that very soon there will not be a green leaf in England, but only greenish-black ones." . . . "Well, this much the botanists really know and tell us"—that vegetation "is made chiefly of the breath of animals." . . . "So that you may look upon the grass and forests of the earth as a kind of green hoar-frost, frozen upon it from our breath, as, on the window panes, the white arborescence of ice."

Mr. Ruskin evidently has no idea of the essential independence of the vegetable kingdom; that, as all the carbon of the breath of animals comes from plants, so they, in their decay, would furnish this material for succeeding vegetation perhaps as rapidly, on the whole, without the intervention of animals. At most, the latter somewhat expedite the decomposition.

"But how is it made into wood?" As to that and matters therewith connected, "under the impression that it had been ascertained, and that I could at any time know all about it, I have put off till to-day the knowing of anything about it at all. But I will really endeavor now to ascertain something, and take to my botanical books accordingly."

Behold the result of the *cram*, "the gist of the matter":

"Hence generally, I think we may conclude thus much, that at every pore of its surface, under ground and above, the plant in the spring absorbs moisture, which instantly disperses itself through its whole system 'by means of some permeable quality of the membranes of the cellular tissue invisible to our eyes even by the most powerful glasses'; that in this way subjected to the vital power of the tree, it becomes sap, properly so-called, which passes downwards through this cellular tissue, slowly and secretly; and then upwards, through the great vessels of the tree, violently, stretching out the supple twigs of it as you see a flaccid water-pipe swell and move when the cock is turned to fill it. And the tree becomes literally a fountain, of which the springing streamlets are clothed with new-woven garments of green tissue, and of which the silver spray stays in the sky—a spray, now, of leaves."

Then as to the blossom: "The flower exists for its own sake, not for the fruit's sake. . . . But the flower is the end of the seed, not the seed of the flower." "The corolla leads and is the object of final purpose. The stamens and the treasuries [Mr. Ruskin's new term for pistils] are only there in order to produce future corollas." Without criticising anybody's notion of final causes, we only notice how Mr. Ruskin fails to make his own point. He has seen "among the speculations of modern science, several, lately, not uningenious, and highly industrious, on the subject of the relation of color in flowers to insects, to selective development, etc." And he proceeds to intimate that even Mr. Darwin must be ranked among "the men of semi-faculty or semi-education who are more or less incapable of so much as seeing, much less thinking about color," etc., referring merely to the latter's speculations upon the ocelli of the Argus pheasant, in blissful ignorance, it would seem, that he has to deal with Mr. Darwin upon this very subject of color and use in flowers, and that he is not prepared even to state his own side of the question.

## THE MYSTERY OF THE NEWSPAPER.*

ANOTHER book has just been published on the great puzzle of modern times, the nature and influence of newspapers, and the qualities necessary to the successful production of them. This is more remarkable than any of its predecessors in the same field, because it is composed almost exclusively of the opinions of editors about their own calling. These opinions, it is true, have already been pretty widely published, but in various periodicals and at various intervals, so that their effect when concentrated in a single volume is something novel, and almost startling. The first thing which strikes one in reading them over is that the writers are deeply impressed with the mystery of their profession. They talk of "News" as if it were an invisible force or afflatus which seized on the journalist, and made him speak whether he would or no, sometimes in the small hours of the morning and sometimes in the small hours of the afternoon, but the coming and going of which, or the requirements of which, no man could predict or explain. No journalist professes to understand News; in fact, if one might judge from some of the essays in the volume before us, News is one of the elements of the Unconditioned. All that the editor can do in relation to it is to prepare himself humbly and devoutly for its reception and diffusion. A drunken man, for instance, hits his wife in the head with the heel of a boot in the Sixth Ward, and she dies. At this point the event is a common murder, interesting mainly to policemen and penologists. But after the reporter arrives and gets the husband's statement and the statement of the woman on the floor above who heard the row, the matter becomes News, and needs a priesthood called journalists to get it into type, and after it is in type it possesses a slightly mystical character, which almost raises it to the rank of a revelation. What it is that makes the public willing to listen, what makes News in one man's mouth more attractive than News in another man's mouth, is the problem over which most writers about journalism are constantly working, and there is something almost comic in the reverence with which they approach the subject and the solemnity with which they discuss it. Those who discuss it most, generally reject with contempt the notion that instruction by argument or exposition is a leading and necessary function of the press. It is, they think, a kind of adjunct which, if kept in strict subordination, and not allowed to interfere with News, may do no harm. The real mission which editorial conventions ponder and debate is the collection of News. And what is News? Who knows? Why are we pensive at sunset? What is life?

For a thorough and satisfactory investigation of one peculiarity of the newspaper profession, and that a very prominent one, we have looked in vain through the volume. None of the contributors have made a serious attempt to explain why editors are so openly and persistently boastful. Public opinion imposes modesty as a necessity on other professions. If Mr.

*'Views and Interviews urnalism. Edited by Charles F. Wingate.' New York: F. B. Patterson.

Evarts were to make a speech once or twice a week showing what an ass Mr. Stoughton was, and asserting that the receipts of his office were falling off, while those of his own were steadily growing; that Stoughton's practice was knavish, while his (Evarts's) was high-toned in an extraordinary degree; and that anybody who trusted Stoughton's law would be sure to be ruined, while Evarts's clients were sure to get rich, the general conclusion would be either that Evarts was insane, or that he was a disgrace to his profession. How is it, then, that Jones can with impunity demonstrate three times a week that Smith is a mixture of depravity and folly, and that nearly all his waking hours are spent in concocting lies of such transparent absurdity that the minute he tells them he is found out? How is it that Smith, on the other hand, can show that while he sells 70,330 pounds of his paper every month, Jones only sells 42,916 pounds of his, without exciting surprise or reprehension? It cannot be said that the calling in which these things are done is so mean or unpretending that these crowings are not worth notice. There is no calling with loftier pretensions. Both Jones and Smith discuss the widest possible range of topics, and offer advice on all the problems of life with as much authority as any preacher, and with more ability than most preachers. Jones's 43,000 pounds of journalism contains sermons on the immortality of the soul, on the education of children, on the immorality of war, and the nature and use of credit. He covers more ground than any preacher in this city. Why, then, are people not shocked when he follows an article pointing out the grounds of our expectation of future life by another showing that Smith's chances of immortality are so small as not to be worth mention, and that his paper is almost certainly maintained by robbery?

We offer, as possibly throwing light on this obscure branch of a difficult subject, the following suggestions: The reason of an editor's unblushing boastfulness, or of the patience of the public with it, is that he has a sort of subconsciousness that his readers are partners with him in his business, and that when he brags, he brags on their behalf as well as on his own, and his braggartry, therefore, assumes the impersonal character of *esprit de corps*, and passes as a man's boastfulness about his regiment, or his church, or his state, or any other large corporation of which he is a member. He gets into this belief through the reflection that his readers share his opinions, as is shown by their reading him, that they like his way of collecting news, and that it is only by their pecuniary co-operation he has been able to make his paper the great organ that it is. He and they are, therefore, for all practical purposes one. When he proclaims his own honesty and sagacity and ability, he is proclaiming *their* wisdom and perspicacity, and he heightens the effect of the compliment to them by drawing attention to the low quality of the wares with which the subscribers of his rivals are content. His egotism is, therefore, not as pure and unmixed as it seems. When he contrasts Smith's baseness with his own purity, he does it in the name of the two millions who subscribe to his paper and the three millions who borrow it.

The subscribers, on their side, fully share in this feeling. They think they are partners in the enterprise. They come to look on the editor as an agent they have employed to put their opinions into shape, to distribute their praise and blame in the quarters in which they believe them to be due. When they read his account of the superiority of his paper to the sheet published by Jones, they feel that he is only stating the bare truth; that they have indeed built up and are supporting just such an organ as he describes, and are not surprised that he sells 70,000 lbs. a month to Jones's 43,000. Why should the truth be concealed? they ask. Why should the world not know the great work we are doing for religion and humanity? This theory, too, explains the way in which they take the editor to task when he publishes an article with which they do not agree. The article is, let us suppose, on some prominent and interesting public question, on which there is more or less division of public sentiment. It is written with care, and is the fruit of much consideration and attention, and is put forth with a due sense of responsibility. There is no editor who does not often receive, under such circumstances, letters like this:

"Bosh-posh, Sangrado T., April 1, 1875.

"Sir: My name is Brown; I have subscribed to your paper for many years, and generally concur in your opinions. But your article on the grasshopper ravages in last Tuesday's issue was something for which I was certainly not prepared, and which I have read with the deepest pain. I have no knowledge of the subject except what I get from the papers, and have not given it any particular consideration; but I am satisfied you cannot honestly have reached conclusions so widely differing from mine. Nor have I the time or inclination to discuss the matter with you. If I had, I doubt if you have intelligence enough and candor enough to consider what I would say. What I do say now is that you are entirely wrong, and wrong, I fear, through the workings of a malignant and disingenuous mind. That the grasshoppers are not the beasts you take them to be is the opinion of many good men of my acquaintance; your assertion that the damage they did has been exaggerated has been a great shock to many of your admirers. If you cannot take any other position than this on the matter, pray let it alone. I have burnt your last number in order to keep it out of the hands of my family.

"Hastily yours, John Brown."

Here the subscriber's theory clearly is either that his partner, who has been left in charge of the concern in his absence, or has been charged with the active management of it, has been doing illegitimate business, or that a tradesman whom he has employed to furnish him with a certain commodity according to sample has been trying to palm off on him an inferior article. A sharp rebuke, therefore, and not discussion, is what the case calls for, and the obscurity and insignificance of the subscriber is no bar to his administering it; for his subscription, small though the sum be, puts him on the footing of a stockholder in the enterprise.

It is no doubt very flattering to editorial self-love to have the functions of the press so much debated as they are now by moralists and economists and politicians. There can be no doubt that these functions are very important, and that the very best man is not good enough for them. But then we make bold to say that editors would discuss them more profitably if they took a less profound or mystic view of them. There is nothing mysterious about the press, in spite of what Mill says about its likeness to the Hebrew prophets, and what Dean Stanley says about the likeness of editors to "crouching tigers." It has two departments: one, the collection and arrangement of news; the other, comment on it. The collection of news is not the work of a prophet or apostle. It is precisely the kind of work done by a dry-goods "drummer," and anybody who succeeds in the dry-goods business would probably publish a good *news*paper. The great mass of the contents of a newspaper has only commercial importance—that is, is only important because people want to know it, and are willing to pay a small sum for the knowledge. The calling of a man engaged in the business of supplying this demand is about as lofty as that of the proprietor of a soda-water fountain at a race-course on a hot day. No demand is made on the higher qualities of an editor's mind or character until he undertakes to assign space or prominence to news in the order of its importance. To do this successfully requires a good deal of knowledge and experience and a good deal of honesty; and the way in which it is done goes far towards determining the value of the press to the public. But then there is nothing mysterious or abstruse about this either. Most men are not equal to it; but then most men are not equal to success in anything but manual labor. That the public has been hitherto badly served in this particular there is no denying. Very few editors make a pretence of serving them at all. The management of the perspective is apt to be left to the lowest hands employed on the paper. Correspondents and reporters are allowed to fill space to suit their own fancy or convenience, and treat subjects in their own way without proper supervision from the chief, and with results which are often sickening. But in these things, as in others, there is rapid improvement. A greater and greater number of editors every year begin to feel the responsibility of the presentation of news after they have got it together, and of the selection of things to be noticed or reported out of the vast mass which the telegraph now brings to their doors. But in the arrangement of news the editorial articles necessarily play an important part. They are, so to speak, the turning on of the light. They point out what is important, and what is trifling; what the reader had better weigh and remember, and what he may pass over and reject; and anybody who treats them as a mere insignificant adjunct has little to say about editing that is worth listening to. Those who think the commentary of small moment are apt to assign a mysterious character to News, in order to give some sort of dignity to the newsmonger's calling; but then a newsmonger who prints such stories as he can pick up is no better or more sacred than his predecessor who hawked them about the market-place or told them over a pot of beer in the tavern.

## NEW NOVELS.*

'WARD or Wife?' we suppose, must have been written by either a man or a woman; and yet we are sorry to think that it is necessary for either sex to be charged with its production, for a more vulgar and stupid tale we have seldom met with. The story is simple and unobjectionable enough: it is that of a young girl and her guardian, who subsequently becomes her lover and marries her. There are, of course, some other characters, but little is made of them, and much less might have been made with great advantage. The hero is James Tregarvan, generally called "Jim," a retired officer who has squandered his money, and is obliged to give

* 'Ward or Wife? A Romance.' New York: Harpers.

fencing lessons in a retired town in France, where he takes to live with him the child of an old comrade, whose name is Wilhelmina, or more shortly "Min." In this quiet French town this reduced gentleman, living under an assumed name, and his ward are discovered by old acquaintances, who, instead of meeting the questionably respectable pair with the stony British stare, insist in the most friendly way on renewing their acquaintance, invite them to come and see them, and almost before one can say "Jack Robinson" adopt "Min" as their daughter. Min has meanwhile come into some property, which is really her guardian's, but which he puts in her name, so that he may give her every advantage; and for himself goes on teaching fencing and *le box*. Min's new friends take her to England, and bring her out in such society as that island affords, which must be, from the description of it given here, quite equal for vulgarity and slang to any of ancient or modern times. We have no space for long extracts to prove this statement, but a conversation between Jim and Min after dinner (her education being now completed) will illustrate the tone of the book:

"'Can't believe it's you sitting there. I keep fancying I shall awake, find it to-morrow morning, and all this a dream.' 'Pinch yourself, Jim,' she advises. 'Too comfortable. But I really can't realize it yet. Feel as if I wanted tangible proof.' 'If you were any other young man,' retorts Minnie, 'I should consider that last remark of yours a paltry excuse to squeeze my hand.' They break into soft laughter. One laughs easily when cares are none, a pretty woman near—or bel homme, as the case may be—and dinner just over. Jim stretches out his hand. 'Give a paw, little woman!' as from one in authority."

The style of the author is a strange jumble of French, English, and an occasional dash of German, as for instance we learn of Min that "all at once, *sans rime ni raison*, she bursts into tears"; and again, "that she sits down sobbing, *pour tout de bon*"; the personal pronouns are generally left out altogether, and the verbs whenever it is possible, somewhat in the manner of the celebrated Mr. Alfred Jingle. In the end Jim marries Min; but "Regy," as the author would say, gives him a pretty hard run for it, and they come out almost neck-and-neck. We cannot recommend 'Ward or Wife?' to any class of readers. The thoughtful will find it empty, the polite will find it vulgar, the hopeful will be made despondent by it, and the despondent will be rendered morose; while by the simple device of avoiding the perusal of it, all these consequences may be avoided.

'The Law and the Lady' is one of those stories which could by no possibility have been written by any one but Mr. Wilkie Collins. It does not need his name on the title-page to make the authorship recognized. The central point of interest in it is naturally enough a crime—the murder, in this case, of a woman, which has happened before the story begins; and the novel consists of the efforts, finally successful, made by the heroine to discover the true criminal, and thus clear the suspected murderer—her husband. This gentleman has not merely been suspected of the crime; he has been tried for it; and the proof was so strong that had it not been for the wisdom of the Scotch law, and the necessities of the story, he would probably have been hung for it. But fortunately the jury returned a verdict of "not proven," and thus opened a way for the wonderful perplexities which ensue. The hero changes his name, and retires to the country, where he meets his second wife. He is evidently under a cloud of some sort; and as the reader has not yet been made acquainted with his previous history, he feels immediately confident that if a crime has been committed, he and the hero know perfectly well who committed it. This conviction is no sooner formed, however, than it is shaken by intimations thrown out by the author pointing to the unfortunate man's innocence. Meantime he is married to the heroine, and an *éclaircissement* has taken place, with no other effect than to prove the steadfastness and love of his new wife, who at once resolves to devote her life to freeing her husband's reputation from the odious suspicion attaching to it. The characters now begin to increase in number rapidly, and the reader's suspicion begins to fasten itself upon the mother of the hero, but soon changes its object after being made aware of the history of the murder-trial and the evidence given, and finds a new one in a certain Mrs. Beauly, a sort of rival of the hero's first wife. Need it be said to any one who knows the devious paths trod by Mr. Collins that it is neither Mrs. Beauly, nor the hero, nor the hero's mother (nor a servant either, who at one point seems to have a chance of turning out the criminal), but another person, no other than the first wife herself, who has been led to suicide by the atrocious conduct of the villain of the plot, an extraordinary monster in half-human shape named Miserrimus Dexter, who throughout the story has been kindly assisting the second wife in unravelling the mystery? The key to the mystery, by the way—we mention it for the benefit of writers of fiction—is an old letter torn into little bits, thrown with other refuse into an ash-heap at the time of the suicide, and there lying till the hour has struck and the man has come who is to give orders to have the heap sifted and the lost document reconstructed. Mr. Collins's ingenuity in the construction of his plots is very great. He reminds one of an older school of fiction in the steadiness with which he trusts to the unfailing love of a "story," particularly a story of crime, common to all mankind. The volume called 'Alicia Warlock' is a collection of short stories by the same author; but to our taste Mr. Collins's long stories are preferable to his tales, chiefly for the reason that his ingenuity in the development and unravelling of a plot cannot be well displayed in a short compass.

'Playing the Mischief' is a story of Washington life. The person who plays the mischief is one Mrs. Josephine Murray, a young widow, who is described as being very interesting to all kinds of men, but not so pleasing to those of her own sex. We can for ourselves deny feeling the slightest interest in her, for the simple reason that she is a lying, thievish, and totally heartless little jade, without the faintest vestige of a moral nature. The other characters in the story are mostly corrupt Congressmen (she herself is a skilful corruptionist with a claim on Congress that has been paid once in full), who fall in love with her. As the history of a fraudulent claim successfully carried through Congress, the book does well enough, though the barefaced candor with which the conspirators talk their fraudulent designs over with one another is, we should say, improbable even in these days. There is, no doubt, a great deal of corruption in Washington, and many a Congressman may have been influenced in his official acts by the passion of love, but people who wish to influence him corruptly usually try to induce him to think his interest and his duty to his country coincide. If we took Mr. De Forest's picture for absolute verity, there would be nothing surprising in members openly "selling out" to one another, and making their own bribery and subornation of perjury and other daily crimes the subject of unreserved conversation. Mr. De Forest has a great deal of cleverness, but he overdoes his "realism."

Christian Reid is a voluminous author. We have not read all her books—we take it for granted that they are written by a woman—but there are among them some of a particular kind, absolutely *sui generis*, which deserve notice. They are specimens of what may be called the Southern novel, and of them 'A Question of Honor' is an example. The Southern novel, if a new school of fiction, with its home in the South, is to spring up, must to a certain extent be founded upon the model of this book, for it describes a sort of life, with characteristics, ideas, traditions, hopes, and feelings, evidently sprung from the soil. In 'A Question of Honor' we have the love-affair of half-a-dozen of the younger members of two or three Southern families; one of them an old but proud and honorable line. They are all engaged to one another, or about to be, when the story begins, but as it goes on the engagements fall to pieces, and new ones are formed in the most surprising way. In the end there are one or two marriages, and the death of one of the young ladies of the story, which is necessary to render one of the marriages possible, takes place. In all this there is nothing very different from any ordinary novel, but still the atmosphere of it all is Southern. We cannot help feeling that we are in the midst of a society quite different from any to be found in any other part of the country. It is not the new South, with carpet-baggers and fraudulent bonds and progress, but the old South, lasting over with its broken fortunes into the new. There are the Severns, an old Southern family, such as we used to know and like before the war, making a manly struggle to put themselves on their feet once more; they fought gallantly for the "Lost Cause," and they were beaten; they must put their shoulder to the wheel, and retrieve their sunken fortunes. Perhaps what gives the peculiarly Southern coloring to the book is, more than any one thing, the extraordinary statements made by the male characters about their own and their family's honor, the excessive politeness of everybody, and the old-fashioned compliments which the men pay to the women. To people accustomed to Northern manners, where compliments are almost out of date, studied politeness is generally suspected of being a hypocritical cover for bad designs of some sort, and all allusions to "honor," one's own or anybody else's, carefully avoided, for the very good reason that the old practice of defending it at twelve paces has died out, all these echoes of the past seem very strange. Christian Reid's people are like people in a dream, and, although no mention is made of it in the book, we cannot help feeling that the manners described bear something the same relation to the romantic model which they dimly imitate that the modern Southern "tournament," with its "knights" and "queens of love and

'The Law and the Lady. By Wilkie Collins.' New York: Harper & Bros.

'Alicia Warlock: A Mystery. By Wilkie Collins.' Boston: Wm. F. Gill & Co.
'Playing the Mischief. By J. W. De Forest.' New York: Harper & Bros.
'A Question of Honor. By Christian Reid.' New York: D. Appleton & Co.

beauty," do to the celebrated feats of arms at Ashby-de la-Zouch. We cannot help wondering either whether the war has really left in the South as much of the old "chivalry" as Christian Reid would have us believe, or whether the Scotts and Parkers have not quite wiped it out.

We knew Mrs. Elliot as the author of that rather flippant and untrustworthy book, the 'Diary of an Idle Woman in Italy,' and yet we opened 'The Italians' with tolerable hopes of entertainment. But Mrs. Elliot seems to us a mistress of the art of disappointing one. Her former work, in spite of its particularly pleasing title, was singularly unamiable and unsympathetic; it made the reader wonder that a person who cared to be at pains to write two volumes about Italian things, should not have a finer sense and a more delicate touch. Mrs. Elliot evidently knows Italy fairly well in a superficial way, and has had some observation of provincial Italian society, but she does not seem to us to have risen to the level of her opportunities. It is as if she had come to know Italy against her will and not from ardent choice, and had accepted her subject half in grumbling. The scene of her story is the picturesque town of Lucca, into certain of whose social mysteries she appears to have been initiated. We confess that we read her novel for the sake of Lucca, its beautiful cathedral and its grassy bastions, rather than for that of the author's own style. Italian scenery and manners have come to be a rather threadbare resource in romance; but we confess to a sneaking kindness for the well-worn theme, and our curiosity would have abundantly found its account in a story with the real savor of the Lucchese soil. In what Mrs. Elliot has undertaken to tell us, however, there is nothing especially characteristic, and no needful connection between her background and her intrigue. The latter is rather stale and tame. The young Count Nobili (of very new nobility) comes to live opposite a poor and proud old marchesa, the penultimate scion of a once glorious race. The ultimate scion is the marchesa's niece, a young girl with whom the count falls in love. The marchesa hates him for his wealth and his new-made prosperity, and takes away her niece to a castle in the Apennines. Here she falls asleep, one night, burning old papers, and sets fire to her niece's apartments. The niece seems likely to go the way of the papers, when the count turns up in a cloak and slouch hat and snatches her from the flames. After this he makes his own terms with the marchesa, and secures the hand of the niece on condition of liberating the estate from debt. There has been in the early part of the book a certain Count Marescotti—the "red count," as he is called—a fantastic radical of aristocratic birth, a deep-dyed Republican and sublimated Communist, who, though his character is but feebly sustained, makes the reader ask why he has come into the book and why he suddenly goes out of it. The author has gone to considerable expense to introduce him, but, once introduced, she drops him into outer darkness. His only visible *raison d'être* is that Count Nobili may suddenly declare that his own betrothed has been offered to Marescotti and refused by him, and that he therefore washes his hands of so dishonored a bride. He storms and rages and behaves very shabbily, and the sweet Enrica, his repudiated mistress, pines and droops in orthodox fashion. Nobili veers about, however, at the eleventh hour, and, to make up for his brutality, elopes with the young lady. The author has not succeeded in reconciling us to the ferocity of his sudden disaffection, and it would only be needful that we should have interested ourselves in the marchesa's niece to say it was a great shame he ever recovered her. The young girl, however, does not rise to the dignity of an object of interest. We can hardly say what the tale is meant to illustrate, unless it be the baleful effects of exaggerated family pride. The marchesa is possibly a study from life; unfortunately, she is a study that is not studied. The figure is drawn with coarse and angular strokes, and the impression that the author may have had some knowledge of an original only increases the reader's displeasure that she has not found it artistically more inspiring. As a collection of typical Italian portraits, the book makes some pretensions; the author has in especial a good deal to say about what she calls the "golden youth" of Lucca. We hardly know why she should so frequently reiterate this phrase, with its quotation-marks: "jeunesse dorée" is not Italian, and the young loungers of Italy are generally not at all "golden." At Lucca, particularly, one may lounge with pockets very scantily lined, and be withal a rather more interesting fellow than the members of the group sketched by Mrs. Elliot. Considering her own tone, the writer seems to us too scornful of Italian levity, and she has not taken the profitable way of dealing with the Lucchese gossips. On the one hand, her satire is not morally edifying, and, on the other, her imagination does no justice to the charming dramatic *bonhomie* of her models.

The 'Odd Trump' is a tale of love, adventure, and ghosts. It shows some cleverness, and seems to be written by an American who has lived a good deal in England, or, at any rate, is familiar with many peculiarities of English society. There are a good many characters, one of whom is an American, and he is better drawn on the whole than most Americans are apt to be in novels of English authorship. The hero is the old-fashioned hero of novels of a generation ago—a strong, brave, tender-hearted, and honest young man, who opens the ball by rescuing the heroine from a watery grave and closes it by marrying her. The "odd trump" is not a winning card held by one of the characters, but is the hero himself. We have seen better novels, and we have seen worse. We are always grateful to any rising literary man who does not fill us with a physical loathing, not merely of his own vulgarity but that of the world which he describes. The reader of the 'Odd Trump' will be spared this, and be perhaps surprised to find that it is possible for a novelist of nothing more than ordinary power to produce a work of fiction which shall have a plot, characters, and even interest, without any morbid appeals to a prurient taste for horrors, excesses, indelicacies, and adulteries. We do not mean to say that the 'Odd Trump' is a work of genius or is above the capacity of nine out of ten clever men or women, but it shows a cleverness which is above belittling itself by these mean arts.

'The Italians: A Novel. By Frances Elliot.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 18.5.
'The Odd Trump. A Novel.' New York: E. F. Hale & Son. 1875.

*Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast.* By Samuel Adams Drake. (New York: Harper & Bros.)—Mr. Drake gives us good measure. His twenty-eight chapters, covering 450 ample pages, are crowded with description, narrative, and sentiment, and adorned with some three hundred wood-engravings of which it is only just praise to say that not one is trivial or superfluous. We will not maintain the accuracy of all the portraits or of the drawings of all the old houses, which are numerous; but the artistic portion of the work is, considering its intention and the judgment displayed in it, safe from any criticism of ours. The author's coast-line begins at Mt. Desert and ends at Saybrook, Conn. His several stations are selected for other reasons than those which determine the ordinary tourist, yet a large part of them are recognized watering-places, and at all of them the hot season might be pleasantly and profitably passed. On this account the travelling public will prize this as a guide-book of no ordinary merit. Wherever an antiquary would be tempted to land, Mr. Drake comes ashore; but twenty landings by no means exhaust a coast so rich in antiquities as that of New England, and Mr. Drake passes by a good many harbors in which his drag-net would have brought him an embarrassment of riches. He touches at York, but not at Portsmouth; at Salem, but not at Newburyport; at Marblehead, but not at Lynn; at Castine, but not at Machias; while that delightful "corner" of New England, the real angle of "Down East," Eastport, is likewise omitted—let us hope for a second volume like the present.

For a literary workman, Mr. Drake lacks self-restraint. He is too prodigal of his historic lore, and too much inclined to make a pretext for lugging some quite irrelevant fact or personage on to the already overpeopled stage. An example of this occurs on p. 217, where Mr. Drake has occasion to tell of General Putnam's having kept a tavern in 1768. He immediately adds: "Another famous soldier, Murat, was the son of an *aubergiste*, and Napoleon was not too willing on that account to give him the hand of his sister." But Putnam was not an innkeeper's son, and the allusion to Murat seems to find its motive either in a little pedantry or in a desire to fill out a rather scanty paragraph. Another fault which we will indicate is a too positive and peremptory expression of opinion concerning men and events not yet beyond controversy. As a sentimental tourist, Mr. Drake is entitled to offer us his glasses, but, as an historian, modesty should induce him not to force his views upon his readers. With these exceptions, we can only congratulate him on having produced a very useful and entertaining work, which ought to be long in demand.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* | |
|---|---|---|
| Art Journal, August, swd | (D. Appleton & Co.) | |
| Barrows (A. B.), Roland of Algernon, and Other Poems | (A. Williams & Co.) | $1 00 |
| Beecher Trial: Review of the Evidence, swd | (N. Y. *Times* Office) | 0 25 |
| Caton (J. D.), A Summer in Norway | (Jansen, McClurg & Co.) | 2 50 |
| "Charlton," Songs of the Year, and Other Poems | (Robt. Clarke & Co.) | |
| Fresenius (Dr. C. R.), Quantitative Chemical Analysis, translated into the "New System" | (John Wiley & Son) | 4 50 |
| Grimes (J. S.), Mysteries of the Head and Heart Explained | (W. B. Keen, Cooke & Co.) | 2 00 |
| Guhl (E.) and Koner (W.), The Life of the Greeks and Romans | (D. Appleton & Co.) | |
| Hart (J. M.), Schiller's Die Piccolomini | (G. P. Putnam's Sons) | 1 00 |
| Johnston (W.), Science and Revelation | (Scribner, Welford & Armstrong) | |
| Lange (Prof. J.), Modern Art Education, swd | (L. Prang & Co.) | |
| Lesalle (E. B.), Pocket-Map of Comstock Lode | (F. F. Taylor) | |
| Marryatt (Florence), Open! Sesame! swd | (Estes & Lauriat) | 0 75 |
| Oliphant (Mrs.), White Ladies | (Henry Holt & Co.) | 1 25 |
| Personal Reminiscences of O'Keeffe, Kelly, and Taylor | (Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) | 1 50 |
| Reid (C.), A Question of Honor | (D. Appleton & Co.) | |
| Robinson (F. W.), A Woman's Ransom, swd | (Estes & Lauriat) | 0 75 |
| Scarborough (W. S.), Cincinnati Law Library Association, swd | (Robt. Clarke & Co.) | 0 50 |

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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 19, 1875*

## The Week.

MR. WILLIAM WELSH, of Philadelphia, a well-known merchant, and a former member of the Indian Commission, has been writing a very unpleasant letter to the President about Secretary Delano. It will be remembered that two distinct lines of defence were adopted by the Indian Bureau when the charges of fraud began to be made against them—that is, Commissioner Smith fell back on his Christian character, and Mr. Delano tried to discredit his assailants. In a moment of fatuity, the latter tried to pooh-pooh Professor Marsh by calling him "a Mr. Marsh," and since then he has brought charges of by-gone drunkenness against Mr. Walker, the confidential clerk of the first Board of Commissioners, who first drew attention to a few frauds. Mr. Welsh now takes up Mr. Walker's defence, and talks in a licentious and unbridled manner about the worthy Delano. In the first place, he bears the strongest testimony to Mr. Walker's character, and to the accuracy of his charges, and then says the attack on him is a malicious libel got up by Secretary Delano and his Assistant Secretary Cowen. He then hints that the President would have done well to let Delano go when charges were first made against him, and that he was kept in and "allowed to leave his Department in charge of subordinates for months together that he might canvass the country and secure his [Grant's] re-election to the Presidency," and he demands that the papers in his (Welsh's) possession shall be examined by some of the President's friends in Philadelphia, to see whether Messrs. Cowen and Delano have not been guilty of a criminal libel. In fact, it is evident not only that Mr. Welsh "feels unkindly" towards Mr. Delano, and thinks meanly of him, but that Mr. Delano would, if he were not "under fire," be in great danger of removal. Mr. Cowen has undertaken to reply to Mr. Welsh's charges, the gist of his argument being that Mr. Welsh has, down to the present time, denied having any knowledge of Indian frauds, or, in other words, that he has "slept on" the matter too long for us to believe him now, and is, in fact, a thorough scoundrel and falsifier, engaged in a damnable conspiracy to blacken the character of men who have never wronged him.

Exactly what the functions and prerogatives of the mysterious body known as the Grand Army of the Republic are, no one knows perhaps but the members, but one of them appears to be that of preventing the ex-President of the Southern Confederacy from making himself too conspicuous. A committee of Western Grangers at Rockford, Illinois, asked Mr. Davis to deliver the annual address at the Fair of the Winnebago County Agricultural Society, whereupon the Grand Army of the Republic—the local representatives of it—held a meeting, and resolved that they regretted the invitation had been given; that they looked upon it as an insult to ask the "arch-traitor" to address the relatives and surviving friends of 13,000 men "murdered at Andersonville alone by his orders"; that they protested against the whole proceeding, and pledged themselves not to help or forward it in any way. We must say that we cannot see what possible pleasure any Northern community which suffered heavily during the rebellion can have in listening to a lecture on agriculture from Jefferson Davis, though, if we were obliged to hear him, we should rather hear him treat agricultural topics than such a matter, for instance, as constitutional law or the pardoning power or prison reform; but, of course, it is a matter of taste to be decided by each locality for itself. On one account, however, we regret that the lecture to the Winnebago Grangers did not come off. The address would naturally have dealt mainly with the elevation of labor and certain questions connected with capital, and the suggestions of the ex-President of the Southern Confederacy on one, and the advice of a Mississippi repudiator on the other, delivered to the Honest Farmer intent upon swindling his creditors, would have been an entertaining, if not an instructive, address.

The week has brought nothing of unusual importance in the business world. As was expected, the Bank of England reduced its minimum discount rate to 2 per cent, and discounts have been obtainable elsewhere in London at 1½ per cent. With the decline in what may be called the official rate for money in London, there has been a sharp advance in securities, British consols leading, and selling at higher prices than at any time during the past fifteen years. American securities have also been in larger demand, as is proved by the sales of the U. S. new five per cents, which have been sufficiently large to enable the Syndicate to request the Treasury to issue a call for another $10,000,000 of the 6 per cent 5.20's. At the New York Stock Exchange there has been an absence of speculation, but prices have generally advanced, the most conspicuous instances having been furnished by the stocks of the railroads north and west of Chicago and of the Western Union Telegraph Company. In respect to the latter, it is understood that a reconciliation has been effected with its rival, the Atlantic and Pacific. On Monday each of these companies restored rates to what they were before the "war" which broke out last spring. The money market has been very easy, and rates have not yet responded to the improved enquiry from the merchants for bank accommodations. The crop advices have been that previous accounts of damage have been exaggerated; accordingly, prices have declined for all the most important staples. The price of gold and the rates for sterling exchange have fallen on account of the rise in and enlarged demand from Europe for American securities, and also because the time is drawing near for the exports of cotton to begin.

The detailed statement of the assets and liabilities of the firm of Duncan, Sherman & Co. appeared on Tuesday; it showed total liabilities of $4,910,013, with total assets of $2,119,368, the latter including $264,800 individual property of the partners. Of the liabilities, $1,210,000 consisted of the unsecured paper of the firm, and $2,230,314 due depositors. It turns out that the largest depositor had a balance with the firm of $345,639 12, and that there were but two others whose balance exceeded $100,000. The securities of the firm are given at $567,470, and this while many of them are assigned only a nominal value, some being put in at a cent on the dollar. It is noticeable that, for a banking-house of excellent credit before the failure, the greater part of the securities are of that peculiar kind shunned by prudent people. Altogether, however, the official statement shows that the affairs of the firm were in better condition than feared, and the publication was undoubtedly a relief to many who were prepared for a much worse exhibit. Mr. William Butler Duncan has issued a card to the creditors of the house, proposing a settlement at 33⅓ per cent. He offers his notes for this amount, payable in five different instalments, the last of them in 1877, on the understanding that, should the assets produce more than 33⅓ per cent., the surplus also is to be divided pro rata.

We observe among the suggestions sent to the newspapers apropos of the inconvenience caused to Americans travelling abroad by the failure of Messrs. Duncan & Sherman, that the circular notes given to travellers by banking-houses ought to be guaranteed by the Government on the same terms and in the same manner as the bills of national banks are now guaranteed. This is a fresh and striking illustration, though a small one, of the growing readiness of the present generation of Americans whenever they get into trouble of any kind to fly to the Treasury for relief. If the

Government were to guarantee travellers' credits, it ought not to stop there. It ought to see that their baggage is properly shipped, that they are lodged in foreign cities in salubrious quarters, that they deal at the best stores, and that their children are sent to the right schools. It ought to see, above all, that American heiresses are not cheated by foreign husbands, and it is questionable whether it ought not, in case of exceptionably brilliant matches by poor American girls, to supply the trousseau. Ought there not, too, to be Government couriers appointed by the Custom-house to take American travellers over the Continent, and help them in their shopping? Perhaps the day will come, after the inflationists get into power, when Americans abroad will be able to draw direct on the Treasury Department for whatever funds they need, on having their nationality attested on the draft by the consul. That we are not so very far from this is shown by the suggestion of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, that the Government should "stop collecting taxes for a few months," and pay its expenses in paper-money of its own manufacture. But, as the Boston *Advertiser* pertinently asks, why for a few months only? Why not for a few years? And why its own expenses only, we ask? Why not the expenses of all good men and women? Why should we all toil and moil when the Treasury could, if it pleased, foot our bills without loss to anybody?

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Mr. Tilden has been making a sort of progress through the State, addressing crowds in the towns through which he passed on the subject of reform. He has spoken very plainly about it, and told his audiences that what he means by reform is not electing "straight-out" Democrats nor Jeffersonian Democrats, not "rallying" nor "wheeling into line," nor even hurling the corrupt centralizer from power, but the election of honest men of whatever party to do the work of the Government. His remarks seem to have struck the assembled multitudes very favorably, and it would appear from their manifestations of approval that this is just the sort of thing they mean by reform themselves. In fact, with a politician of Mr. Tilden's cautious temper and perhaps over-willingness to follow a popular lead, rather than take the initiative himself, it may safely be assumed that he would never have bid such open defiance to the party yoke if he believed at bottom that it was weighing very heavily on the public neck. The press, instead of following their usual custom of opening the floodgates of calumny upon Mr. Tilden—and thus (we may observe incidentally) deterring our purest and best men from entering the political arena—have applauded him, and pointed him out as one man in public life at least deserving popular support. The *Times*, however, which is sometimes inclined to set up a too lofty standard for our public men, criticises Mr. Tilden as not being quite whole-souled enough a reformer. It is impossible to forget, the *Times* says, that Mr. Tilden was a prominent Democratic politician during the whole Tweed period, and declares that he must have been "privy to many of the worst acts of Tweed and Sweeny." The "worst acts" of Tweed and Sweeny were stealing, ballot-stuffing, and perjury, with an occasional connivance, it may be, at murder; so that Mr. Tilden must be a pretty abandoned old villain to come out as a Canal Reformer. And yet, strange to say, he seems to win the confidence of the masses more than Murphy, Bliss, Davenport, Gardner, Conkling, or even Havemeyer did.

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A body known to itself as the Legal-Tender Club is going to hold a meeting at the Cooper Institute on or about the 1st of next month to fire the hearts of the inflationists. The club declares itself in favor of a "United States Legal-Tender Sound Currency, based on the faith and credit of the people of the United States and their General Government, and also on the revenues paid by the people to the United States Treasury, and having in addition a representative value in being redeemable and interchangeable for 3.65 United States bonds." The club have invited General Butler to address it, and he has written a letter in reply, expressing his sympathy with the objects of the club. He says that "how the country is to grow rich enough to pay its debts by the non-production of its able-bodied workers" is something which he cannot understand. Two millions of people, it seems, are now out of work, and, estimating the value of their labor at the low rate of two dollars a day, we find that we have lost—or they, or some one else has lost—in the past year no less than $1,200,000,000 by their enforced idleness, to say nothing of "the loss of the morale" of the working men and women, which we should say it was safe to estimate at three dollars a head, for both sexes, making in all $3,000,000,000. No wonder, as General Butler says, that the docks of New York are deserted, her stores unrented, and her dwelling-houses "so depreciated as hardly to meet the mortgages upon them." We are glad to see that the club is not going to stand this sort of thing any longer. As the Secretary of the organization well says, "who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

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Mr. Plimsoll appeared in his place in the House of Commons on the day to which the debate on the motion to censure him had been adjourned, and made a full and frank apology. Whereupon Mr. Disraeli abandoned his motion, and everybody seemed satisfied except Mr. Bentinck, who called attention to the fact that Mr. Plimsoll had not withdrawn his charges against Mr. Bates, and suggested that there ought to be a Committee of Enquiry. The Government has passed a bill dealing with the unseaworthy ships, which substantially gives an officer of the Board of Trade at each port the power of stopping a ship from going to sea, and an examination of any ship is to be made on a demand of a certain proportion of the crew. Mr. Plimsoll's own scheme provided for the minute supervision of the shipping business at every stage in a ship's history—when she was built, altered, or repaired, and every time she sailed. This would not have worked, and it is doubtful whether the Government bill will work well either, but then the crime it deals with is committed by a small class and ought not to be difficult to suppress. The effect on Mr. Plimsoll's popularity has been wonderful. His tirade elicited a burst of applause from one end of the kingdom to the other, and brought him so many testimonials that he has been compelled to acknowledge their receipt through the *Times*. The restrained and sober way in which the House of Commons dealt with the affair showed that it had a premonition of the effect it would have on the country at large, as well as a strong sense of its own dignity.

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The question whether a Wesleyan minister has the right to put "Rev." before his name on his daughter's tombstone in a parish churchyard, has been decided on appeal, after an elaborate argument, by the Dean of the Arches, Sir Robert Phillimore, the father of the Chancellor of the Diocese in which the case arose, who had already passed upon it. The son decided against the minister, as our readers may remember, on the ground that Mr. Keet, as a Wesleyan, was not "worthy of reverence," and that if he were allowed to call himself "reverend" on a tombstone, it might be the means of disseminating false doctrine. The father does not take this solemn view of the matter, but he reaches the same conclusion as the son, viz., that the vicar's discretion cannot be interfered with, inasmuch as the graveyard is the rector's freehold, and he can do what he pleases in it, and might even pasture his sheep in it. We presume he might also disinter the bodies and put them elsewhere. The case grows more ridiculous the farther up it goes. At the next step, however, it comes before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which is not an ecclesiastical court, though it has jurisdiction of ecclesiastical causes, and may, and it is hoped will, put an end to this scandalous absurdity. The extent to which the fair fame of the Church of England and its hold on popular respect and affection may be put in peril by the action of a single cantankerous or ill-conditioned minister, is well illustrated both by this and the Jenkins case.

The conviction of Colonel Baker for an assault upon a young lady in an English railway carriage has been the occasion of a good deal of moralizing in some of the newspapers on the difference between justice as administered in our courts and in the English tribunals. This is apropos of course of a supposed failure of justice in the Beecher case; but it seems needless to point out that the analogy between the two cases consists solely in their both being cases at law, tried in court by judge and jury. There is no other resemblance. An offence like that committed by Colonel Baker, had it occurred in this country, would probably have been far more heavily punished than in England, as it is notorious that juries always like to find verdicts where a woman is the plaintiff or prosecutrix. The theory that in such a case the social standing of the defendant would screen him in any civilized court is untenable. The implication, too, that the Beecher case was an indictment for assault is slightly inaccurate and libellous. The law and penology of some of the newspapers seem a little defective, and there is so much crime of one kind and another going on which needs discussion and exposition that this is to be regretted. In the establishment of new schools of journalism, the need of chairs of penology and law ought not to be overlooked.

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The flight of Alexander Collie has prevented the submission to the English courts of some interesting points of trade usage. The case of the Bank against the firm was that its bills were not only "accommodation bills," professing, as all bills do, to have been given for "value received," but had certain letters or marks, which were intended to produce the impression that they not only referred to a sale of some kind, but to a sale of particular goods which would be available for the payment of the bill. There was no denying the existence of the letters and marks, but the defendants' counsel contended that they did not necessarily bear the construction put on them by the prosecution; that they were not unfrequently used without any reference whatever to goods; and he produced one example where the letters were merely the initials of the drawer, or acceptor of the bill, and had actually summoned members of six or eight leading firms as witnesses in support of his position, when his client fled, and he retired from the case. There appears, if one may judge from the discussions in the London papers, to be no settled opinion about the matter, or, in other words, it seems as if there was some trade custom in that city which made the legality of these marks at least uncertain. The flight of Alexander Collie proves no more than that his transactions have been doubtful and that his nerves are weak.

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The unfortunate British bondholder is again laying his griefs before the civilized world. The Committee of the House of Commons appointed some months ago to investigate the manner in which swindling republics like Honduras, San Domingo, and Costa Rica managed to borrow large sums of money in the London market, has just made its report, and it is certainly an entertaining document, and ought to be issued as a volume for "summer reading." The Honduras Loan is a specimen case. The principal person engaged in carrying it out was Don Carlos Gutierrez, the Minister of the Republic at the Court of St. James, who appears to be a great operator, and cheated in a great variety of ways, and employed as his principal assistant a man named Lefevre, who had been condemned by default in Paris to two years' imprisonment for breach of trust. The two employed Messrs. Bischoffsheim & Goldschmidt as their brokers to put their loans on the market. The subsequent operations were of the most extraordinary character, and included every variety of stock-jobbing frauds, and ended in the disappearance of most of the money raised. It must be remembered that Honduras, when they began raising loans, had no credit whatever and hardly any resources, and was inhabited by a small population, which hardly knows what credit means. In 1867, the Republic owed in all about $600,000, of which it was able to pay neither principal nor interest, having been in default in both for a long period. Gutierrez and his confederates then went to work, and, by an elaborate system of false pretences, lies, and stock-jobbing, between the years 1867-70 ran the Republic in debt for over $30,000,000 by the sale of bonds at about 80; but of this sum only about $3,500,000 reached the Government in cash, and this went to pay the contractors who made fifty-three miles of an uncompleted railroad. The only other return was the cancellation of bonds amounting in nominal value to about $3,500,000 more. The rest of the debt has disappeared, but both Lefevre and Don Carlos refused to appear before the Committee. The bonds now outstanding are, we need hardly say, worthless, and the only course open to the holders is to raise a filibustering party, conquer the Republic, and "base" their securities on "the entire wealth of the people."

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The French Minister of Public Works, M. Cailloux, has made before the Committee on the Budget an estimate of the damage done by the floods in the South of France, in which he sets it down at over $15,000,000, which is a very large reduction from the earlier estimates, which reached in some cases $100,000,000. The exaggeration which marks these estimates in case of all great fires and inundations is a natural result of the tremendous impression they make on the imagination. The Assembly continues to work away at the details of the new constitution, and particularly the regulation of the election of senators, and in voting the various appropriations. M. Buffet announces that the state of siege will be kept up until a new press law, which will not be ready until the Assembly meets again, has been passed—probably one of the strongest acknowledgments of the influence of the press ever made in France. There is no change worthy of note in the relations of parties. There are still rumors of troubles with Germany arising out of German jealousy of the French armaments, but they seem to have no foundation.

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In Germany there are signs of a break in the Ultramontane resistance, for two of the bishops have expressed their willingness to submit to the law for the administration of ecclesiastical property, but it is denied that there is any likelihood of joint action on the subject. It is generally supposed now that permission has been given from Rome for each bishop to decide for himself to submit or not. On the other hand, the Ultramontanes have carried the day in the Bavarian elections, and will have a majority of two in the new Chamber.

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That there is an insurrection of greater or less dimensions in Herzegovina, and that there has been some fighting, appear to be certain; but whether the movement is making any progress, or is likely to become serious, it would be difficult to say. All troubles occurring in Bosnia or Herzegovina are certain to be magnified, owing to the wildness and remoteness of the provinces, and the hatred of the Turks felt by the majority of the population and by their neighbors over the Austrian border. Skirmishes are magnified into battles, and the Turkish losses represented as very great, on the smallest possible ground of facts. The origin of the present disturbance is probably to be found in the tax-gathering, and whether it will become serious or not will depend on the amount of assistance the insurgents can get from Austrian territory, and this again will depend on the amount of zeal Austria puts into measures of prevention.

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The condition of affairs in the North of Spain appears again to be very uncertain. The Carlist Committee in London pronounces the late reports of Alfonsist successes untrue, and it is acknowledged by the Alfonsists that there was no foundation for the story that Dorregaray had retired across the French frontier. The Carlist version is that two hundred of his men, who were left behind to burn the ferry-boats on the Ebro, had been driven into France, but this was expected, and that the Carlist losses during the past month have been trifling. The game of recrimination about cruelty is still kept up on both sides, and Don Carlos has written to his cousin remonstrating with him on the brutality of his troops, and expressing unbounded confidence in his own ultimate triumph. The new constitution as a whole has been adopted by the committee appointed to draft it.

## THE CONTEST OVER THE CURRENCY.

AN Ohio correspondent, in another column, puts together some facts which are just now worth noting because they have a good deal of bearing on the fate of the currency question. That question is again coming up, and is again assuming a threatening aspect and exerting a depressing influence on the business of the country, mainly because the party in power for the last fifteen years has either avoided dealing with it at all, or has only dealt with it in a half-hearted and insincere way. It is dealing with it now in a half-hearted and insincere way. The bill of January, 1875, was avowedly not a final settlement, but a compromise intended to put off final settlement to a more convenient season. We drew attention at the time to the way in which Senator Sherman fenced with the questions put him by Mr. Schurz as to the real meaning of the act. Our correspondent draws attention to the way in which he is explaining it away in Ohio. From the account he gives of it there, people are led to believe that it is a mere form, and will have no effect whatever, or, in other words, that the present state of things is neither dangerous nor undesirable. And Senator Morton's speech shows clearly that the Republican chiefs do not wish to "go before the people" on the currency question, and have nothing very positive to say about it. What they prefer to speak about and legislate about is the "outrage" question. They have ten words to offer about apocryphal murders at the South for one about financial reform.

What has been done to inform public opinion on financial questions has been done almost entirely by the newspapers; but then, excellent as much of the work done by the newspapers has been, it cannot have, and has not had, the effect which plain and earnest speaking by the party leaders would have had. People in forming their judgments about public questions are apt to be a good deal influenced by the consideration of what must and will be done, as well as by the consideration of what ought to be done; and about the former, party managers are naturally supposed to know more than the editors know. When the party chiefs, therefore, kept on persistently shirking or evading the currency question after the war, good Republicans naturally got into the way of thinking that it might be shirked or evaded indefinitely, and of regarding the newspaper articles about the currency as good essays containing sound principles which some day or other the country might have to put in practice; but what most needed to be done at this particular moment "practical men" like Messrs. Sherman, or Boutwell, or Conkling were supposed to know best.

The result of this state of things is that the Republican party has remained, down to this moment, without any definite policy on the currency question, and that those who speak for it officially have always spoken about the public debt in an uncertain way. When Congress first authorized Secretary McCulloch to contract, it did so in carelessness or ignorance of what it was doing, for, as soon as its attention was strongly directed to the matter, it withdrew the authority. When the first outcry against the bondholders was raised in 1867-8, and the talk of paying them off in greenbacks began to be heard, instead of boldly stemming the tide and speaking out in defence of common honesty and national honor, Senator Sherman introduced a most discreditable bill, intended to "scale" the public debt by compelling the bondholders to accept a five per cent. for a six per cent. bond, without the option of being paid off, and advised the bondholders as a friend to submit to the fraud, lest a worse thing should overtake them. So, also, when the question came up of the precise position and character of the $44,000,000 withdrawn by Mr. McCulloch, the majority refused to make any legislative utterance on the subject, and allowed the bold Boutwell to settle the matter in his own way. Had the panic not occurred this do-nothing policy upon the most important question of the day would probably have been persisted in, and the attention of the party managers have been concentrated steadily on the manipulation of the South. The frantic manufacture of outrages, through the machinery of the Department of Justice and otherwise, which we witnessed last fall, was unquestionably a desperate attempt to escape the pressure of the financial problem; and the bill of last January was, as we now see more clearly from Mr. Sherman's account of it, a piece of mystification. It is, he says, paper for the soft-money men and gold for the hard-money men. "You pays your money and you takes your choice." As regards the Republican party, its own desire is to please everybody—both the contractionist and inflationist, the solvent and insolvent, the creditor and the debtor, the lazy and the industrious; but a policy of this sort is not likely to carry us very rapidly towards specie payment. The Ohio voter may very well ask Senator Sherman now why the Treasury has accumulated gold, inasmuch as it is not going to redeem, and what need there is for redemption when the greenbacks are in any event sure to stay afloat.

That the Democrats, on the other hand, have no really sound financial traditions, and have never received any sound or thorough financial instruction, is equally certain. When the party last took up the currency question it approached it wholly from the political side. Its hostility to paper money was hostility to the money of monopolist banks. A thorough discussion of the evils and dangers of all paper money by whomsoever issued has never taken place in its ranks, so that "soft money" issued by "the people" is a new thing to it and by no means repulsive. Approaching the subject again from the political side, it sees much in "people's money" to commend it. It is issued not by "grasping speculators" and "heartless monopolists," but "by the people, through the people, for the people." It is printed on the people's press and scattered abroad by the people's officers. When issued plentifully, it is sure to raise not the prices of a few things but the prices of everything, and is thus a thoroughly democratic money. Moreover, it cannot, like gold and silver, be melted down and carried off by foreign speculators. It stays at home and circulates only through American hands. In fact, it has, considered politically, every quality that "the poor man" can desire, and there is nothing in the history of the Democratic party to lead a good Democrat to distrust it. Moreover, its constitutionality in time of peace is not so serious a difficulty for Democrats as some Republican orators would fain believe. It was the general opinion of lawyers and politicians down to 1861 that the United States had no power to make anything but gold and silver a legal tender in payment of debts or to issue paper for compulsory circulation. The Republican party got over this difficulty by the assumption of "the war power," or, in other words, by the aid of the theory that in times of great national peril whatever was necessary to the national safety might be done without regard to constitutional prohibitions. Now, the Democrats may very well say, and do say, that the term "war power" ought to be construed in a large and liberal sense; that the danger against which it is intended to guard need not necessarily be danger from armed attack or invasion, but any danger threatening the mass of the citizens with distress and suffering; and that the panic has brought us face to face with such a danger—a fact which the President and Mr. Richardson partially recognized when they began issuing the $44,000,000 in 1873 for reasons of state. Moreover, although the Supreme Court may pronounce the issue unconstitutional except in time of war, a Republican Administration has shown that a decision of the Supreme Court is only binding until the Court can be reorganized or enlarged. In fact, it is painful and alarming to recall the number of Republican devices produced during the last fifteen years which may now return to plague the inventors.

The way to get out of the scrape is to drop the policy of subterfuge and evasion and tell the honest truth and stick to it, or, in other words, "trust the people," as Mr. Boutwell would say. No amount of lying and quibbling will ever get us back to specie payment, nor will the supply of murders at the South last long enough to save the party from taking some solid ground on this question. All the negroes might be slaughtered without solving or helping to solve the problem. There is one thing, too, very certain, and that is, that the Presidential campaign cannot be carried on next year on the

Southern issue. It will inevitably be conducted largely on the financial issue; whether it result in the triumph of the policy of inflation or of the policy of evasion, the effect on business will be equally disastrous. The country has gone as far as it can go on the Republican plan of dodging and postponing. We have very distinctly reached a crisis, at which we must select one of two plain courses. A decision in favor of resumption, without falsehood or reservation, would launch the country on another magnificent run of prosperity; a decision in favor of inflation, or of inflation that will be the same thing as contraction, or contraction that will be the same thing as inflation, will certainly bring about one of the most tremendous financial catastrophes ever witnessed, for no commercial state of the magnitude and importance of the American Union has ever either gone into bankruptcy or attempted wholesale issues of irredeemable paper in time of profound peace. The seizure of the Government by the inflationists would in fact mean, and be taken to mean, that, for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire, the affairs of a vast, highly-organized society had passed into the hands of its most ignorant and unscrupulous class; and an occurrence of this sort in our day would give a shock to civilization itself.

## THE PLIMSOLL INCIDENT.

IT seems to be the fate of the English Conservatives of late years to stimulate radical tendencies a good deal more than the Liberals could or would. In fact, their main function in English politics has recently been the precipitation of schemes which the Liberals were only talking of in a half-hearted way, and their very blunders seem to serve this purpose as well as their preconcerted strategy. At the bottom of their promotion of radical ideas is the belief that their putting on more coal will secure them the control of the engine. It was this belief which led them to carry into execution the radical plan for the extension of the franchise in 1867, and which is now leading them to flirt with the female suffragists. The party is suffering seriously in the House of Commons, as the English papers are beginning to point out, from the Premier's want of business capacity, combined with the delicacy of his health and his advanced age; and, curiously enough, this serious weakness has unexpectedly, in the Plimsoll case, lent powerful support to a state of public feeling which any party calling itself really conservative ought to view with horror. Ever since the Dundee election, when Mr. Edward Jenkins was elected by a heavy majority over Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, the new constituencies, or, rather, additions made to the old constituencies by the late Reform Acts, have been causing English politicians considerable anxiety. The election of Mr. Jenkins was followed by that of Dr. Kenealy, and there is constant expectation of others of a similar character. Mr. Jenkins was elected because he had written a novelette containing a caricatured biography of a young pauper, and Kenealy because he had been counsel for a butcher who had been clearly proved a fraudulent claimant of a baronetcy. Both candidates, too, were elected without the slightest reference to party ends or traditions, or to current political questions, and, in fact, their success had all the air of being the result of a sudden freak. If one judges the new constituencies from such occurrences, one can hardly avoid feeling that if about the time of a general election the voters of the boroughs were seized with any great delusion, they might, under its influence, send up to the House of Commons a sufficient number of adventurers and fanatics to place the Government in great peril or difficulty; and the history of the Tichborne affair shows that no foresight or sagacity would be sufficient to put politicians on their guard and enable them to adopt measures of prevention. The rise of Orton the butcher into a popular hero has been as unaccountable as that of many of the Arab or Indian prophets, and the election of Kenealy as a means of helping him and vindicating the cause of justice, has also a flavor of Oriental extravagance and absurdity about it. But the striking characteristic of his election is that it is simply a means of giving expression to strong feeling on a particular point, and is, in no sense, a contribution to the general political work of the country. It is, in short, a process somewhat resembling the giving of three groans for the Court of Queen's Bench; and that the franchise should be used recklessly for such a purpose naturally causes more or less alarm even among people who are not timid.

Now, it is not difficult to see that the Plimsoll affair is likely to spread and strengthen, especially among the new voters, this excited and emotional way of using the franchise. Mr. Plimsoll is not a very wise man in the political sense of the word. He is a philanthropic enthusiast, whose imagination has been filled with one gross abuse, and who takes no account of difficulties in trying to remedy it. This sort of man does and has done great service in our day, but not in shaping or suggesting legislation. The bill which Mr. Plimsoll himself framed for preventing the use of unseaworthy ships was in so far absurd that it would have been impossible to execute it. Now, anything which makes such a man seem not only more humane, but more sagacious, than those who are regularly charged with the embodiment of ideas in legislation is, in the existing and probable condition of English constituencies, more or less dangerous; and yet this is exactly what has happened through the late scene in the House of Commons. Not only did the Government show itself indifferent to human suffering by its abandonment of the bill, but its subsequent surrender showed that its abandonment was foolish and unnecessary. This is not all, and not the worst, however. It was brought back to its duty, not by the parliamentary process of persuasion by argument, but by a violent, threatening, and disorderly harangue, from a person excited to the verge of insanity. Upon seeing him shake his fist in their faces, and set the Speaker at defiance, the Ministers actually changed their programme, and agreed to carry a bill which they had determined to throw overboard. This is the real truth of the matter. Mr. Plimsoll's apology was a mere form, the most marked effect of which was to heighten the triumph of his peculiar method of bringing the Ministry to terms. All England is delighted, too, and congratulations pour in on him from every quarter; and the lesson of the affair to the new voters is obvious, and most certainly will not be lost on them. It will not only heighten their respect for the Plimsoll type of man, which is not to be regretted, but it will increase their confidence in it for political uses, and will correspondingly diminish their confidence in the kind of politicians by which the English Government has thus far been conducted—the slow, cautious, careful, unemotional kind, which occupies itself fully as much with the possible indirect results of measures as with their intended or direct results. The chances of seats in the House for men like Mr. Plimsoll will be greatly increased, and the imaginations of young demagogues will be filled with visions of overthrowing the Cabinet by *coups de théâtre*.

Why the rise into power and credit of this class of politician would be unusually dangerous in England it is not difficult to explain. The first or main reason is that the constitution is simply a bundle of traditions, respect for which is a mere habit which the House of Commons might any day throw off. There is no organic law, as there is here, embodying the sober second thought of the country, a disregard of which would be revolutionary. A reckless or radical House of Commons would, therefore, be an engine of tremendous power, and especially of power of mischief, owing to the constitution of English society; for English society and the huge fabric of English credit rest almost entirely on the assumption that (in English politics) customs and traditions and vested interests and long-existing understandings will be respected, that no sudden or violent changes will be made and no rash experiments tried. English society is so complicated, and English credit so delicate a thing, and the variety of interests over which the Government has to watch in all parts of the world so great, that the slightest suspicion of revolutionary tendencies in the House of Commons would produce a panic such as the world has never seen. The social and political machinery there could not bear the jolting over rough roads which ours here has so often to undergo, and undergoes with impunity. The danger from the caprices of the new

constituencies will probably not disappear until they have been in some manner subjected to party rule, and trained to act under the orders of "managers"—a result which may not be very far off. What kind of party they will support, and what general policy they will take up, it would now be difficult to predict, because uncommonly little is known about them. Every writer has his own theory about "what the English workingman wants," and no two writers agree. But it may be taken for granted that his rule, if it is ever established, will have but little of the steadiness and farsightedness and stolid devotion to remote ends which have marked English policy for five hundred years. It will probably be more humane and less imperious, but it will want the national self-confidence, and will not long retain the wealth which has made England a first-class power. A very little instability in legislation would cause its disappearance.

## THE STORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN TUNNEL.

A FEW weeks ago (July 8) the first regular passenger train rolled through the notorious Hoosac Tunnel in Massachusetts. The completion of a work bearing the same relation to all other tunnels in America which that of Mont Cenis bears to the tunnels of Europe, is a fact of more than local interest, and the history of the enterprise contains not a few lessons of far-reaching application. So impracticable has the whole undertaking appeared that popular lecturers have long been accustomed, especially in Massachusetts, to refer to the time of the completion of the Hoosac Tunnel as a synonym for eternity. Many may be surprised, therefore, to learn that the real beginning of the work dates back less than twenty years, although fifty years ago a tunnel under the mountain was talked about, not for a railway but for a canal, to perform for Massachusetts the same function which the Erie Canal performs for New York. The reason why so much attention has been directed to this mountain in the northwestern corner of Massachusetts, and why for over fifty years it has been apostrophized, "Be thou removed," is that a prolongation of the Mohawk Valley in New York strikes the valley of the Deerfield River in Massachusetts, and the two valleys, including the valley of the Hoosick River, form therefore the most natural and, in fact, the only possible low-grade route between the West and Boston; or, more properly, would have formed such a route could the five miles of Hoosac Mountain have been taken out of the way.

After the abandonment of the canal project, which was not given up until some time after the ground had been actually surveyed, nothing was done until 1848, when the Massachusetts Legislature granted a charter in the usual form to the Troy and Greenfield Railroad Company for a road from Greenfield in Massachusetts to the State line of New York, there to connect with some road to be built from the city of Troy. It was understood, of course, that this road was to pass through Hoosac Mountain. In 1851, work was commenced upon the western end of the road, and at the same time the company petitioned the legislature for a loan of the State credit in order to build the tunnel—uncertainty with reference to the time of completion and cost of which prevented capitalists from investing in the stock of the company. This application, as well as another made in 1853, was unsuccessful. In 1854, however, the company found a more hopeful or a more pliant legislature, and the State loaned its credit to the amount of two millions of dollars for the purpose of building the tunnel, it being supposed at that time that the whole cost would be less than this sum. The tunnel was to be finished in six years from that time. The conditions of the loan were precisely expressed, and every precaution was taken apparently to guard the State against any loss. No scrip could be issued until the company had obtained stock subscriptions to the amount of six hundred thousand dollars, twenty per cent. of which was to be actually paid in in cash. In addition, seven miles of road and one thousand linear feet of the tunnel were to be finished. When these and some minor conditions were complied with, the State Treasurer was authorized to deliver to the company one hundred thousand dollars in scrip. Subsequent payments were to be made upon the fulfilment of similar conditions until the full amount of the loan should be delivered. As security, the State took a mortgage upon the road and other property of the company. Four years passed before the company was able to comply with these requirements, and, after an unsuccessful attempt to induce the State to subscribe for stock in addition to the loan, the first application for State scrip was made in 1858. After this there seemed to be no difficulty, and applications were made with increased frequency until July 9, 1861, at which date the State had paid out in all nearly eight hundred thousand dollars. Work suddenly ceased July 12, or three days after the last issue of scrip, and, soon after, the State foreclosed its mortgage and took possession of the road.

Two or three years of investigation by legislative committees brought to light the following facts: The company which had contracted for the building of the road and tunnel on the strength of the promised State loan, had not been able to secure stock subscriptions except for a very meagre amount. Six hundred thousand dollars was required before State aid could be obtained. Hardly one-tenth of this was ever subscribed by *bonâ-fide* subscribers. In this emergency, the contractors subscribed for nearly the whole amount desired, six thousand shares, the company agreeing to receive pay for the same in work. The company also agreed to turn over to the contractors all money received from other subscribers; also, to pass to them all State scrip as soon as obtained; also, to allow them to increase their contract price—at first three hundred thousand dollars, and afterwards two hundred thousand dollars more. It will be seen, also, that, in virtue of holding a majority of the stock, the contractors, Messrs. H. Haupt & Co., became the real owners and managers of the company.

The formal records of the meetings of the directors of the Troy and Greenfield Railroad Company for the succeeding four or five years furnish some very amusing reading. The meetings were held apparently at any time or place convenient to the four or five men who usually attended them—sometimes at the Fitchburg Depot, sometimes at the American House in Boston, and sometimes in Greenfield. At these meetings Mr. Haupt is always present. Sometimes he votes simply as a director; sometimes he acts as clerk of the meeting; again, he appears as a committee to receive subscriptions, which are to be paid to H. Haupt & Co.; again, he is appointed chief-engineer, or serves on the finance committee, or is appointed agent of the company to solicit subscriptions from towns. In fact, Mr. Haupt is really a wonderful man. He outdoes Mr. Oakes Ames completely, for he not only puts stock "where it will do most good," but he also puts himself where he will do most good—to himself. For instance, Mr. H. Haupt, as chief-engineer, certifies to the Troy and Greenfield Railroad Company—that is, to H. Haupt & Co.—that H. Haupt & Co., contractors, have done an amount of work which entitles them to receive four hundred thousand dollars in bonds and stock, and Mr. H. Haupt thereupon, as member of the finance committee, signs an order upon the treasurer directing him to pay H. Haupt & Co. the amount authorized by the chief-engineer. In recent years, we have become accustomed to very remarkable railroad management, but when we remember that all this took place before the war, we are obliged to credit Mr. Haupt with an originality and versatility of which it is impossible to speak too highly.

We take the liberty to digress for a moment to describe two or three of Mr. Haupt's little schemes, which, if not quite so amusing as the performances above-mentioned, may nevertheless have an illuminating influence on legislators and contractors. On one occasion, it became necessary to certify to the State Treasurer that twenty per cent. on all subscriptions to stock had been paid in *in cash*. But it had already been agreed that the contractors, who were the principal subscribers, should not pay in cash, but in work. Mr. Haupt, therefore, borrowed from a bank for an hour one hundred thousand dollars in bills, took them to the treasurer of the road, and received credit for a cash payment to that amount on stock subscriptions. He then produced an order from the finance committee, of which he was a member, directing the treasurer to pay H. Haupt & Co. one hundred thousand dollars in cash for work done on the road. The treasurer handed back the same bills, and Mr. Haupt returned them to the bank from which they were taken a few minutes before. Through the aid of this little game the treasurer was enabled to certify that the required amount had been received in cash, and the State Treasurer accordingly handed over to Mr. Haupt one hundred thousand dollars in State scrip. Again, a large part of the State scrip was expressed in sterling currency and made payable in London. Mr. Haupt contrived to secure this at a valuation of four dollars and forty-four cents to the pound at a time when the market value was four dollars and ninety-one cents, and thus in two years was overpaid more than fifty thousand dollars. Again, the northwestern corner of Massachusetts, on account of its rocky character, is impassable for railroads. In order to reach the New York line and connect with a railroad coming east from Troy, it was found necessary to build six miles of road through a corner of Southern Vermont. This required a charter from the Vermont Legislature and the formation of a separate corporation—the Southern Vermont Railroad Company. The company was formed and the road built, the contractors who built it being our old friends H. Haupt & Co. They received in payment fifty thousand dollars in stock (all the stock issued, thus making them sole owners of the road) and one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in first-mortgage bonds. The work cost about one hundred thousand dollars, the road being an easy

one to build. It was very necessary, of course, that the Troy and Greenfield Company should obtain control of this road, and accordingly they were authorized by the Massachusetts Legislature to purchase it, the State loaning the company two millions of dollars to make the purchase, and offering to take as security a mortgage upon the Southern Vermont Road when obtained. Who was at the bottom of this precious bit of legislation we do not know. We only know that the Troy and Greenfield Railroad Company (H. Haupt & Co.) bought the Southern Vermont Railroad of the stockholders (H. Haupt & Co.), and the State advanced double value for the purchase. But this was not all, for it was afterwards discovered that the Southern Vermont Railroad had been leased in perpetuity to the Troy and Boston Company for a small annual rent, and the State thus paid a heavy sum for a cheap piece of road over which it has no more control than it has over any road in Nebraska.

Mr. Haupt has certainly been well treated by all investigating committees. No word of censure was passed upon him. His unpaid bills were settled by the State. His feelings were injured as little as possible when the State finally took possession of his work, and he was allowed, while surrendering his claims to the State, to put on record a notice of the reservation of a right to petition future legislatures for redress of grievances. We need hardly say that he feels kindly towards everybody. His "sentiments are not embittered." "Grace, mercy, and peace" is his motto.

For two years after the disappearance of Haupt & Co. very little work was done upon the tunnel, although an energetic board of commissioners was prosecuting enquiries with reference to the future work. When the State took possession, it found, as might have been expected, that the road had been built in a miserable manner. Only the cheapest work had been attempted. Deep cuts were passed over, roads were left unbridged, culverts and ditches were not to be found, or, if found, had been constructed evidently not as aids to the running of trains, but as aids to the acquirement of State scrip. Even the location of the road, originally designed to make the best road the nature of the ground permitted, without regard to cost, had been changed so as to make a road of sharper curves and steeper grades, but of cheaper construction. Upon the tunnel the work was of analogous character. The line and grades had been changed so as to secure easier work, and in such a way that fifteen hundred feet would be added to the length. A large part of this tunnelling was afterwards abandoned or changed into an open cutting. The engineering work upon the tunnel was peculiar, if not original. A diagram of cross-sections, drawn by a competent engineer who examined the work, gives the idea of a tunnel through a snow-bank made by school children, though not nearly so regular as these sometimes build. Fortunately, the commissioners appointed by the State at this time were able men, who worked vigorously to bring at least partial order out of this contractor's chaos, and the measures initiated by them for carrying on the work upon the tunnel were followed in the main by the various commissioners and contractors who succeeded them. The State managed the work with varying success until the end of 1868, when a contract for the completion of the tunnel was made with the Messrs. Shanly, of Canada, who have faithfully finished a task of immense difficulty—finished, that is, the work specified in their contract. Of extra and unforeseen work there is yet a great deal to be done, for geologists and engineers alike have been somewhat deceived in the character of the rock and the quantity of water encountered, the former having proved more troublesome and the latter more plentiful than was anticipated. But the Hoosac Mountain no longer blocks the way to the West. The tunnel is an accomplished fact. We may now consider certain questions relating to its construction, its management, and its prospects, to which we call the attention of the Holy Farmer of the West.

Last year, in view of the approaching completion of the Hoosac tunnel, five gentlemen (the best-known of whom perhaps are Mr. W. B. Washburn, Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., and Dr. P. A. Chadbourne) were appointed as corporators of the Boston, Hoosac Tunnel, and Western Railroad (a new name for the former Troy and Greenfield). These gentlemen were directed to examine thoroughly the present condition of the tunnel and the connecting road belonging to the State, to put the latter in a condition for traffic, to examine into possible railroad connections with the West, and to suggest the best method for the future management of the tunnel property. According to the report of these corporators, the tunnel has now cost the State the sum of fourteen millions of dollars. We are struck at once by the great difference between this amount and the two millions at which the work was first estimated, and naturally ask for the reason of this difference. We have already shown that nearly all the money advanced by the State to the Troy and Greenfield Company was wasted. That so great an undertaking fell at first into hands so incapable is greatly to be deplored, and that the State was culpably negligent in allowing its money to be thus thrown away cannot be disputed. It is evident also that the State officials had no adequate conception of the vastness of the work undertaken, until some time after the first contractors had failed. The first commissioners were able and energetic, and, for a few years, the work was carried on in an effective manner. But the unavoidable "rotation" by which we are cursed came at last, and inefficiency took the place of ability. When the contract was given to the Messrs. Shanly, the State had already paid out five millions of dollars. This last contract, which was confined to the tunnel proper, cost nearly five millions more, and the rebuilding of the badly-built railroad, with land-damages, official salaries, legal fees, sums paid to experts, large quantities of extra work not provided for in the contracts, and interest upon the various sums advanced during eighteen years, bring up the cost to the enormous sum mentioned by the corporators. Moreover, as nearly the whole tunnel will probably require brick arching before it can finally be pronounced perfectly safe, another large sum is to be added to the above amount.

But assuming the tunnel to be ready for use, what is its present situation, and what are its future prospects? The hole is indeed through the mountain; but who will go through the hole and pay for the privilege of so doing? This is a vital question, and only as it is successfully answered can the tunnel enterprise be saved from failure. At present, one terminus of the tunnel-road is at the country village of Greenfield. The other terminus is not even at a country village, but at a State line. If the tunnel be likened to a bridge, it is a bridge with no roads leading to it, and with no people who care to cross it. Concerning it, the expression is almost true that it begins and ends nowhere. A host of ludicrous images is unavoidably suggested by the present attitude of Massachusetts in relation to the tunnel. The tunnel was built too soon. Whatever may be the call of the future, there was certainly no demand for it when it was begun, nor is there any real necessity for it to-day. At present, the tunnel-road can do nothing whatever without the help of the Troy and Boston road upon the one hand, and the Fitchburg road upon the other, for its local traffic is insignificant. But these two roads are, for the most part, only second-class single-track roads, with iron rails, and any attempt to do over them the enormous business of a through line would result in pounding them to pieces in less than six months' time. But the tunnel was built to serve as part of a through road, and only if used as such can its great cost ever be repaid. These two connecting roads, therefore, must be almost entirely reconstructed or new roads built before the tunnel can begin to fulfil its mission.

This consideration brings us to the first proposition made respecting the future management of the tunnel, which is, that the State shall buy out and complete the connecting lines to the Hudson River, and thus furnish, under State ownership and management, the desired rival to the present Boston and Albany Railroad. This action undoubtedly would greatly please Mr. Wendell Phillips and a few others like-minded, as it would be the first step in answer to their present mild request that the State shall buy out a great through-line to Chicago. The stumbling-block in the way is the fact that this first step would cost, in round numbers, twenty millions of dollars, and, in the present condition of the State finances, the prospect for the appropriation of this sum is altogether hopeless—hopeless, we mean, so long as gold and silver furnish the money of the nation. If Messrs. Phillips, Butler, Kelley & Co. can convince the people that twenty millions of dollars can be manufactured with a printing-press, then something may be done in furtherance of this plan. In the meantime, what remains? The State of Massachusetts came into possession of the Hoosac tunnel originally by foreclosure of mortgage. It did not desire the property, but undertook the task of finishing the tunnel in order to get back, if possible, the money already advanced, exactly as banks sometimes finish houses when the builders who gave the mortgages have failed before their work was done. One of the simplest methods of getting out of a very bad fix, therefore, and from very many points of view the most sensible method, would be for the State to imitate the banks and sell the tunnel to a private corporation as soon as possible. This might be done, of course, with some more or less obvious restrictions, and also with permission to consolidate with other companies, and thus to form an efficient trunk-line to the West. There is, however, so strong an opposition to this course that the legislature expressly forbade the corporators above-mentioned to take this proposition into consideration at all, and for the present, therefore, as it fails to receive candid discussion, it may be regarded as impracticable.

Two possible propositions remain. The first is the one earnestly advocated by the corporators—namely, a mixed system of State and private ownership, under which a powerful consolidated road might be formed by the union of several connecting roads with the tunnel-road, the State

being one of the partners in this corporation, and to be represented by one-half the members of the joint board of directors. This seems complicated; but, apart from any theories of the State management of railroads, would probably be the quickest method of forming a large and powerful line. If State directors could be trusted to look after the interests of the State as faithfully as other directors can be trusted to look after the interests which they represent, this might be at once accepted as the very best practical method of escape from the present embarrassing circumstances. But unfortunately it is difficult to understand how it is possible to ensure efficient protection of public interests in any partnership concern. If it can be done anywhere, it can probably be done in Massachusetts; but even in Massachusetts we should feel very doubtful about the result. If the experiment should be fairly tried, it would be watched with interest. The experiment, however, will not be tried immediately, even in Massachusetts, for the bill in its favor was voted down at the last session of the legislature, and the only possible plan remaining was adopted in its place. By this plan, known as the "toll-gate" plan, the State remains sole owner, puts the tunnel under the care of a superintendent or manager, and simply collects toll of all passengers and freight passing through it. The plan has the merit of simplicity; but this is almost the only merit it possesses. As a permanent measure it is condemned, because it will not pay, and also because it directly interferes with the chief purpose of the tunnel—the creation of a powerful through-line. As a temporary expedient, however, it is most admirable. It can be easily altered when necessary; and, in the meantime, it gives a chance to all who are interested to enquire and to think. Mr. Adams and his associates may take comfort in the fact that the defeat of their plan was followed by the adoption of no antagonistic plan, but of a simple time-gaining expedient, which leaves all serious questions unsolved.

## TORY MISMANAGEMENT.

London, July 31, 1875.

SOME weeks ago I called your attention to the state of confusion into which Tory mismanagement was fast reducing the business of Parliament. Since then matters have not improved. On the contrary, they have gone from bad to worse; and we have arrived at this, that one of the strongest governments of the present reign has been seriously shaken and discredited in the eyes of their supporters and of the country by the irregular proceedings of a well-meaning, indiscreet enthusiast. No government ever started with a better chance. They had a clear working majority of faithful and well-disciplined followers sent by the English constituencies. They were thus independent of the Scotch and Irish vote—no small consideration to those who wished an unembarrassed régime. The country wanted rest from all sensational legislation and from all troublesome interference by government departments in the affairs of life. It would have been satisfied with very little. A few remedial measures of a mild domestic type, the repeal of obsolete and the consolidation of effective statutes, and a firm but temperate and kindly administration of public affairs, would have been a sufficient programme. A magnificent surplus of six millions was lying in the exchequer; the prestige of the successful conclusion of the Ashantee war threw a halo over the Treasury Bench. The opposition were disheartened and disorganized. They were too feeble to harm the Government by fair, and too chivalrous to harass them by factious, fighting. Everything was in favor of the administration. Wise men saw no reason why they should not survive the full seven years of this Parliament, and perhaps begin another. Sanguine men of one party and desponding men of the other spoke of the Tories remaining in power for a quarter of a century. The gloomiest croaker could not have suggested that a short two years would see the Government sunk into general disfavor—so seriously damaged that, but for the disintegration of their opponents, a change of government might almost have occurred this year.

It is not difficult to see the causes of this collapse; and if you will bear with me while I run over the principal Parliamentary events of the last two sessions, I think I can make them clear.

The Queen's speech last session promised legislation as to the transfer of land, the rearrangement of the courts of judicature, the relationship of master and servant, and the question of licensing. The only fraction of these promises that was carried out was the last. The Government came into power on the votes of the licensed victuallers, and they had to be rewarded. The Licensing Bill did not achieve much for them. It permitted them, however, to keep their public-houses open for an hour each day longer than previously, and secured in exchange their continued goodwill and their suffrages at the cost of the demoralization, for an extra hour per day, of the public. The other parts of the programme were abandoned for the session. The large landlords did not care to have the transfer of land simplified, and it was desirable to keep them well disposed towards the Government. The influential Tory peers did not wish a rearrangement of the courts of judicature, which might involve the abolition of the jurisdiction of the House of Lords, and no interest cared to press the question. The relationship of master and servant was more ticklish. The workingmen have votes now, and were urgent for some measure in their interest. But the employers of workingmen have also votes, and deprecated the passing of a new measure on this subject when the old one was still on its trial. The Government being in a cleft stick, so to say, between the workmen and their employers, bethought themselves of a seasonable delay, and appointed a committee to report upon the subject. So much for the measures promised in the Queen's speech of 1874.

They had repaid the licensed victuallers for their support at the election; but they owed a heavy debt of gratitude to another important section of the community—the clergy of the Established Church. In an evil moment they remembered the Endowed Schools Commissioners. These gentlemen had offended the clerical interest by carrying out a policy which had the effect of opening old endowments of the pre-Reformation period to the sons and daughters of parents who belonged to other denominations than the Church of England. The Government, in order to do their clerical supporters a favor, determined to cashier the old Liberal Commissioners and appoint new Tory Commissioners in their place, and attempted to direct all the old endowments into one channel—the channel, namely, of the Church of England. The first part of this policy they succeeded in carrying out, but not the second part. They were startled at the feeling aroused in the country by their proposals. They got into a panic, and dropped the dangerous clauses, ingloriously covering their retreat from an untenable position by accusing the official draughtsman of Government bills, who acts only under the instructions of the Government, of draughting clauses that were incomprehensible. But still further to conciliate the church, or rather that part of the church which is powerful in elections, they took under their active protection the bill "to put down Ritualism." The Ritualists are politically an insignificant body, and so they were trampled upon; and this pleased the other sections in the church which have some political insignificance; and thus they paid off their heavy debt of gratitude to the clerical body.

But there was another section of the community—not, perhaps, so powerful socially as the clergy, but still of weight in elections, and especially in metropolitan elections—the cattle-slaughterers, the blood, bone, and soap boilers, the manure manufacturers, the tallow-melters, and other dealers in unsavory trades in London. These important industries had to be conciliated. By certain provisions of an act passed in 1844 it was enacted that all who carried on such manufactures in certain parts of London should be bound to discontinue them after thirty years. In other words, thirty years' Parliamentary intimation was given to all owners of slaughter-houses, and other abominations of the kind, that, after 1874, they must clear out of London and carry on their nasty work outside the town, as in most Continental cities. They all knew the fate that was impending, and had known it for thirty years. If a government possessed of moral courage had been in office, they would have gone almost without complaint. But, fortunately for them, and unfortunately for the community, at the end of their thirty years' warning an administration was in power eager to conciliate any interest that had votes. The clauses of the old act of Parliament were repealed, and an act was passed forbidding, it is true, new manufactories of the kind to be erected, but sanctioning the old ones which had been condemned in 1844. And so last session closed, and the whole metropolitan press sang pæans over the administration.

This session opened with a flourish of trumpets and a great promise of sanitary and domestic legislation. I need not recapitulate the names of all the multitude of measures that was announced. Very little of them remains, except their names in the order-book. The Pollution of Rivers is gone with the late floods; the manufacturing interests were too strong for it. The bill for the appointment of a public prosecutor has not even been introduced. The Judicature Bill was withdrawn because the Duke of Buccleuch and Lord Redesdale and some more Tory peers were offended by the proposal contained in it to curtail the privileges of the House of Lords. The Merchants' Shipping Bill—the only measure, as it appears, in the Ministerial programme about which the country felt any interest—was abandoned a week ago, and reintroduced in an abbreviated form yesterday, because the Ministry became panic-stricken on discovering that the country was in earnest, and was determined that the lives of the seafaring men in England should not continue to be endangered owing to the supineness and *insouciance* of the Government. These are the failures of the session; and now

see what are the successes? A measure has been passed to reintroduce an insidious form of purchase in the army, in the interest of the wealthy officers. Another has been passed to clear out the wretched inmates of the city "rookeries," who have no votes, in order to build cottages for artisans who have votes. This is a useful measure, if it only can be put into operation. Two other measures which may have an important bearing on the welfare of the newly-enfranchised working-classes have received the Queen's assent—the Friendly-Societies and the Employer and Workmen Bills. If to this short catalogue the Agricultural Holdings Bill, about which I wrote to you the other day, be added, you have the sum of the legislation of this protracted session.

And now I hope you have gathered some idea of the principal causes of the decline of the present Government in popular esteem. The great distinction to be drawn between this Government and that of Mr. Gladstone is this: that the latter legislated for the community at large, and the former for individual classes in the community. It has been all class legislation since March, 1874. The policy of Mr. Disraeli's Government in introducing their measures has not been regulated by the consideration, Will this measure be for the amelioration of England? They have not said to themselves, Will the country be happier and better if this becomes law? does it redress some widespread grievance or glaring injustice? The question they have asked is this: Will this measure gratify such and such a class of men who have votes and political influence—men who will wish to keep us in power and vote for us at the next general election? It has been the policy of electioneering agency throughout, and, as a natural consequence of such a policy, every proceeding initiated by the Government has been characterized by a timidity and fear to give offence which in a strong government is contemptible. If any of their proposals presses however gently upon any interest, and that interest cries out, the pressure is at once removed. Either the whole bill is dropped, or the troublesome clause is dropped, or a provision is inserted in the bill to enable any one who feels aggrieved to withdraw himself from the operation of the measure. And, along with this desire to keep things comfortable all round, there is displayed on the Treasury Bench an inconsistency and vacillation which, when compared with the strong determination of the late Government, is almost pitiful. The policy of the Parliament is very much what the Cabinet makes it, and the Cabinet is very much what the Prime Minister makes it. The present Prime Minister has never liked the drudgery of work, and has always smiled at earnestness of purpose. He will use all his ingenuity to "dodge" a difficulty and all his never-failing humor to laugh it off; but he will never face it and conquer it in fair fight. Hence there has been an air of unreality, a desire for "dodging," and an absence of earnestness in every detail of the Ministerial policy. The country have borne with this for two years. But they will stand no more of it. The contrast between the zealous and unselfish earnestness of the member for Derby—an earnestness that has nearly cost him his reason—on behalf of the seafaring men of England, and the cynical indifference of the Government, who were ready to sacrifice the sailors' lives in the interest of the tenant-farmer's pockets, has roused the best feelings of the country. Next session the Government—whether under Mr. Disraeli or some other Prime Minister—will be compelled either to mould its policy in the interests of the community and not in the interests of Tory voters only, or to make way for another Government which will.

# Correspondence.

## A NORWEGIAN SCHOLAR IN POLITICS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: At the very time that your excellent article on "The Scholar in Politics" was being issued, an episode was taking place in our political campaign which illustrated some of its principal points, and has lately become the topic of lively discussion. The central figure is Prof. R. B. Anderson of the State University. He is a Norwegian by birth, a contributor to the large Norwegian paper, the *Skandinaven*, of Chicago, and author of a book called "Columbus not the Discoverer of America" and others.

You very justly showed that mere declamation in favor of purity and against corruption in the abstract is of little avail. It must be enforced by personal examples. To quote the words of the article in question: "It becomes the duty of the reformer not so much to preach purity as to give reasons why Smith or Jones must be got out of the way; and this is an unpleasant task, which the scholar in politics like other people naturally avoids if he can." This giving of reasons is precisely what Professor Anderson has done in a recent case, and the result seems to show that the scholar in politics must be prepared to meet not only the ordinary resentment which Smith or Jones naturally conceives against anybody who interferes with him, but a special indignation directed against him by reason of his profession. The circumstances are briefly as follows:

The Norwegians alone of the foreign element of our population have been in the habit of voting the Republican ticket almost in a body. Their numbers are so considerable that of late they have been given a representative upon the State ticket. This year it was agreed that they should have the Secretary of State. They presented to the convention the names of two of their most respectable compatriots; but Hon. S. D. Barron, State senator from the northern counties, displaced them both with a candidate of his own named Warner, whom he eulogized as a more truly representative Norwegian than any other who had been named. The delegates protested that Warner was scarcely known; that it was certain from what was known of him that he was entirely incompetent for the position; that Warner was not a Norwegian name; and, finally, that he was not and would not be accepted in any sense as representative of their element.

At this juncture appeared the scholar in politics in the person of Prof. Anderson. His position and acquirements, and his residence at Madison, where the convention was held, naturally caused his advice and assistance to be solicited by his countrymen. He interested himself to the extent of trying to procure for them the most creditable representative possible. Warner, it seems, is of Norwegian parentage, but was brought up by an American family, changed his name, and long since lost any identification he might once have had with the Scandinavians. He is said to be illiterate, and not in any respect competent for the important office in question. It is notorious that Barron secured this nomination for him in order to remove him from his own path as a candidate for the State Senate this fall, having been pressed very hard by him at the last election. Barron, incensed by the professor's interference with his plan, approached him and told him fiercely that it was in exceedingly bad taste for a professor to have anything to do with politics, and that he was no more than an officious meddler. It happens that Barron is one of the regents of the institution in which Anderson is professor. His rebuke was met with a spirited reply: "If it is proper business for a regent," said Mr. Anderson, "it is certainly proper for a professor."

The tenor of the press comments on this rencontre strongly favors the senator and abuses the professor. The leading Republican newspaper of the city says that "the rebuke was timely and deserved," and the opinion is generally concurred in. It is agreed that politics is so degrading that nobody can touch it without contamination, especially nobody whose position holds him up as a guide and a respected model before a number of other persons. With a wild lack of consistency, or perhaps upon the theory that the politician was lost beyond redemption any way, the whole opprobrium is heaped upon the professor. The fate of this professor, who thought it was proper to manifest some anxiety for the nomination of a competent and respectable Secretary of State, instead of an ignorant and rather disreputable one, does not seem likely to encourage other scholars in politics who might feel like stating their views personally about Smith and Jones.—Respectfully,

W. H. Bishop,
Ed. *Commercial Times*.

Milwaukee, August 10, 1875.

## THE OHIO ELECTION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The pending election in this State has come to be regarded as a movement in the Presidential election, and therefore it has drawn the attention of the whole country. The Democratic managers in this State mean that this election shall fix the doctrines or "issues" of the Presidential election, and the candidate thereof; and they have had the sagacity or the ill-judgment—according as the sequel shall show—to take the field in advance, assume the aggressive, and force the canvass entirely upon a single question of national policy; that question, as they state it, being whether Congress shall make money plenty or scarce; whether it shall make good times or hard times; whether it shall issue to the people plenty of their own money—greenbacks—or take these away, to give to banks the privilege to issue their money.

The fact that orators stump the State, delivering harangues of which this is the theme, and inciting "the people" to hostility to the bond-holders, the banks, capitalists, money-lenders, the property-classes, and to creditors of all sorts, and try to persuade them that the emission of "the people's money" will shove by all these "robbers" and put money directly into their

hands, and that they think to carry the election by these means, does not seem to support the common boast that the average intelligence of our people is higher than that of any other, nor the theory that ability to read and write is a safeguard against political demagogues. If we could predicate a judgment upon the popular intelligence, we could predict the result of an election which is made to hang on such absurdities; but can we assume anything upon the popular intelligence as to the office of money? We have a multitude of examples that men of pretty good intelligence in general affairs are daft when they touch the currency question. Besides, the idea that the emission of paper money is an engine of prosperity is one of the oldest of American traditions. The national Constitution tried to extinguish it, but it found the habits of a people stronger than written constitutions. We have a multitude of "statesmen," political financiers, "able editors," and "publicists" who sincerely think the emission of paper money is the creation of wealth; that Government should issue enough to make prosperous times; that the volume of it has no relation to its depreciation, and that therefore this is no measure of its sufficiency.

Therefore we may not predicate upon the popular intelligence a confident opinion that the people of Ohio will reject these shallow demagogues, who promise that in return for their votes they will give them plenty of greenbacks and good times. We see them tempted by a delusion which was always captivating to the American people, and we have to think that there has been no considerable class of public men or of writers for the public journals, with correct ideas of the laws of money, to impress the public mind, and shield it against these paper-money fallacies. It is true the Democratic party has at times and places, and apparently with popular support, declared for "hard money," but this was always against some special bank-issue creation of the other party, and it could invoke popular prejudice against the banks, which certainly gave occasion enough by their frequent failures; but now, whilst the party has abandoned hard money, it still makes use of the popular prejudice against banks, and it represents them as usurping the place of "the people's money"—greenbacks.

Can an attempt to predicate upon the popular intelligence an opinion of the way the people will vote, be aided by a view of the principles or policies which the Republican platform or speakers present as the alternative to these Democratic fallacies? Their platform declares:

"That a policy of finance should be steadily pursued which, without unnecessary shock to business or trade, will ultimately equalize the purchasing power of the coin and paper dollar."

This is very good for platform literature; but, like the wise opinions of Captain Jack Bunsby, the meaning lies in the application thereof, and the campaign speeches give the application. Gen. Hayes, the Republican candidate for Governor, pleads for the Republican party that—

"They do not propose to force resumption by a contraction of the currency. They are satisfied to leave to the influence of time and the inherent energy and resources of the country the work that yet remains to be done to place our currency at par."

This is Boutwell's "growing up to specie," expressed in prettier words. The hearer would never suppose there was in existence an act of a Republican Congress prescribing that on Jan. 1, 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem the greenbacks as fast as presented, and giving him bonds to sell for gold to make this redemption. Is not that a law for the most violent contraction when the time comes? So it was thought; but it seems there was a mistake, for Senator Sherman, the leading financier in Congress, who followed General Hayes in opening the Republican campaign, denied that the act contemplated any contraction, unless, indeed, there should be found to be more currency than was demanded by "the wants of trade." He assumed that the act does not intend the redemption of the notes, but to "float" them on the promise of coin convertibility, as banks of issue float their circulation; and he argued that this, so far from causing contraction, would actually inflate, by adding the specie to the paper money. He said:

"The great body of our present circulation could be maintained at par in gold, and all the gold now lying idle, and all that is produced by mining, could be added to and mingle with the paper-money in daily use."

The like of this, he told them, has already been done in France. The next great gun in the campaign was fired by Senator Morton, at Urbana on the 7th. With his accustomed sagacity, he sought to turn the discussion to other matters, and to make chiefly prominent the bad character of the Democratic party, and its dangerous designs in the South and upon the public credit. But when he came to the currency question, he also denied that the Specie-Payment Act contemplated any real redemption of the greenbacks or any contraction. He said:

"The bill provided that the greenbacks should not be retired so as to leave less than three hundred millions in circulation, and it contemplated that they should continue to be a part of the circulation, and the main purpose was to improve their quality and bring them to a par value, and with them the bank-notes, which were redeemable in greenbacks. . . . The theory of the bill in another respect was, that there should be neither contraction nor expansion of the currency; that the volume should be maintained as nearly as possible at what it then was."

So we find that when the act says, "On and after the first day of January, A.D. 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in coin the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding, on their presentation for redemption," etc., and authorizes him to use to this end the surplus revenue, and to sell bonds to buy coin for this redemption, it does not mean really to redeem the notes, but to keep them all afloat; that the Government is not to go out of the business of issuing currency, nor to withdraw its legal-tender notes; but that it is to continue to issue according to "the wants of trade," and is to make an effort to float three hundred millions of legal-tender notes on the promise of specie, and on top of these all the bank circulation that can be floated thereon. And as the provision for retiring greenbacks in the ratio of eighty per cent. of the increase of bank circulation uses the same word "redeem," it thus appears that these can be reissued; for it is found that to redeem a promise to pay means to float it. And so the Treasury is to sell bonds to buy coin to pour into a bottomless hole by redeeming and floating between seven hundred and eight hundred millions of paper money, and as much more as "free banking" shall bring forth.

What is the situation thus presented to the popular mind? Unhappily specie payment is impossible without a preparatory contraction or a violent following contraction; but neither party in Ohio dares to propose contraction, or to admit that it will result. Each talks idiotically of "the wants of trade" as to be the regulator of the volume of greenbacks that Congress shall emit. And while the Democratic speakers boldly feed the popular folly by denouncing contraction, and promising more money, the Republican speakers have to deny contraction, and their senatorial financier is constrained, by his view of the party necessity, to declare the redemption act a fraud, and to make a quasi-promise of inflation.

If we forecast the election upon the intelligence of the people, and if we take the speeches of both sides as trustworthy estimates of their intelligence, can we say that either party presents such superior merits as to make its election rationally sure? Are we not left rather to conjecture how far party spirit, party lines, and the distrust of the other party will hold the Republican majority together against the influence of hard times and the seductive promise of flush paper money?

In truth, the Republicans are heavily handicapped by the crooked course of their party in Congress. At the first session of the last Congress they were carried away by the cry for more banks in the West and South, which they tried to satisfy by withdrawing circulation from the East. But the banking privilege is unavailing without capital, and this was the real want. At the second session they were still under the influence of the cry for more currency, and they tried to grant more; but Grant's views had meanwhile changed from inflation to contraction, and he vetoed their inflation bill. The influence of the Administration was aided by a clamor of the Eastern press for something to be done to bring in specie payment. On the other side was the popular fear of contraction, and the popularity of more money. The Republicans tried to ride both horses by embracing both inflation and specie payment in one act. This they are now constrained virtually to declare a fraud. Yet it stands a law which, without any preparation save to make the business-panic chronic by the fear of the impending and unknowable, with even a provision for preliminary inflation, prescribes that on the 1st of January, 1879, the Treasury shall begin to pay the United States notes as fast as presented, and thus shall absolutely withdraw the whole volume of the greenbacks from the circulation, and from under the vast bank circulation which rests upon them. And it is well known that this is the Secretary's understanding of the act, and that it accords with the latest phase of the President's views.

If the people were intelligent as to the nature of money, would they be captivated by this prospect? Thus, whether the law be represented as honest or as a fraud, it is a heavy load on the Republicans in this canvass. It deprives them of that upright standing which Republican intelligence and Republican honesty demand, and of that firm base which they need in order to withstand the demagogic fallacies of a party which has cast aside all its traditions, all principle, and all regard for the general welfare, in order to win the election.

REPUBLICAN.

OHIO, July 10, 1875.

# Notes.

THE official report of the Beecher Trial has begun to be edited, with notes and references, by Austin Abbott, and the first volume has now appeared (Geo. W. Smith & Co.) It makes 829 pages 8vo, and ends on the seventeenth day with the conclusion of Moulton's testimony. A number of portraits and biographical sketches accompany the report, and apparently more are to come. The *Times* has, in consequence of the demand for it, thrown its review of the trial into pamphlet form, with corrections and additions.

—J. R. Osgood & Co. have in preparation for publishing in the fall 'A Bibliography of the Original Quartos and Folios of Shakspere, with particular reference to copies in America,' by Justin Winsor, Superintendent of the Boston Public Library. This notable work is designed "to provide in a manual what cannot now be found in a single volume—a sure means of testing the genuineness and state of copies of the early quarto and folio editions," calling to the aid of the descriptive text the heliotype process of reproduction in facsimile. There will be sixty-eight illustrations of this kind, nearly one-half of which will be made directly from originals, most of these being in the famous Barton Collection of the Public Library, but some existing only in England, and being unique even there. As all other modes of facsimile have proved more or less defective (for example, the silver photographic prints made by Mr. Halliwell having faded into illegibility in twenty years), Mr. Winsor will, by way of comparison, give two heliotypes of Harris's very skilful direct, hand-wrought facsimiles, and one of Ashbee's lithographic transfers by tracing. The reading-matter will consist of the revised and recast bibliographical notes of Mr. Winsor, which have already appeared in his monthly reports, supplemented by a history of the principal collections of the quartos and folios, and a collation of opinions on the state of the text of these varieties, a review of their commercial valuation, and other interesting data. Two hundred and fifty copies quarto will be printed, after which the plates will be destroyed; and American subscriptions (at $25 each) will be received for only one hundred and fifty, the rest of the edition being reserved for Europe. There is no need of saying that the execution of this Bibliography will be highly creditable to the author and to the institution which he so admirably conducts.

—The superiority of the heliotype, for certain purposes, to all other modes of illustration is just beginning to be recognized. We have often called attention to it, and we make Mr. Winsor's work another occasion for so doing. But we have also before us Mr. Whitmore's 'American Genealogist' (3d edition; Albany: Joel Munsell), to which the author has prefixed a heliotype portrait of himself, in order to show how cheaply the compilers of family histories can illustrate them with enduring and speaking likenesses of the persons whose lineage they record. So, too, the latest volume of Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (1873–75) is greatly enhanced in interest and value by five illustrations in heliotype. These are quite various: one being from a French caricature of the last century—an etching; another from silhouettes, drawn by shadow, of Gen. Washington and his brother John, in the second Presidency of the former; another from a page of John Adams's diary commenting on the destruction of tea in Boston harbor the night before; another from the oil painting of Gov. Christopher Gore; and the last from the original map accompanying the Zeno narrative of 1558. This is, we believe, the first employment of the heliotype process for illustrating these Proceedings, but we are confident that it will not be the last. A number of opportunities for its use besides those above-mentioned will occur to every reader of the present volume. To point them out would be to enter too largely into the contents, with which we must deal briefly. A discussion of the way in which slavery was abolished in Massachusetts leads to the curious conclusion that George Mason, of Virginia, was the remote occasion of it. He was the author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights adopted at Williamsburg June 12, 1776, which John Adams copied in 1779 when framing the first article of the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights embodied in the Constitution of 1780. It was to this article that Chief-Justice Cushing referred as a decree of emancipation when charging the jury in 1781 to find Nathaniel Jennison guilty of assaulting Quack Walker. Had the same "glittering generality" found the same judicial interpretation and the same public opinion in Virginia, how different might have been the course of history on this continent. On page 283 there is a very suggestive letter written by the late Professor Agassiz to Mr. Robert C. Winthrop in relation to Mr. Peabody's then undetermined endowments. It marks out a scheme of popular aid to science, letters, and art which, utopian as Agassiz himself thought it, is well worth considering as a substitute for Government patronage.

—In Massachusetts there is annually published, along with the laws of the year, commonly called the 'Blue Book,' a statement made by the Governor to the Legislature of the pardons granted during the year past, and the reasons for granting them. The 'Blue Book for 1875' has lately appeared, and an examination of the reasons assigned for the eighty-seven pardons granted during 1874 suggests some criticism which may be interesting to our readers. When a man is accused of crime, it is for a jury to say upon their oaths whether the witnesses against him deserve belief, whether their evidence, if believed, proves that he did the act charged, and whether he did it while of sound mind and responsible for his actions. It is then the duty of the presiding judge to impose sentence, in which the law often gives him a discretion, according to the aggravation of the offence as proved before him. If there have been any irregularities in the proceedings, the sentence can be reversed by a court of appeal. In each of these stages every precaution is taken to secure a just and correct result, and that result, when reached, ought, in the absence of fraud, to be final. How is it in fact? The Governor and Council of Massachusetts, it seems, feel authorized to review the evidence and find a new verdict of their own, which releases the prisoner. Thus, in case 14 of the list just cited, a pardon was granted because "the prisoner was evidently insane when the assault was committed" (a point of which the jury were clearly the best judges); and in case 50, because the "Council felt there was reason to believe" that the witnesses for the prosecution were perjured. In other words, they presumed guilt to exist in several persons who had never been convicted, in order to be able to presume innocence in one who had been convicted. Again, the pardoning body is in the habit of thinking that judges abuse their discretion in the matter of sentences. In more than a dozen cases the sentence was remitted because it "seemed too severe" (as in case 29), or because the prisoner, having served part of it, was "regarded as sufficiently punished" (as in case 40). If the judges do really err on the side of long sentences, it may be accounted for by the fact that the term is very likely to be curtailed, while it cannot be extended, by a superior power. Further, the pardoning body takes upon itself to reverse a judgment, as a court of appeal might do, if they think there is a legal error in the proceedings. In case 5 pardon was granted because of "illegality of sentence. The property stolen was less than $100 in value, and the prisoner could not be legally sentenced for more than one year."

—In these cases pardons were granted for reasons which might legally have availed the prisoner if they had been alleged before the proper tribunal at the proper time, and then made to appear true. But the prisoner failing to satisfy the jury that he was insane, or the judge that the punishment was unduly severe, had still a chance left with the Governor's Council. In other cases the reasons alleged are no reasons at all, and could have had no possible influence with any tribunal bound to respect the law and the facts, but seem to have had their effect on a tender-hearted Governor and Council. Thus, in at least twelve cases, pardon was thought proper because when the offence was committed the prisoner was intoxicated (cases 13, 52, 53, and others). This novel and startling doctrine, that drunkenness excuses crime, is applied more especially to extenuate the crime of rape (cases 81, 62, 70). Let any one imagine the result of this new principle of the criminal law should it become generally known to the vagrants who now infest the country. Another rule of the law of pardon seems to be that when two are jointly convicted, and one is pardoned, it is but fair that the other should be let loose also. This reasoning appears to have had force in cases 38 and 83. Neither can the Governor bear the piteous sight of the parting of twin criminals convicted of the same offence. "Case 47. —Prisoner's sentence was longer than that of his brother, who was to be released Sept. 1. Prisoner was pardoned on the same day, in order that the twin brothers, who had never been separated, might leave prison together." With this conclusive reason for clemency to a thief we leave the Massachusetts Blue Book, though its treasures are far from exhausted.

—The increase of ocean travel and the costly improvements in the construction and propulsion of vessels, making their loss more serious, have had the effect of turning the attention of the travelling as well as the mercantile community to our want of accurate charts of the waters and coasts of the world. This is graphically shown by a map accompanying a paper read before the United Service Institution in England, on which the "surveyed," "partly surveyed," and "explored" coasts are shaded or colored differently. In the paper, little reference is made to surveys conducted by other than British officers, and persons unfamiliar with the subject would naturally infer that we owe the only accurate charts in existence to the efforts of the

British Government, while in fact less than one-half of the accurate charts have been constructed from English surveys. However, we are concerned here rather with the map, and a close estimate of the coast-coloring gives the following result: one-sixth surveyed, one-third partly surveyed, one-half simply explored. This does not include the polar regions nor the oceans; it comprises the frequented coasts only, where merchant-ships seek freights and men-of-war cruise. Among the coasts simply "explored" we find the western coast of South America comprised between the equator and 45° S. latitude (including Chili and Peru), almost all the islands of the Pacific and Indian oceans and China seas, about one-half the western coast of Africa, almost all of the western coast of Mexico, and a large part of the eastern coasts of Asia and Africa, besides much more which it is not necessary to enumerate. Of the coasts partly surveyed, we find the remainder of South America, with slight exceptions, much of Africa, Asia, and North America, and a great part of Europe. Of the coasts said to be surveyed, only those of the British Isles, France, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, the Baltic coasts of Russia, and the eastern coast of the United States, have been sufficiently worked over to warrant the term, although the bulk of the remainder, which is not much, may well be left until the wholly unsurveyed parts of the world are looked after.

—There is hardly an excuse for this want of accurate charts; and we will suggest a simple remedy, which we believe will find earnest advocates in the navy. In addition to the instruments forming a part of every cruiser's outfit, there should be furnished to every vessel in commission a complete set of surveying instruments. We believe this has been done in many instances. Within the limits of every foreign station there are large sections of coast-line, and numerous important and frequented ports, of which surveys are greatly needed. The whole number of vessels in commission in foreign waters is twenty-eight, of which twenty at least are admirably adapted to the work. Our national interests require that not less than this number should be retained in foreign waters, but that they should cruise from port to port with no other object than that of "showing the flag" is absurd. Every commander of a foreign station should be *ordered* to detail two-thirds of the force under his command for the purpose of surveying, and be held responsible for the work not only in quality but amount. In the opinion of many persons well qualified to judge, our naval vessels are better adapted to do the work on foreign stations than small vessels especially fitted for the purpose. Our naval officers are justly credited with having a higher average ability than those of any other nation; and, as regards the special branch of surveying, they are taught it at the Naval Academy, and have for many years formed the majority of those engaged in surveying our own coast, acting under the Coast Survey Office. This and many other needed reforms in a branch of the public service but little thought of and appreciated, can hardly be hoped for as long as the navy and the appropriation for its maintenance are regarded by the politician at its head and those surrounding him as legitimate means of advancing their personal aims and increasing the incomes of their friends. The cry "reduce the navy" would be changed to "increase the navy" if naval officers would strive to demonstrate their value and usefulness in peace as well as in war.

—The great age which Horace Binney had reached in a country in which longevity is popularly supposed to be uncommon, lent an interest to his closing years which otherwise they might not have had so completely. Whether this popular impression has any foundation in fact is more than doubtful, but there can be no doubt that it exists, and that where, as in Mr. Binney's case, not only was there professional and political eminence to create distinction, but a physical *tour de force* seemed to be performing itself with each succeeding year of life, the interest in the struggle between nature and his vigorous constitution annually increased. Mr. Binney died at the age of ninety-five and a half years. He had long since retired from the active practice of his profession, in which he early obtained reputation, but down to the day of his death retained his mental vigor and his influence as well. To such an extent, indeed, was this true that strangers in Philadelphia, coming there from the newer and more irreverent parts of the country, have been more surprised perhaps than by any other one thing to find the public looking up to and guiding their opinions in many matters by the advice of an old man not actively connected either with commerce, the professions, or the "Street," not, for these days, remarkable for his wealth, and keeping his hold upon the confidence and esteem of the younger generation solely by his venerable age, unsullied reputation, and accumulated stores of wisdom. This of itself was an interesting fact in a country which we have gradually come to look upon as rather a dangerous place for the old and feeble, and which foreigners have generally talked about as if we were likely before long to introduce the Polynesian custom of retiring the senior members of society by beating them on the head with a club. Mr. Binney has left behind him, besides his legal arguments, little to perpetuate his fame, though he took an active part in some of the important debates in Congress in the Webster-Clay-Calhoun period. His interests were chiefly professional, and his most important contribution to legal controversy was his argument in the Girard College case. When we think of the events at home and abroad which happened in his lifetime, it seems as if the mere living for ninety-five years in such a period of the world's history were action enough. Born in 1780, his life covered a space within which, jostling on each other's heels, came the separation of America and Great Britain, the formation of the United States, the meeting of the Tiers-États, the Revolution, the downfall of the French Monarchy, the Republic, the rise of Napoleon, the mighty European wars which altered the face of Europe and ended with the "Hundred Days" and the exile of the Corsican tyrant; the restoration of the Bourbons and their ruin, the Monarchy of July, the Second Republic, the Second Empire, the Third Republic, the Commune, and the humiliation of France by a power which but the day before had been a mere federation of incoherent atoms, the Septennat; the unification of Germany and of Italy. In this hundred years the commerce and habits of the world had been revolutionized by steam and the telegraph, and the country which as a young man he had seen arise out of the ashes of war, he beheld in his old age torn asunder again in the most gigantic and murderous civil war of modern times. This war, too, he saw end in secure peace, finally establishing as one of the great powers of the world a nation which at his birth hardly had an existence.

## EDGAR QUINET.*

FRANCE has lost in Quinet a writer whose genius and originality have never received their due appreciation in America. His essay on the Revolution throws a flood of light on some of the aspects of its topic. The book has been published for at least ten years; it has gone through more than five French editions; its pages are marked by the intellectual and moral sincerity, the poetic insight, and the high tone of spiritual rather than religious feeling characteristic of its author; but the essay has never been translated into English, and has not excited either here or in England half as much attention as the lengthy histories in which the fanaticism of Louis Blanc vindicates the humanity of the Terrorists, or the patriotism of Thiers offers most needless flattery to the genius of France. The causes of Quinet's failure to influence the American or the English public are not far to seek. Readers trained in the traditions of English literature and politics demand, and as a rule quite rightly demand, in their instructors what may be called the manner of good sense. Unfortunately, the salutary feeling in favor of plain, direct writing leads readers to fancy that nothing can be true which is not expressed in the form of commonplace, and that it is of even more consequence that an author should write sensibly than that he should write good sense. This sentiment or prejudice is constantly outraged by Quinet. A good deal of his essay reads like a series of detached epigrams and exclamations suggested by the events of the Revolution, and it needs both some insight and, still more, some sympathy with the writer to perceive that these sharp-cut, detached sentences embody a systematic view of the Revolutionary history, and that epigrams and exclamations often contain in a few words the results of long study and patient thought.

Nor is Quinet's mode of thought calculated to obtain from the mass of English readers that kind of sympathy which may remove the offence caused by his style. He represents a type of feeling and belief out of keeping with the tone both of the Liberalism and of the Conservatism which prevail in the nineteenth century. The central article of his creed is faith in spiritual and intellectual freedom. For material well-being and for schemes of which material prosperity is the main object, he cares as little as for the impressiveness of mere historical associations. The criterion by which the success or failure of a revolution must in his view be tested is the answer to the question, Has it freed the spirit of man? This is the test which he constantly in one form or another applies first to the Reformation and next to the Revolution. The result of its application in the hands of a man so clear-sighted and honest as Quinet could not be doubtful. The Reformation stands, the Revolution does not stand, his criterion. With all its defects and all its shortcomings, Protestantism wrought a great deliverance for the nations of Europe. With all its promise and with all its efforts, the Revolution has wrought no spiritual deliverance for France. Quinet saw this, and, with an honesty difficult for a Frenchman to practise, boldly pro-

* 'La Révolution. Par Edgar Quinet.' Paris: Librairie Internationale.

claimed to his countrymen that the Reformation had succeeded and the Revolution had hitherto ended in failure. This honesty and clear-sightedness would have been remarkable in an enemy of the Revolution. It is still more remarkable in a man like Quinet, filled with the keenest sympathy for the revolutionary efforts. The very love of spiritual freedom which made him deplore the failure of the Revolution to emancipate the spirit of France, made it impossible for him to deny how great at the outbreak of the Revolution was the need for freedom of all kinds, and how noble were the aspirations of the generation who believed themselves called upon to regenerate mankind. It is this sympathy with the higher objects of the revolutionary movement, combined with a profound consciousness of its failure to obtain them, which gives the special merit to Quinet's essay. He more nearly than any other writer with whom we are acquainted avoids the characteristic errors at once of English and of French critics of the Revolution. He does not on the one hand fall into the delusion originated by Burke and propagated by later writers without half his excuse, that a gigantic movement in which not France alone but the whole civilized world took more or less part, could be accounted for as an outbreak of human wickedness, violence, and folly. On the other hand, he refuses to exculpate the crimes of revolutionists or to indulge in the natural but harmful delusion that it cannot be that a movement which caused so much suffering should have failed in attaining the objects which alone made the suffering worth endurance. Hence Quinet, at any rate, perceives that the true problem presented by the Revolution to historical students is, how did it happen that a great movement, aiming at worthy objects, guided by men of genius, and commanding the sympathy of the civilized world, has ended in failure ?

To say that Quinet has supplied a complete answer to the riddle which was the constant occupation of his thoughts is to attribute to him a success which no one thinker has yet achieved, and which probably is unattainable. Nor can it be asserted that he has not, in the treatment of his great subject, fallen at times into errors peculiar to himself. But candid students who have not only read but have reflected on Quinet's work, will admit that he has thrown a flood of light on his subject, has dispelled inveterate traditional errors, and has called attention to aspects of history which have escaped even the acute analysis of such a writer as De Tocqueville. Quinet, in fact, deals successfully with exactly that side of history to which De Tocqueville, with all his acuteness, was, to speak the truth, blind. The author of the 'Ancien Régime' weighed and measured the political, the social, and, so to speak, material influences which both led to the revolutionary outbreak and influenced the course of the movement. But the religious aspect of the Revolution more or less escaped him. He saw that the church of the *ancien régime* differed in many respects from the church of modern France. He perceived that material causes had led in part to a change in moral character. All that he saw was true ; but it was not the whole truth, or the most important part of the truth. He did not see that there was an inconsistency between the spirit of Catholicism and the spirit of liberty. Devoted to freedom and devoted to the Catholic religion, the genius of De Tocqueville blundered at once in the domain of speculation as in the domain of practical politics. The man who opposed the Empire and abetted the expedition to Rome was naturally unable to perceive that one of the rocks on which the revolutionist made shipwreck was the inherent impossibility of establishing political freedom without carrying out a religious reformation. This idea which escaped De Tocqueville is the fact which haunted the imagination of Quinet. Half at least of the revolutionary errors originated, as he points out, in the inability of the revolutionists either to realize the nature of the "religious difficulty" or to suggest any mode of removing it. The assertion that men who seemed at one moment about to overthrow Christianity itself were timid innovators in matters of religion, appears at first sight a hopeless paradox. Few readers of Quinet will doubt that the apparent paradox is the summary statement of an indubitable fact. The revolutionists, from Mirabeau down to Robespierre, always hesitated to touch even in the least point matters of dogma. Under the easy pretence that "fanaticism was dead," as Robespierre stated at the very moment when a religious war was desolating La Vendée, they preached the doctrine, and to a certain extent practised it, that religious dogmas were unworthy of the attention of a statesman. To proclaim that Protestantism was a belief more compatible with freedom than Catholicism was, in their view, at once to show an unphilosophic interest in contemptible points of theological difference, and to exhibit an unstatesmanlike rashness in offending the prejudices of women and peasants.

The ground of this view is not hard to find. Men of all parties, Burke no less than Robespierre, shared the belief that there was no essential difference between the various forms of Christianity. The one might draw from this the inference that all religions were equally admirable, and the other that they were all equally contemptible. But that specific theological belief should influence decisively the course of national politics was an idea almost foreign to the men of the eighteenth century, who looked with philosophic calmness on the follies and fanaticism of the Reformation. This view of the insignificance of theological differences was closely connected with the belief that the mere proclamation of toleration for all creeds would without further effort remove every religious difficulty out of the path of statesmen. When facts showed that the enunciation of the doctrine of religious freedom would not work the miracles which it was supposed to be capable of effecting, the revolutionary leaders were at their wit's end. Persecutions, proscriptions, enforced oaths of allegiance, massacres of priests, desperate efforts to set up the worship of Reason, are all signs of the incapacity and violence of men who had met with an obstacle which they were unprepared to remove, because they had fancied it did not exist. To encourage actively a married priesthood, to introduce any scheme of reformed belief, to adopt Protestantism, and thus break finally with Rome, were measures which required a boldness and statesmanship not to be found in any one of the heroes of the Revolution. They guillotined priests because they did not know how to attack the spiritual foundations of hierarchical power. Nor, on the other hand, had the revolutionists that unwavering faith in the efficacy of freedom to remove all prejudices which might have enabled them to give at any rate a fair trial to the principles of toleration. Their fundamental want was a lack of belief in spiritual influences. They neither dared, like the Reformers, to proclaim "the truth," and enforce it at all risks, nor had they the faith of philosophers which might tolerate differences in the belief that perfect freedom would produce the victory of truth. The consequence was that, as Quinet points out, the revolutionists had the maxims of toleration on their lips, whilst their actual policy was a policy of cruel and aimless persecution. They incurred, therefore, all the odium due to persecutors without effecting any such revolution of national sentiment as persecution has sometimes indubitably produced.

That the revolutionists were utterly incapable of dealing with the religious difficulty, and that this difficulty was one which, grounded as it is in the opposition between Roman Catholicism and modern conceptions of freedom, no skill could elude, is as certain as any fact of history. To have shown the importance of this fact, and to have insisted on the necessity of recognizing it, is the great service which Quinet has rendered both to historical students and to practical statesmen. It would, however, be unfair both to Quinet himself and to his critics to conceal the fact that one great object of his historical speculation is to enforce a view as to the mode of carrying out religious reformation which is clearly intimated in the following characteristic sentences :

"Under the Christian emperors, when the moment came for snatching the people of Egypt from the religion of the Pharaohs, the whole nation stood in wavering uncertainty around the temples. A centurion stepped forth from the crowd, and with his hammer struck the first blow at the temple of Isis. The crowd followed, and finished what the centurion had begun. From that moment Egypt belonged to the modern world. The French Revolution lacked such a centurion."

The parable hardly needs explanation. The crowd, according to Quinet, never initiate a reform. They know the truth when it is proclaimed, and follow it. But it must be proclaimed in order that it may be known. There comes, moreover, a time when error must be treated as error. It is no good to talk of toleration at the commencement of a reform. The first step is to denounce falsehood. The centurion must strike even the temple.

The end of an article is not the place in which to examine Quinet's views on the relation between reform and toleration. His zeal for truth indubitably betrays him at times into something very like a defence of persecution. But it would take a very unfair opponent to deny that the fundamental sentiment of Quinet's writings is zeal for truth and a hatred of all attempts to suppress spiritual freedom by means of material force. The massacre of St Bartholomew, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the conversions enforced by dragoons, all the persecutions by which Protestantism was rooted out of France, are as hateful to him as the massacres at Lyons or the Noyades at Nantes, by which France was deprived of almost every chance of ever establishing the rule of rational freedom and just law. What he hates is not toleration, but that sort of sham religious liberty which, in the name of liberty, enables its sworn foes to root out all spiritual freedom. What he detests even more, and with even better reason, is the various pretences under which men proclaim with more or less circumlocution that in matters of religion there is no such thing as truth or falsehood. Quinet's protests, it must be remembered, against the false liberalism which veiled itself under the show of facile toleration, were uttered at a time when

French liberals thought they could find in the Roman hierarchy an ally in their struggle with imperial despotism, and statesmen thought that all religious difficulties might be met by the formula, "A free church in a free state." Quinet's policy may be mistaken, but credit for foresight at least must be given to the prophet who foresaw in 1865 the perils to freedom which in 1875 tax to the utmost all the skill and boldness of practical statesmen.

## RICHARD WAGNER.*

IT has always been a matter of surprise to us, in view of the undeniable and widespread interest which the musical works of Richard Wagner have excited in this country, that so little has been done towards making us acquainted with the literary and philosophical side of this composer. We have heretofore been content to take him too much for granted as an original and daring thinker, without troubling ourselves about what his original and daring thoughts were. His more important theoretical and controversial writings have now been quite long enough before the world to excite the curiosity, if nothing better, of our music-loving public, but we fancy that very few of us know more than their titles. This may be easily explained by the difficulty of Wagner's German, but that nobody should have yet given in a translation some of Wagner's writings is not so easily explained. His 'Beethoven' has been translated in America, to be sure, but the 'Beethoven' is one of the most abstruse works on æsthetic metaphysics that exist in any language, and can hardly be expected to serve as a favorable introduction to Wagner's art-philosophy. Mr. Burlingame's 'Art Life and Theories of Richard Wagner' is, therefore, very welcome. It is a translation of very judicious selections from Wagner's prose works, omitting his longer theoretical essays, but giving just enough to make the reader familiar with the author's life and habitual cast of thought.

One of the pet ideas in this country as well as in England seems to be that Wagner has written all his music on a new system, which he had previously painfully thought out according to newly-discovered metaphysical and philosophical laws. Yet we now find Wagner himself saying:

"'The Flying Dutchman,' 'Tannhäuser,' and 'Lohengrin' were written by me, their music composed, and all (with the exception of 'Lohengrin') performed upon the stage before the composition of my theoretical writings. I might therefore show you in them (if it were entirely possible from the nature of the subject) the course of development of my artistic production up to that point where I saw myself called upon to account to myself theoretically for my method of procedure. But I only mention this to call your attention to the error that has been committed in believing, with regard to these three works, that they were purposely composed according to the abstract rules I had laid down. Let me tell you rather that my boldest conclusions concerning the possible form of the musical drama were forced upon me by the fact that I was, at the very time I made them, carrying in my brain the plan of my great drama of the 'Nibelungen,' for a great part of which I had even written the poetry; and I had so developed it that my theory was little else than an abstract expression of the productive process that had formulated itself within me."

He has also been held up to public execration as the annihilator of melody; as a man whose own melodic impotence (so to speak) had led him to defame melody as frivolous and beneath the notice of thinking men, much as a certain fox despised certain grapes. But here we find him saying: "Let us establish first of all the fact that the *one true form of music is melody;* that without melody music is inconceivable; and that music and melody are inseparable. That a piece of music has *no* melody can therefore only mean that the musician has not attained to the real formation of an effective form that can have a decisive influence upon the feelings, which simply shows the absence of talent in the composer—his want of originality compelling him to make up his piece from hackneyed melodic phrases to which the ear is utterly indifferent." This certainly presents Wagner in a light new to many of us.

The most important chapters in Mr. Burlingame's book are undoubtedly the "Music of the Future" (which, by the way, must not be confounded with Wagner's much longer and more detailed essay, "Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft," which made so much noise on its first appearance in Germany), the "Purpose of the Opera," and the extracts from a letter on "Musical Criticism." Although these selections are far less exhaustive of the subject, and from a literary point of view inferior to Wagner's longer theoretical essays, such as "The Work-of-Art of the Future," "Art and the Revolution," and his "A Communication to my Friend," not to speak of his "Opera and Drama," they are most judicious for Mr. Burlingame's purpose, which seems to be to give the American reader a sufficiently comprehensive, bird's-eye view of Wagner's life and art-theories. The chapter on the production of "Tannhäuser" in Paris is interesting, inasmuch as it lets the reader into the secrets of dramatic success in the French capital, and shows by what a thread a composer's popularity may at times hang. Though a one-sided, it is nevertheless a perfectly credible account of the so-called failure of the opera in Paris. After speaking of the various demonstrations made by the audience on the opening night, Wagner goes on to say:

"The behavior of the audience on the evening of the second performance proved to me that I had not been mistaken in considering the result of this first evening to be a complete success; for by this it was decided with what opposition I was to have to deal in future—namely, with that of the Paris Jockey Club, which I am certainly authorized to name thus plainly, since the audience itself openly pointed out my opponents by the cry 'à la porte les jockeys.' The members of this club, whose right to consider themselves lords of the Grand Opera I need not now explain to you more fully, and who felt themselves deeply injured at the absence of the customary ballet at the time of their entrance to the theatre (about the middle of the performance), perceived with disgust that 'Tannhäuser' had *not* failed at its first reception after all, but had really won a triumph. From this time forth it became their business to prevent this balletless opera from being presented to them evening after evening; and for this purpose they had provided themselves, on the way from their dinner to the opera, with a quantity of hunting-whistles and similar instruments, with which they began, immediately upon their entrance, to operate against the 'Tannhäuser' in the most shameless manner. Until that time (that is, during the first and up to nearly the middle of the second act) not a trace of opposition had made itself felt; and continued applause had accompanied unhindered those passages of my opera that had most quickly become favorites. But from this point no further demonstrations of applause assisted me; in vain did the Emperor and Empress themselves a second time demonstrate their appreciation of my work. The irrevocable condemnation of the 'Tannhäuser' had been spoken by those who regarded themselves as masters of the theatre, and who all belonged to the highest aristocracy of France. Up to the very end of the piece, whistles and pipes accompanied every attempt at applause on the part of the audience."

The chapters on the "Love Veto," "A Pilgrimage to Beethoven," and "An End in Paris," throw a good deal of welcome light upon the composer's earlier life up to the time when he wrote his first grand opera, "Rienzi." The "Pilgrimage" and the "End in Paris," although insignificant enough as works of fiction, are pleasing from the frank, outspoken, youthful enthusiasm for what is high and noble with which they are filled. Now and then a touch of welcome wit or humor relieves their sombre grimness of purpose; but upon the whole they are little better than callow attempts at story-writing. We cannot, however, quite pass them by without a certain degree of interest when we think what want and suffering prompted the young author's pen. The two chapters on the performance of the "Freischütz" in Paris, and particularly the second, are excellent examples of Wagner's caustic wit and unsparing sarcasm. The chapters on the "Opera-House at Bayreuth" have a special interest now, and the "Legend of the Nibelungen" is a clear and concise narration of the somewhat complex plot of Wagner's great trilogy. The chapter of autobiography needs no comment.

Mr. Burlingame's translation is unusually good. When we consider the difficulty of rendering Wagner into intelligible English at all, we must give the translator the highest praise. His task has, indeed, been an exceptionally hard one. The book ends with a catalogue of the composer's published works and a very convenient index of names of noted men and places mentioned in the book.

*'Art Life and Theories of Richard Wagner. Selected from his writings and translated by Edward L. Burlingame.' New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1875.

*The Romantic Legend of Sâkya Buddha:* from the Chinese Sanskrit. By Samuel Beal. (London: Trübner & Co. 1875.)—This is not exactly a work to be classed with summer reading, but its romantic character invests it with many of the attractions of a novel, and not a few may find it much more enchaining than the tales which they take from the circulating library. A more agreeable introduction to the knowledge of a great religion and of the life of its founder could hardly be expected. The Oriental fault of repetition and exaggeration, pruned as it has here been by Mr. Beal, whose convenient "etc." slaughters whole pages of verbiage, is but a slight drawback to the pleasure one gets from the general narrative and from the numerous parables and histories, of truly Indian conceit; and it must of course be duly weighed in forming a just apprehension of Buddhism. The translator thinks that "the interest of the book will be found to result, not from any critical studies (which I would fain have attempted) found herein, but from the stories which throw light on contemporaneous architectural works in India"; and he accordingly makes frequent references to the plates in 'Tree and Serpent Worship.' The theological student will find in the preface and in the appendix an enumeration of some of the points in which

there is an external resemblance between Christianity and Buddhism. The question of precedence is broached, but not for argument or settlement.

The interest of the story of Buddha increases as it approaches the end, for it is there that one sees the founder compelled to restrain his followers with prohibitions and injunctions, all tending to build up an orthodox ceremonial and usage which would not have arisen from the mere preaching of the law. One of the most amusing chapters is that which tells of Buddha's attempt under difficulties to convert the unwilling and worldly Nanda, who, after he is "roped in," very much as the curious visitor to the camp-meeting is got in spite of himself on the anxious seat, makes a series of fruitless attempts to leave the brotherhood, each of which leads to a fresh rule of conduct from the founder; as, "From this time forth, let no Bhikshu presume to wear a garment of the same size as mine; or if he does, let him be dealt with as the law directs!" And again: "Brethren! from henceforth let none of my disciples wear a decorated robe, or use any unguents, or lightly hold his pâtra, and so go a-begging; whoever commits himself thus, let him be dealt with according to the law." We are tempted, on account of its *naïveté*, to give one of these incidents entire:

"Nevertheless, Nanda, though obliged to give up his beautiful robe and the other personal adornments we have named, could not forget the joys of his royal home and the delight afforded him by the company of Sundari; and so all day long in his retreat he did nothing but draw the figure of his sweetheart on a fragment of a tile, with a burnt piece of stick as a pencil, and delight himself with gazing at her from morning till night. Then Buddha, having been acquainted with the circumstance, assembled the Bhikshus, and solemnly warned them against any such misconduct as this, and forbade it under penalty of expulsion from the community."

There are numerous passages which we should like to quote for their beauty, like that telling of the thirty young men in search of a dancing-girl who had stolen off from one of their number in the night, with the jewels and other light property of the party. They come suddenly upon Buddha under a tree, and are startled into conversion by the Socratic or Christian enquiry: "Whether is it better, think you, to find yourselves, or to find this woman whom ye seek?" They replied: "It would certainly be better to find ourselves." This, too, may be cited for its delicacy. A woman has just brought the tidings of the birth of Sâkya Buddha:

"At this time the great minister Basita loosed from his neck the string of precious stones that he wore, and gave it to the woman, because of the news she brought; but having done so, again he thought, 'This woman, perhaps, is a favorite of the king, and his majesty, seeing her so beautifully adorned, will naturally enquire and find out where those pearls were obtained, and so it will cause trouble.' So he took back the gems, and desired that whatever merit would have attached to the gift might redound to the woman's benefit."

**** *Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.*

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices* | |
|---|---|---|
| Abbott (A.), Beecher Trial, official report, Vol. I. | (Geo. W. Smith & Co.) | |
| Avon (S.), Lieferungsgeschäfte und kaufmannische Schwindel, swd. | (L. W. Schmidt) | |
| Bar (Dr. L. von), Das deutsche Reichsgericht, swd. | (L. W. Schmidt) | |
| Bastian (Dr. H. C.), Paralysis from Brain Disease | (D. Appleton & Co.) | |
| Bastian (A.), Die Vorstellungen von der Seele | (L. W. Schmidt) | |
| Craven (Mme. A.), Jettatrice: a Tale, swd. | (Estes & Lauriat) | $0 75 |
| Comyn (L. N.), Elena: an Italian Tale, swd. | (Estes & Lauriat) | 0 75 |
| Counterparts: a Tale, swd. | (Estes & Lauriat) | 0 75 |
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# SCHOOLS, &c.

*Continued from Page* iii.

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*HOME SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.—Opens* September 6. Rev. F. A. ROBINSON, Goshen, N. Y.

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*MISS MARY E. STEVENS'S, formerly* Miss Mary E. Aertsen and Miss Mary E. Stevens's, Boarding and Day School, West Chelten Avenue, Germantown, Pa. School will reopen September 16, 1875.

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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 26, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE Baltimore *American* gives what is certainly a very plausible explanation of the negro "insurrection" in Georgia which has just failed to come off. On the 20th of this month, it seems, the blacks of Burke County were to have held a meeting at Waynesboro to discuss a new registry law which the Georgia banditti have recently passed, and which is supposed to discriminate against them by requiring the payment of taxes before they can be enrolled as voters; the blacks, apparently, being unfamiliar with the political axiom of no representation without taxation. They have also been irritated at their exclusion from juries. This meeting was to have been addressed by one Morris, described as something of a politician and also a "general," self-appointed. Just before the day, however, somebody announced that he had discovered an order addressed to a "Captain" Walters, signed by General Morris and another general named Rivers (a South Carolinian politician, who himself protests his innocence, and declares that it takes so much of his time to "give his attention to his corn and cotton" that he has none left for military operations across the border), directing a general massacre of the male whites and the ugly women. There was now a terrible commotion in all the telegraph and newspaper offices in Georgia, and the White League demanded that the eight military companies at Augusta should be led at once to meet the foe. The officers telegraphed to the Governor of the State for permission to do this; but he told them that they might stay at home, and he himself started off alone to the scene of hostilities. The news of his approach struck terror into the hearts of the negroes, who immediately stopped preparing to massacre the whites, and in a few hours the only traces that could be found of the insurrection were several jailfuls of "ringleaders" arrested on suspicion, and swampfuls of followers who had run away to escape the vengeance of the whites. The bodies of the male whites and the ugly women can nowhere be found, and, as a massacre, the affair may be said to have been a failure. The meeting on the 20th, however, did not come off.

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Mr. George H. Williams must feel, if he preserves any of his old interest in the fortunes of the oppressed negro, that the whole business has been shockingly mismanaged. Here is an insurrection of negroes ground down and oppressed by Democratic tyranny, in a part of the South where Republican sentiment is much needed, and in a part of Georgia where the negroes outnumber the whites; and yet, on the eve of a Presidential year, no sort of use is made of these promising materials by the Department of Justice. With a few troops and an enterprising commander sent down from Washington, the insurrection might not only have been kept going for a month or two, but it might easily have turned out that a searching investigation would have shown it to be not a negro uprising, but a Democratic plot to murder the negroes; and with a little court-martialling and telegraphing, the Northern heart might have been once more fired to a point at which the repeal of the habeas corpus next winter would seem the chief necessity of these awful times. And all this thrown away by the sluggishness of Mr. Pierrepont and General Grant! We hope the Republicans will not overlook the fact that bogus negro insurrections are the natural and inevitable fruit of bogus "outrages," "banditti" despatches, and lawless subversion of civil powers by troops, and that in the long run it is the poor negro himself who pays for all his friends' excesses. Now that the Administration, after setting the South the political example which it did in Louisiana, has taken its hands off, we shall probably find that the South has profited by the example, and learnt all the tricks of the trade.

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The "new party" so long talked of has at last been founded—this time in Boston. It met at the Parker House in that city on Saturday last and began operations. The person whom the committee seemed most anxious to have present on the occasion was Mr. N. P. Banks, and indeed it is rumored that he is to be "the standard-bearer" at the next Presidential election. He expressed his sorrow that he could not be there on that day; his approval of the whole thing; his joy that so many soldiers and sailors were going to be mixed up in it—in fact, he did not see how the views of the army and navy at the North and South could be resisted; demanded "patriotic and harmonious action"; was flattered to think of his name being connected with the movement, but really does not wish to be President, and does not think it best to try to elect him; thinks it would stand in the way of "harmony"; is willing to work and co-operate and harmonize with almost anybody for anything, but sternly reserves to himself one right (which, however, he "freely accords" to others also), viz., that of "voting for those best able to secure the changes universally demanded." Judging from the above account of himself, Mr. Banks must be a truly good man, but we agree with him in thinking that it would be unwise to make him President just now.

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The platform of the new party is an exhaustive and virtuous document. It declares that business is dull, prices low, "labor a drug," and fraud very common; that further support of either of the existing partisan organizations would be dangerous because "it keeps in sight ghosts of issues long since dead"; that "the time has fully come when the people should resume their sway" (how often that time has come, and almost always about this season); that dishonesty in public office is a heinous crime; that public officers should be careful of the public money; that luxuries should be taxed and not necessaries; that Government should build its own vessels, and make its own guns and ammunition; that great combinations and corporations should be looked after; that farmers and manufacturers should receive what they earn; that the nation should keep its promises; that there ought to be neither sudden inflation nor contraction, but that "the nation's notes ought to be made as valuable as the notes of prosperous and honorable individuals"; that for the good of trade there ought to be no enmity between North and South. We will respectfully suggest, as additions to this platform, the following: True happiness is only to be found in the practice of virtue; the longest way round is the shortest way home; many a little makes a muckle; it's an ill wind that blows nobody good; the proof of the pudding is in the eating; and money makes the mare go. If the Committee, too, will ask the illustrious Banks what it is that makes the "notes of prosperous and honorable individuals valuable," he will tell them that it is the belief that "prosperous and honorable individuals" will pay them in gold, on demand, or at maturity, so that what the Committee meant, if they meant anything, in their windy resolution about the currency, was that "the only consistent method for the resumption of specie payments" was to redeem the Government promises in coin.

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The Ohio canvass grows more lively if not more interesting, and there seems to be a comfortable feeling among the Republicans that the Democrats have hopelessly lost ground, and have suffered more damage from their own champions than they have from the attacks

of their opponents. A "question of veracity" has been raised between a newspaper reporter of the Cleveland *Leader* and Senator Thurman and the Hon. Theodore Cook. The former professes to have "assisted," as a sitter-by in a public place, at a conversation between the two politicians which was as unreserved as if an interviewer in plain clothes were not within a thousand miles of them. They spoke very disconsolately of the prospects of the Democratic party, and very disparagingly of Gen. Cary, and of the priests for their meddling with politics. All this is denied by the two gentlemen; but the reporter, though roundly denounced as an eavesdropper, sticks to his story. The pleasant family excitement caused by this publication seemed to furnish a good opportunity for inventing a rumor of Gov. Allen's intention to withdraw from the contest, which evoked from the maligned candidate a classic burst of indignation and scorn. Gen. Durbin Ward, another Democratic light, has been making an old-fashioned hard-money, anti-inflation speech, and to the same effect talks Senator McDonald, of Indiana, who is following up the trail of his colleague, Senator Morton. But his yoke-fellow on the stump, one Cunningham, invariably succeeds him with a soft-money speech. McDonald is indiscreet enough, as regards the Republicans, to preach State sovereignty in its naked severity, and to endorse the Geghan Bill, which has raised the religious issue in this canvass.

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Wall Street is mainly occupied in estimating the result of the year's crops, upon which the value of all corporate investments must be largely dependent. The merchandise markets, also, are in some measure held in suspense pending the settlement of the same question. The critical condition of the crops in some parts of the country, however, and the fickleness of the weather everywhere, make it unusually difficult to reach a satisfactory solution of this cardinal problem. As to the West, it is generally concluded that the injury from the rains and floods in the Ohio Valley is much less than was at the time anticipated; but now come in new doubts, suggested by the early appearance of frost in the Northwest. The general tenor of the best information from the South leaves no room for doubt that the earlier anticipations respecting the cotton crop will not be realized; but, as the conditions now stand, it is considered that 4,250,000 bales may be counted upon, provided the weather continues favorable. In spite of the doubts on these points, a very fair amount of business is being transacted with the Western and Southern States, and the railroad companies report an excess of West-bound freights over this period in 1874. A feeling is coming over all the markets, commercial and financial, that we have now reached a point at which the recovery of business cannot be much longer delayed, and this conviction itself can hardly fail to promote an improvement. The gold premium follows very closely the course of the foreign exchanges, which have assumed an easier tone upon the prospect of a pacific settlement of the Herzegovinian difficulties. The ease in the London money market favors the operations of the United States Loan Syndicate, their sales of the new fives being constantly in advance of the five-twenties turned into the Treasury, and there is every probability that all the five per cents authorized will be marketed before the expiration of the contract between the Treasury and the Syndicate.

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Mr. McCulloch, in his last letter to the *Tribune*, tells a somewhat amusing story of the way in which he soothed the fears of those who thought his contraction of the currency, under the Act of 1866, would produce a panic. He was withdrawing greenbacks at the rate of $4,000,000 a month, and was receiving reports from New York as to its effect on the money market. These were somewhat unfavorable, and finally culminated in distinct warning that "if the next monthly instalment showed that the usual curtailment had been made," there would be a panic with all its attendant horrors. Accordingly, he sent for General Spinner, and told him that he was to keep the greenbacks withdrawn for the month in his hands—uncancelled, it is true, but still withdrawn from circulation as if they were cancelled—but to enter them in the next monthly statement as "cash on hand." The result was that Wall Street was reassured, and things went on swimmingly. This incident illustrates very usefully the largeness of the moral element in panics, and the extent to which the post-panic "economy" is a craze. A Wall-Street man, possessed by the ordinary ideas of the Street, for instance, would have "cut down his expenses" every time he saw that Mr. McCulloch had withdrawn $4,000,000, but would have launched out again when Spinner called the $4,000,000 "cash on hand."

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The newspapers are printing some comparative statistics of the crime in this city in the years 1868 and 1872. From these it appears that while there were in the first year 144 burglaries, there were in 1872 459; grand larcenies increased from 332 to 1,503; assaults, from 3,027 to 7,323; petty larcenies from 1,149 to 5,506. It is not stated, however, whether these figures represent the number of crimes committed or the number of arrests made; in the one case, of course, they would be an indication of a steady increase of crime down to 1872 (statistics for the succeeding years do not seem to be attainable); in the other, they might also be explained in part by the increased vigilance of the police, owing to the constant efforts at "reform" always being made by every member of the Police Board. We hope that Mr. Wickham, however, will not allow himself to be led away from the main question, which is the character of the present Board. Whether crime is increasing or decreasing in New York in any particular year is of no consequence, for we know that with such creatures as Matsell at the head of the police it is a mere question of time. The inference of the consequences which must necessarily ensue from Matsell does not belong to any empirical or inductive branch of science, requiring an accumulation of evidence to be established; it is a "deductive" problem. Matsell being given, what must follow in any city which makes him chief of police? The intelligent citizen knows the answer at once.

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No one seems to have noticed the close analogy that exists between the Baker case in England and the Tweed case in New York. As a number of appeals and counter-appeals have just been taken from orders in the Tweed suits, it may be worth while to call attention to this. Tweed, it will be remembered, was sentenced to twelve terms of imprisonment of a year each, for a number of separate misdemeanors, and the Court of Appeals upset the sentence as being "cumulative" in its nature. The judges did not seem to regard the trying of the indictment as in itself so much out of the way as was the cumulative nature of the judgment. It was an outrage, they said, that any man should be subject to a punishment so enormous for a simple misdemeanor. But the chief reason they gave for thinking so was that if a man were tried at once for several misdemeanors he would lose his right to his peremptory challenges, and the jury would be biassed in the consideration of one count by the evidence under another. If this is good law, Colonel Baker must regret very much that he is not a citizen of New York. If he were, he would be apparently entitled to his habeas corpus at once. He was convicted for a misdemeanor, and sentenced accumulatively; but the indictment embraced also a count charging him with a felony, so that the poor martyr was actually tried at one and the same time for two entirely different offences, by the same jury, and is now languishing in jail, when it is just as likely as not that the jury confounded the two charges, and, if they had clearly understood the difference between the two, might have acquitted him altogether. This may be British law; but what an awful illustration of the brutality and ignorance of the British, if such be the case. If the Prince of Wales, who is reported to be a great friend of Colonel Baker's, really wants to get him out of jail, he

had better send for a certified copy of the decision in Tweed's case. If the sight of it does not bring a blush to the cheek of every judge in England, we are mistaken.

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A very interesting case has occurred in England illustrative of the moral responsibility of insane persons or persons professing to be insane. A man named Blamfield murdered a fellow-workman with an adze and has been convicted, but pleads insanity. He had been before the crime actually confined in a lunatic asylum. Dr. Kirkman, a well-known alienist, who had charge of him while there, reports that while under his care he undoubtedly was insane, but was in the habit of assaulting his brother lunatics. On being remonstrated with, he informed the Doctor that if interfered with he would murder him (the Doctor). Being told that if he murdered he would be hanged, he answered promptly: "Oh! no; as I am a lunatic I am not responsible for my acts; and if I do commit a murder you cannot punish me for it, because it is contrary to law to punish an insane man." To the argument that if he was capable of reasoning about the matter in that way, he was at least responsible to Almighty God, and that if he committed such an offence he ought to be punished, he replied: "I know that; but you cannot punish me whatever I do." The Doctor adds that he was constantly using threats of this kind to everybody about him, but that though he frequently assaulted harmless patients, he was never known to assault anybody "who he knew would return the blow with interest." This certainly is an important penological fact. The Doctor, having thus discovered that he was alive to consequences, told him that for every blow he gave anybody his tobacco would be stopped for one week, whereupon the assaults totally ceased. Here, therefore, was an undoubtedly insane man, the victim of extraordinary hallucinations on some points, and with a well-marked love of battery, who knowingly calculated on legal impunity, but showed the keenest sensibility to punishment, and who, as soon as he was discharged from custody and was sure of exemption from legal responsibility, committed a murder. The affair throws some curious light on the doctrine of "uncontrollable impulse."

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Dr. Kenealy is not prospering with his defence of English liberty. He took his son, who rejoices in the Turkish name of "Ahmed," down to the borough of Hartlepool, and presented him to the electors as a worthy champion of the rights of man, but he only got 269 votes out of a voting constituency of over 3,000. The Doctor has also had bad luck in the House of Commons, where he called attention to the lightness of the sentence on Colonel Baker as an illustration of judicial partiality to the "upper classes," and complained that he had not been condemned to hard labor. Whereupon Colonel Dickson reminded the House that similar consideration had been shown to Dr. Kenealy himself by the Queen's Bench in 1850, when he was sentenced to one month's imprisonment for maltreating his son. This reminiscence was evidently a severe blow to the Doctor, and he rallied under it with difficulty. The sentence on Baker is twelve months' imprisonment and a fine, which may seem light on the surface, but it entails the close of his military career, or, in other words, social and professional ruin, and this to a man of fifty is almost as bad as death. Baker leaves the army as a matter of course, but there appears to be some question as to whether he ought to be allowed to resign. He tried to settle the point in his own favor by sending in his resignation on the day of the trial. If he were in Washington, he would be allowed to hold his commission until the newspapers had stopped talking about him, on the ground that he was "under fire," and then he would probably be sent abroad as an inspector of consuls or a special agent of the Treasury to find out, in Paris, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, and other large capitals, who the principal American smugglers were.

A report has been made to the British Treasury by a Committee appointed to examine the working of the Government postal telegraph. They discovered that the annual profit had been steadily diminishing ever since the lines came into the hands of the State, until now there is hardly anything left to pay interest on the large amount given to the companies by way of compensation. That is, the working expenses have risen from 57 per cent. to 96⅞ of gross receipts. An analysis of the report by the *Economist* gives as the causes of this the greater salaries paid to the Government officers who manage the lines than the companies paid to theirs, the large supervising staff employed by the Government, the sums paid by way of compensation to old employés of the companies who necessarily lost their places when the lines were transferred to the Government, and, though last not least, the greater number of facilities granted the public by the Government than by the companies. The *Economist*, however, thinks the state of things likely to improve as time goes on. The offices which now do not pay expenses—449 out of 3,692—will undoubtedly diminish as business increases, and more work can be done by the existing staff everywhere; many of the expenses, too, which are now loading the debit side of the balance-sheet are essentially expenses of beginning, and will hereafter diminish or disappear, while various economies may be made which experience has pointed out. How rapidly business does increase is shown by the fact that the gross income, which was $3,489,000 the first year of Government administration, was last year $5,600,000. The report has a good deal of interest for us, apropos of the efforts which have been made of late years to hand the telegraph over to the Post-office in this country, and it is easy to see, judging from English experience, what difficulty we should have, in our more sparsely settled territory, in preventing a very heavy deficit every year if the business were transferred to "the best civil service on this planet."

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The news from Turkey is not more definite than heretofore. The friends of the insurgents deny they have been worsted, and the Turks continue to pour troops into Bosnia. The excitement in Servia and Croatia is said to be increasing, and it probably will increase until the day of the fighting, but there is no probability that it will be allowed to increase to any inconvenient extent. It has to be borne in mind, in speculating about the matter, that the Christian population in Herzegovina is comparatively small. There and in Bosnia the bulk of the inhabitants are Mussulman, though not Turkish—that is, the Mussulmans are the descendants, and often not very remote descendants, of Slavonic converts, and they are accordingly in one sense rather formidable insurrectionists. That is, they are used to arms, and have as much pride and self-confidence as the Turks, but then, on the other hand, they cannot count upon and do not care for the sympathy or assistance of the Servian or Austrian Christians, and do not get it. In spite of this, the Bosnian revolt in 1851-2 was a formidable one, because it was mainly Mussulman. If the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina were principally Christian, the Porte could probably hardly have held them until now, lying as they do in a sort of enclave between Servia, Dalmatia, and Montenegro. If the present rising be, as seems likely, Christian, its chances of much success are for the same reasons very small, because the majority of their neighbors will side with the troops, and the Mussulmans in these regions are very fanatical. As might have been expected, it is now reported that the three Eastern powers who have taken charge of Turkish affairs have warned Montenegro and Servia not to interfere, and have agreed that the Eastern question shall not be raised just at present. The news a few days ago caused a brief panic in Turkish securities on the London Stock Exchange, and, by one of those odd instances of association which the Stock Exchange only is capable of furnishing, it reached those of Egypt also (probably because Egypt is also a Mussulman power), and showed itself before the close in all the semi-barbarous stocks and bonds.

## THE DISTURBANCE IN TURKEY.

RUMORS of insurrection in Turkey are always to be received with considerable distrust, for the simple reason that we never hear or can hear more than one side of the story. The Turks have not only no friends in Europe, but they are cut off from all the ordinary modes of communication with the European public. They have no press; they are constitutionally reticent; their language is practically unknown outside their own territory; and they are complete strangers to European manners or modes of thought. Consequently, their version of their domestic troubles is never set afloat, or, if it is, it is carried eastward, not westward. It makes its way to the bazaars of Ispahan and Herat and Bokhara, but not to the press of Berlin and London and New York. On the other hand, the Christian population of the empire is in close relations, social, political, or religious, with millions of sympathizers all along the frontier, from the Adriatic to the mouth of the Danube. If it attempts resistance of any kind to Turkish domination, it has on its side the prayers and money, and often the arms, of the borderers in Montenegro, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Servia, who fill the Austrian and Russian press with stories of its sufferings and its prowess, and of the straits to which the Turkish Government is reduced. They magnify the fights, multiply the victories, and paint the atrocities of the struggle in dark colors, and this not through fellow-feeling simply, but in support of a well-settled policy. All the Christian subjects of the Porte, all who were once its subjects, hate the Turks with hereditary hatred—a hatred so deep and so full of savage memories that no justice or moderation in the Government now could abate it; but they think, from the experience of Greece and Montenegro and Servia, that if they could only support a rebellion long enough they would be sure to call down the interference of the great Christian powers and perhaps achieve their independence, or at all events achieve something which would enure to the damage and discomfiture of their ancient enemy. Consequently, they always support any insurrectionary fighting there may be with such stories as to the nature and extent of the revolt as may seem likely to stir up public opinion in the West, and produce the impression that a catastrophe of some kind is impending in Turkey, knowing well the extreme sensitiveness of the three great Eastern powers on this subject. Turkish risings, therefore, are rarely more than one-third intended for the Sultan, they are two-thirds intended for the Christian public of the West.

What the rising in Herzegovina amounts to, it is, therefore, very difficult to conjecture, but it is quite safe to believe that its proportions have been greatly exaggerated. With the Turkish army as efficient and as numerous as it is now, an insurrection in the western provinces has little chance of success unless it gets large assistance from over the border, and this it cannot get as long as the three Christian powers at the East are not ready for the break-up of the Turkish Empire, and that they are not ready now everybody knows. When they are ready, however, it is not in the least likely that they will suffer it to be brought about through insurrection simply. The day when a struggle like that of the Greeks, or even of the Servians, was possible is long past. Christendom has been brought into too close relations with Turkey for either Austria or Germany or Russia to suffer a war of races or of religions to reach dangerous proportions within her territory.

On the other hand, there are few signs of Turkish revival. The Government has been fairly given up as hopelessly rotten, even by its best friends in the West. The London *Times* and *Economist*, representing the two influences which helped the Porte out of the slough both in 1853 and 1874, have denounced it in good set terms as beyond salvation, inasmuch as it has fallen into the unpardonable sin of financial disorder. The finances were really in greater disorder twenty years ago than they are now; but then Turkey did not belong to what is called "the debtor class"—that is to say, she collected a good deal of money, and spent a good deal, and published no financial statement, but she owed nothing. She began borrowing in 1854, and has kept at it steadily ever since, until she has accumulated a debt of $1,000,000,000, which charges her revenue with $50,000,000 annually—not a too serious burden for a country with its population and resources if its society were homogeneous and the government decently administered. But then, unfortunately, the money has been nearly all put into military and naval preparations and into palaces for the Sultan—a sort of outlay which is not reassuring to creditors; and the revenue begins to show a regular yearly deficit, which has to be filled up by fresh loans. There would probably be more patience in Western Europe with the armaments if anybody believed they would count for much in case of a general war. In that case, such powers as expected to get Turkey as an ally might encourage or apologize for them; but nobody seriously expects the Turkish army or navy to exert an appreciable influence on the fate of the empire whenever any great crisis in its affairs comes. Its solution will then depend, as everybody knows, on the German or Russian or Austrian army, or on the English fleet. The causes of this insignificance of Turkish armaments, in spite of the high military qualities of the troops, are numerous; but the principal ones are the poor quality of the officers, and the absence of any class from which good ones can be drawn, and the general loss of faith on the part of the people that the Crescent can for any great length of time hold its ground in Europe. Confidence in one's ability to win is almost an essential condition of successful fighting, and from the Turks it has long ago departed. The migration of the Mussulmans from all parts of European Turkey across the Dardanelles into Asia Minor has now been going on steadily for forty years, and increasingly during the last twenty; and of course the more the Mussulman element in the population declines, the more anomalous and difficult the position of the Government in its European provinces becomes. The public debt, like many of the debts contracted during the last quarter of a century by semi-barbarous states, has been made possible by telling wonderful stories on the London Exchange about the resources of the country, the average investor not yet having got it into his head that the security for loans to "sovereign states" has to be mainly moral—that is, that the character of the people and the quality of the government are of vastly more financial importance than the nature or amount of the products of the soil. Most of the national swindling is done by compiling statistics about coal, iron, lead, grain, cattle, and guano, and avoiding all mention of the morals of the legislature, and the judiciary, and the tax-collectors, and voters—if voters there be. The promised Turkish reforms of late years, such as the famous one proclaimed by the Hatti-Humayoun after the Crimean war, are not carried out, and cannot be, for two reasons: one is the defective condition of the civil service, which afflicts the central power with a sort of paralysis; and the other is the unwillingness of the Christians to be worked into the governmental machinery along with the Turks. They do not want to form a modern state in unison with their old masters. They are not willing to help them in the work of reform and regeneration. They prefer to take their chance under the old system of quasi-independence, with chiefs of their own faith, and yet there is little doubt that if they chose to accept frankly and make the most of the chances which Turkish legislation now offers them, they might before long work their way into control of the Government. Their absolute refusal to serve in the army, for instance, is a positive boon to the Turks; while a demand on the part of the Christians for military service would put the Government in peril. The whole problem is one of which it is impossible even to guess at the solution. It will probably come through some tremendous accident.

## THE LIMITS OF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

THE first thing likely to strike any one who examines the new Missouri constitution is its extraordinary length. It is four times as long as the Constitution of the United States—an instrument which has for a century answered all the purposes of a fundamental law for a confederation of communities at no time less than thirteen in number, and now amounting to some forty, with a popu-

lation twenty times that of Missouri. Since the original adoption of this Constitution there have been only fifteen amendments added to it, and eleven of these were adopted almost simultaneously with the Constitution itself; we may, in fact, really say that, in a hundred years, the only additions to the instrument have been the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments—three short clauses which hardly do more than recognize and give legal validity to the social changes brought about by the war, and which might all be printed on a single page. But while the Constitution of the United States has thus remained practically unchanged, the additions to the State constitutions have been very voluminous, and they still go on increasing. The Constitution of the United States and the early State constitutions contain little more than an enumeration and division of the powers between the central and local governments, and certain fundamental maxims of English law, taken from Magna Charta or the Bill of Rights, and intended as checks upon arbitrary power. The modern constitutions have supplemented these, as we have often pointed out, by checks on the dishonest use of power, which, in these latter days, seems so much more common and dangerous than tyranny. It is by the addition of long clauses restricting the number of subjects which the legislature may deal with, and prescribing the manner in which legislative proceedings must go forward, limiting the power of towns, counties, and cities in the creation of debt, and those of railroads, that the proportions of these instruments have been so swollen. The Missouri legislator of the future, for instance, will find that the constitutional reformers have taken just four times as much trouble to prevent his lying, cheating, stealing, and perjuring himself as they have in the case of the governor. They have four times as much confidence in the modern representative of the old-fashioned tyrant as they have in the protector of society, the leader of the people. In view of this general tendency—with which, as a tendency, no one can find any fault—an interesting question here presents itself. Everybody knows that even in the reform of constitutional law there may be found limits, and the question is what those limits are.

We should gain very little either for the honesty or the strength of government by attempting to prescribe in the fundamental law all the minutiæ of its machinery, or to encumber it with vague maxims without making provision for their enforcement. The reason why American constitutions, notwithstanding their formidable numbers and continually increasing size, have never shared the fate of the paper-constitutions of Europe, is that they have always been severely practical instruments. None of their restrictive provisions have been "glittering generalities," for which any one could evolve a meaning from his own consciousness. They have been real commands, just as capable of enforcement as the commands issued by a military officer to his subalterns. If a man claims to be a senator or representative without right, the Senate or the House turn him out or admit him to a seat, and there is an end of the matter; if a State passes a law in violation of contracts, it is simply treated by the courts as non-existent, and there is an end of the matter; if a State were to attempt to make anything but gold and silver legal tender, the money would not be recognized by the courts, and there would be an end of the matter. The great respect for the courts always shown in America has not been the result of a sentimental admiration for justice, but the natural result of the immense power which we have given them. A great deal of the old dispute between the theoretical advocates of written and unwritten constitutions might have been avoided if a confusion between a written constitution like ours, and such constitutions as metaphysical European agitators have been accustomed to draw up, had not been made. Whether a constitution be written or unwritten is a mere accident, and any of our constitutions would retain all their peculiar characteristics if they were preserved by tradition, instead of on paper. The essential difference between our constitutions and all others is that the former consist mainly of a body of restrictive rules, limiting the ordinary powers of the Government in the interest of certain principles of justice and right supposed to be too well established to be ever again submitted to the chance test of popular favor, and that the whole force of the State is inevitably at hand to enforce them through the courts. This feature is wanting in the English constitution, commonly called an unwritten charter (simply because it has an unlimited power of expansion, although every existing part of it is even now to be found in print), and equally so in the written European documents. The true difference is not dependent on the form in which the instrument is preserved, but lies between a constitution made up of such phrases as "there is no duty without its right; no right without its duty," and one in which every right or duty is enforceable by the sheriff and the *posse comitatus*.

We may safely say that it will be a very dangerous moment for American liberty when reformers begin to forget this distinction, and dilute the strength of constitutional law either with wishy-washy declamation, or provisions which, being without means of enforcement, must remain a dead letter, deceiving people by the prominence given them as measures of reform and producing no practical results.

The question, then, always arises at each new attempt at constitutional amendment, whether we are adhering to this beaten track. Are the reforms suggested practical and capable of enforcement by the courts, or are they mere words? In answer to this, we may say, on the whole, that an examination of the Missouri constitution, the latest attempt in this direction, shows that no disposition exists among constitutional reformers to abandon the traditions of American law, but they seem determined to keep steadily in view the four cardinal points: the evil to be remedied, the remedy, the practicability of its enforcement, and the necessity of a sufficient interest in the matter to render its enactment worth while.

This last principle—which might be called that of interest "rightly applied"—is of quite as great importance as any other, and is at the same time, as we frequently see in the passage of laws, overlooked. To take the most notable instance: the great difficulty with the laws against the liquor-traffic is not that there is no crying evil to be remedied, nor that remedies of the most stringent nature have not been devised, but that they have proved impracticable owing to the want of a direct selfish interest in their enforcement. And the prohibitionists have begun in a blind way to see the difficulty, and attempt to meet it by giving the right of action to those supposed to have a direct selfish interest in the suppression of drunkenness—the wives and children of drunkards. If what the prohibitionists say, that the sale of liquor is a crime like murder or theft, were really true, there would be no lack of interest at all, and every man's hand would be against the liquor-seller as it is against the thief or murderer. But there is no such feeling. We see what lamentable results the overlooking this principle has in mere municipal laws; to ignore it in a constitution leads to still more deplorable results.

To take one or two instances: In dealing with the legislature a constitution might lay down a number of rules for the orderly conduct of its business, as that bills should be read three times on separate days, that they should not be crowded together at the end of the session, that bills must not be passed in the guise of joint resolutions. Now, here the evil is plain enough, but what is to be the remedy? The declamatory way of getting over the obstacle would be to pass a number of clauses to forbid these tricks, and then leave the people to find out what they were worth. The Missouri reformers, however, have not stopped here, but have asked themselves who has a direct interest in opposing such legislative tricks. The answer is of course that a small number of the legislature are sure to oppose almost every bill; and to this minority they have given the right of enforcing the remedy summarily in the courts. Again, there is the bribery of legislators. The ignorant and irrational way of preventing this is to multiply oaths, and this way has been tried in many States without success: the fatal difficulty with it is that, unlike oaths taken in a court of justice, there is in this case no individual or group of individuals whose interest it is to prevent perjury. The people at large have an interest, but unfortunately the knowledge of the facts which would prove the perjury

and corruption are not accessible to the people at large, but are in the possession of those most interested to conceal them. There is really no remedy for legislative bribery except the election of honest legislators. Therefore, we find a growing disposition against the multiplication of oaths. The usual remedies provided against special legislation, against the aggressions of corporations, and against local indebtedness, all follow the established precedents of American constitutional law. In a certain number of specified cases, the legislature is prohibited from passing private acts. It is hardly conceivable that there will ever be a time when a minority in the locality affected will not be interested to prevent the execution of a private act. A writ at law brings the act into court, and either validates or kills it. The taxpayers of a county which has overissued bonds have the same interest and the same remedy. With regard to corporations, the same thing is to be said: the passenger or the shipper is interested in bringing extortion to an end, as the shareholder in preventing overissues of stock or ruinous contracts.

Although there have been exceptions here and there, as a rule American constitutional law has followed this general line of development very closely, and it is gratifying to find in the last attempt at constitution-making in a new State like Missouri the old legal traditions asserting themselves so strongly. It is gratifying, too, to find, at a time when the political class seem completely lost in the clouds of abstraction and theory on every imaginable subject from civil rights to the currency, that few traces of their insanity show themselves in the constitutional groundwork of our system.

## TEMPORA MUTANTUR.

THE world turns mild; democracy, they say,
Rounds the sharp knobs of character away;
And no great harm, unless at grave expense
Of what needs edge of proof, the moral sense;
For man or race is on the downward path
Whose fibre grows too soft for honest wrath,
And there's a subtle influence that springs
From words to modify our sense of things.
A plain distinction is obscured of late:
Men, if they will, may pardon; but the State
Forgets its function if not fixed as Fate.
So thought our sires: a hundred years ago,
If men were knaves, why, people called them so,
And crime could see the prison-portal bend
Its brow severe at no long vista's end;
In those days for plain things plain words would serve;
Men had not learned to admire the graceful swerve
Wherewith the Esthetic Nature's genial mood
Makes public duty slope to private good;
No muddled conscience raised the saving doubt;
A soldier proved unworthy was drummed out,
An officer cashiered, a civil servant,
(No matter though his piety were fervent,)
Disgracefully dismissed, and through the land
Each bore for life a stigma from the brand,
Whose far-heard hiss made others more averse
To take the facile step from bad to worse.
The Ten Commandments had a meaning then
Felt in their bones by least considerate men,
Because behind them Public Conscience stood
And without wincing made their mandates good.
But now that "Statesmanship" is just a way
To dodge the primal curse and make it pay;
Since Office means a kind of patent drill
To force an entrance to the Nation's till,
And peculation something rather less
Risky than if you spelt it with an *s*;
Now that to steal by law is grown an art,
Whom rogues the sires, their milder sons call smart,
And "slightly irregular" dilutes the shame
Of what had once a somewhat blunter name;
With generous curve we draw the moral line;
*Our* swindlers are permitted to resign;
Their guilt is wrapped in deferential names,
And twenty sympathize for one that blames.
Add national disgrace to private crime,
Confront mankind with brazen front sublime,
Steal but enough, the world is unsevere,—
Tweed is a statesman, Fisk a financier;
Invent a mine and be—the Lord knows what,
Secure, at any rate, with what you've got.
The public servant who has stolen or lied,
If called on, may resign with honest pride:
As unjust favor put him in, why doubt
Disfavor as unjust has turned him out?
Even if indicted, what is that but fudge
To him who counted-in the elective judge?
Whitewashed, he quits the politician's strife
At ease in mind, with pockets filled for life:
His lady glares with gems whose vulgar blaze
The poor man through his heightened taxes pays,
Himself content if one huge Kohinoor
Bulge from a shirt-front ampler than before,—
But not too candid, lest it haply tend
To rouse suspicion of the People's Friend;
A public meeting, treated at his cost,
Resolves him back more virtue than he lost;
With character regilt, he counts his gains;
What's gone was air, the solid good remains;
For what *is* good except what friend and foe
Seem both unanimous in thinking so,
The stocks and bonds which in our age of loans
Replace the stupid pagan's stocks and stones?
With choker white, wherein no cynic eye
Dares see idealized a hempen tie,
At parish-meetings he conducts in prayer,
And pays for missions—to be sent elsewhere;
On 'Change respected, to his friends endeared,
Add but a Sunday-school-class, he's revered,
And his too early tomb will not be dumb
To point a moral for our youth to come.

J. R. L.

## THE BAVARIAN ELECTIONS.

BERLIN, July 30, 1875.

WITH but one exception, there has been nothing of particular interest going on in Germany, unless that for about five weeks we could have sung from morning to evening with the fool in King Lear:

> "With heigh, ho, the wind and the rain—
> For the rain it raineth every day."

One question, however—the elections in Bavaria—appears to me to call for a letter, for it throws a broad stream of light over the actual battle-field in our war between the state and Ultramontanism.

The first thing that strikes the eye in glancing over the election returns is the unusually small number of votes polled by the minor parties. The multiplicity of parties is a characteristic feature of the political life of Germany, and we are apt to pride ourselves on this peculiarity, as a proof that we have outgrown the crude notions of political childhood, which do not admit of anything between yes and no. Though I do not deny that there is some truth in this, yet there are undoubtedly two sides to the medal. As often as Bismarck is reported to think of retiring into private life, one of the principal reasons alleged for his discontent is the impossibility of counting upon a fixed majority in the Reichstag (or Landtag). Every party is but a minority, so that always a combination of at least two parties is needed in order to carry any measure. And it is sometimes not easy to foresee whether such a combination will be effected, for where public opinion is so much divided as to deem half-a-dozen or more questions worthy of serving as a foundation for the organization of a distinct political party, very marked shades of opinion are likely to exist with regard to every question of importance. Moreover, in such a condition of the public mind, the creeds of all the different parties are apt to be somewhat fluctuating; while, on the other hand, the multiplicity of parties favors the breeding of a narrow-minded pride of opinion. And all these evils are considerably aggravated when—

as is the case with us—the line of separation between the parties is drawn not so much by a difference of opinion in regard to definite and distinct questions, as by "principles"—*i.e.*, by a difference in the general way of looking at questions of public concern. In a state of such recent date as the German Empire, and with a people so prone to "individualism" in every respect, it is not surprising to find ourselves beset with all these dangers; but that does not render them any smaller. We should, therefore, heartily welcome everything fit to work as a counterweight to this "atomizing" tendency in our politics, and nothing has done us better service in this respect than the war with the Vatican. Already the composition of the last Reichstag showed considerable progress with regard to a consolidation of parties, and now the elections in Bavaria prove that a further step forward in this direction has been taken. In spite of the violent and envenomed declamations of a part of the leaders, the mass of the people, with the exception of only an insignificant fraction, have considered this to be the question which must be paramount to everything else, because our whole future depends upon the solution it receives.

The telegraph will have informed you long ago that the Ultramontanes will have a majority of two in the Second Chamber—79 to 77. Yet the result of the election is hailed as a great triumph by all the liberal parties, while the Ultramontanes make exceedingly wry faces over their "victory." In order to understand this, we have to go back a few years. The last elections took place in 1869. Then the so-called "patriots" carried the day, with a majority of 83 against 71, and yet they were not able in the decisive hour in 1870 to make the scales sink on their side. In certain respects they did not lose to the last their ascendency in the late Landtag, and yet they could not keep Bavaria from effectually co-operating in everything essential to the welfare of the Empire, though, undoubtedly, this co-operation would have been more vigorous and much more easily obtained if the liberal parties had commanded a respectable majority. What are they to expect from the future on setting out with a majority of but two, after the passions have been raised to the very highest pitch, and no stone has been left unturned by them? And what are they to expect in the rest of Germany if such is their fate in Bavaria, where out of a population of five millions three and a half millions are Catholics? The very utmost the Ultramontane majority of the Landtag can hope to effect is to keep Bavaria for a little while longer in such a condition that it resembles a carriage with the brakes screwed tight to the hind wheels; it can always be moved ahead, though one has to pull hard, and the grating of the wheels on the gravel is anything but pleasant. Even suppose life is rendered so disgusting to the present Cabinet that they conclude to retire, still the King—unless he completely changes the course thus far pursued by him—would never concede to the majority of two the right to demand an Ultramontane Cabinet. The probable result of such a Cabinet crisis would be the dissolution of the Landtag, and, so far as one can see now, there is certainly no chance whatever for the Ultramontanes to fare better in a new election.

This is the simple explanation of the strange fact that the vanquished are in high glee, while the victors are crestfallen and while away their time by throwing mud at each other. Two short quotations from the daily press will paint to you in vivid colors the state of mind in the opposite camps. The *Neue Würzburger Zeitung* (the electoral battle in Würzburg was particularly hot) writes: "They have degraded the divine service to a caucus, and put the pulpit beside the beer-bench. With crocodile tears they have moaned over the persecuted church, and stirred up the people to a crusade for their faith. They have prophesied the certain downfall of Christianity, and denounced liberalism as a child of Belial. As their last trump they have thrown the authority of their bishops into the scales, and they have tried to constrain the conscience of the people with their pastoral letters—but all in vain. The arrow which was to have hit the Empire in the heart,

> "Kraftlos entrann er ihren schwachen Händen;
> Sie haben keinen zweiten zu versenden"

(powerless it flew from their weak hands; they have no other to send). The *Fränkische Volksblatt*, on the other hand, cries out in an article with the heading, "A Huge Election Fraud": "This and no other name can we give to the unheard-of machinations with which the Liberals of Würzburg have swindled themselves into victory. These are hard words, grave accusations; but we repeat them before all Bavaria, before all Germany."

The language of the *Würzburger Zeitung* is strong, but hardly any too strong. The Ultramontanes have shown an unprecedented activity. The *Volksfreund* (Ultramontane) says that since the publication of the election districts of Munich (July 9) the "Bavarian party has held about 100 district meetings (secret ones included), distributed about 24,000 electioneering addresses, carried 11,600 election formularies into the houses of the citizens, and prepared 18,000 tickets." And they have been as active in the use of foul means. In the front rank of these stand, of course, the electioneering pastoral letters of the bishops. The quoting of a few sentences from one of these will, I trust, do much towards enlightening Americans about the true nature of the war, if there be yet any candid and liberal-minded Americans who have the least doubt about it. Bishop Reiszmann, of Würzburg—who, before his recent elevation to the bishopric, was reputed to be moderate—says in his pastoral letter:

"Who is this Ultramontane party which is said to be hostile to the Empire? We are meant, most dearly beloved ones; we who, faithful like our fathers, cling to the holy Catholic Church and its faith; we who in this Catholic faith seek our salvation here on earth and in eternity. Therefore, beloved ones, we also now call to the election day, as our adversaries do; for that this election day will be decisive as no other has ever been, friend and foe are agreed. . . . One mistake, one remissness on our part, will be decisive, and cannot be repaired by any future election. Therefore we must urge upon you: Let not a single vote be lost for our party; let no Catholic man who is entitled to vote stay away from the ballot-box on the 15th of July; let no work, not even the most pressing, no distance from the polls, not even the greatest, no inconvenience, and no consideration hinder the Catholic man, or keep him from casting his vote for the men of his confidence. Nothing of all this can excuse him before his conscience if, by his negligence or by his fear, he deprives the holy cause of his party of his vote. . . . This is to be read on July 11 at the divine service in all churches, without any additions or explanations."

In my opinion, there cannot be any doubt that this pastoral letter—and all the other bishops have issued similar ones—is unconstitutional, and, judging by a recent despatch from Munich, the Government seems to intend to call "the faithful shepherds" to account. If such should be the case, it will of course raise another outcry and be made use of as a further proof of the (never-contested) fact that the Cabinet are in an unholy league with the Liberals. And there is already a grave charge pending against the Ministers. The Ultramontanes insist that the result of the election would have been different if the election districts had been suffered to remain as they were before. That is true enough; but they quite forget to mention that the old election districts were arranged in such a manner that the greatest possible injustice was done to the Liberals. In the last elections for the Reichstag there were polled, in round numbers, 307,000 votes by the Liberals, and 480,000 by the Ultramontanes; yet the former could elect but sixteen representatives, while the latter had thirty-two. And as to the election for the Landtag, the relative strength of the Liberals is considerably greater than one would suppose from the above-mentioned vote, for in the election for the Reichstag every male citizen of age has the electoral franchise, while the electoral franchise for the Bavarian Landtag is made dependent upon a census qualification. That this restriction of the right of suffrage works to the advantage of the Liberals, certainly needs no proof. If any should be required, it may be found by a single glance at the election returns. All the great cities, with the single exception of Bamberg, have returned Liberal representatives, the capital leading in a most worthy manner. That this is a fact of the greatest moment with regard to the probabilities of the future, no one will deny. It certainly is not indifferent for the strength of a party whether it recruits itself mainly from the better-educated and well-to-do classes of cities like Munich and Würzburg, or from a country population which, you will remember, does not consist of New England farmers, but of European peasants, and moreover Bavarian peasants. Votes do not merely count; ultimately, it will always be proved that they also weigh.

So there is every reason to agree with Bishop Reiszmann: there is no possibility of retrieving at any future election what has been lost in this one. Now, neither he nor any other leader of the party would any longer acknowledge the fact. We can dispense with the confession if only our victory is proved by actual concessions. And not only have these begun in Bavaria, but along the whole line the order has been given to fall back one step. The Prussian bishops—the Prince-bishop (*Fürstbischof*) of Breslau leading the way—have made up their minds to submit to the law on the administration of church property. It will hardly be necessary to mention expressly that it is done under the pretence that there is an essential difference between the character of this law and that of all the other Falk laws. What this pretence is worth may be seen from the joint declaration of the bishops, of March 10, against this very law, in which the state is accused of laying hands on an "inalienable right" of the church. Sir John deemed reasons as cheap as blackberries, and our bishops have given more than one proof that they prize no higher even their most solemn declarations. They will as easily swallow the rest of them as soon as they are brought to see the necessity of it; and it is the first step that costs the most. The battle is won, though it is far from being ended. Every inch of ground will be contested with the utmost tenacity, but henceforth they fight with

the consciousness that theirs is a "lost cause." It is a sign of the times that quite a number of priests are reported to have voted the Liberal ticket in Bavaria.

## CAMILLE DESMOULINS.

PARIS, July 30.

THE history of the French Terrorists has a painful interest for everybody; for a patriotic Frenchman, the interest becomes almost intolerable. I always turn with disgust, fond as I am of books and old documents, from those which relate the incidents of the bloody period of the Revolution. I could not help, however, reading a book just written, with the aid of unpublished documents, on Camille Desmoulins and the group of men who were called the Dantonists. The author, M. Claretie, styles himself a republican of Athens; his white hands have never been and never will be dipped in blood. He is none the less an ardent follower of the Republican party, and he plays in it somewhat the part of the fife in military music. His sharp, shrill note is sometimes heard in the great tumult; he is not a great writer, and his style is full of an affectation which he probably considers romantic, but there is life in it, and there is a dramatic fire in his narratives. He probably began his book with the intention of making the apotheosis of Desmoulins and of the Dantonists. A handsome portrait of his hero is the frontispiece of the work; and looking at his large, brilliant eyes, his sensual nose and lips, his effeminate and at the same time impudent expression, you have already a glimpse of the man.

Camille Desmoulins was born at Guise, the capital of the once famous Duchy, the 2d March, 1760. And, by the bye, he told a lie when, in reply to the President of the Revolutionary Tribunal, he used the famous phrase: "I am thirty-three years old, the age of the *sans-culotte* Jesus." He was then thirty-four years old. The whole man is in this blasphemous reply. He was not, as he was sometimes called, a "*gamin* of genius," but he was a gamin—the gamin whom Barbier represents in his 'Iambes:

> "La race de Paris, c'est le pâle voyou
> Au corps chétif, au teint jaune comme un vieux sou,
> C'est cet enfant criard que l'on voit à toute heure
> Paresseux et flânant, et loin de sa demeure
> Battant les maigres chiens, ou le long des grands murs
> Charbonnant en sifflant mille croquis impurs."

His father was a legal officer in the *baillage* of Guise, and educated his son for the bar. He obtained a *bourse* (that is to say, he was educated at the expense of the state) in the Collége Louis le Grand, with Robespierre, who had a *bourse* in the college of Arras. He was a good scholar, and was admitted to the Paris bar in 1785, at the age of twenty-five. Desmoulins, who spoke with difficulty and who stammered, had become a writer; after the convocation of the States-General, he published an ode in which he celebrated the virtues of Louis XVI.:

> "Cher prince, des rois le modèle,
> Eh bien! nous doutions de ta foi,
> Et qu'au dessus de Marc-Aurèle
> La France dût placer son roi."

Two years afterwards he wrote a satire, in verse, against the king and the queen. He wrote many other verses, and in his 'Satires, or Collection of the best pieces of poetry which have preceded or followed the Revolution,' they may be found. Some of them, says M. Claretie, are "infamous." I use his own words, having never seen this collection. Camille led at that time the life of a politician in the streets and cafés of Paris. His poor father, who had not left Guise, and often dined with the Prince de Condé, must have been surprised when he wrote to him things like these: "A countess was flogged a few days ago in the Palais Royal, where she said something against M. Necker. The Palais Royal is the resort of those who have stentorian voices; they stand on tables, and read the strongest articles on the affairs of the time. . . . Three days ago a boy of four years, full of intelligence and well taught, went round the garden, in the middle of the day, at least twenty times on the shoulders of a porter; he screamed 'Law of the French people: la Polignac, exiled; Condé, idem; Conti, idem; d'Artois, idem; the Queen . . . I dare not repeat it." During the siege of Paris of 1870, a policeman was hunted by the populace and drowned, with his hands and feet tied, in the Canal Saint-Martin. There is nothing new under the sun. Here is a scene described by Desmoulins in a letter to his father: "The policeman was undressed; they found on him the cords which these rascals use. He was thrown into the basin of the Palais Royal; then he was hunted like a deer; people threw stones at him, struck him with their sticks; one of his eyes was put out. Though he begged for mercy, he was again thrown into the basin. His torture lasted from twelve till five, and there were as many as ten thousand executioners."

The reputation of Desmoulins began at the time of the taking of the Bastille; and his glory sprang out of the earth in a night, like a mushroom. He made the famous appeal to arms after the dismissal of Necker. See this young man on a table in the garden of the Palais Royal: "What colors shall we adopt," says he, "as a rallying-sign? Will you have the green, the color of Cincinnatus, of America, of democracy?" The crowd answers, "The green, the green." Camille at once breaks off a branch of a tree; in an instant all the trees of the garden are shorn of their branches. Then Camille screams, "To arms, to arms." Camille is now known; he publishes the 'France libre,' boldly attacks the monarchical form of government, and asks for a republic. "We were audacious," he wrote afterwards in his 'Page of the Secret History of the Revolution,' "we republicans in Paris the 12th July, 1789, and this is what covers with glory those who began the Republican campaign with such limited means. . . . These Republicans were mostly young men, who had been fed with Cicero in the colleges." He soon felt, however, that something more spicy than his 'France libre' was necessary, and he wrote 'The Speech of the Lantern to the Parisians.' This pamphlet secured for him afterwards the tragic name of "procureur-général of the lantern." Alas! he claimed it for a long time, till the guillotine, which had taken the place of the lantern, claimed him. It is in vain that he regrets afterwards, and tells Marat: "It is a great evil that the people should become familiar with such jokes"; in vain that he weeps over the pages which are exciting the populace to assassination.

He was poor in the midst of his triumph, asks his father for money, is consoled by hearing people say, "There is a new pamphlet of Desmoulins'." He publishes a weekly paper called *The Revolutions of France and Brabant*, which M. Claretie calls a masterpiece, etc. His success was of the same kind as the success of the *Lanterne* of Rochefort; and there are many traits of resemblance between the two men. Both want popular applause and money, both have a sort of boyish irony and impudence. If the Commune had triumphed, who knows if Rochefort, who was fleeing from Paris, might not have become a victim of his accomplices? There was too much of the scholar in him for the Communist; too much also in Camille Desmoulins for the last Terrorists. Desmoulins married in 1790 Lucile Duplessis; his witnesses were Pétion Brissot and Robespierre. The young woman was illegitimate, but she had a little fortune. Camille Desmoulins, to do him justice, seems to have been in love with her. He took his young wife to the club of the Cordeliers, an assembly of which he said, "Were the seven wise men of Greece members of it, its logic could not be more severe." Camille soon quarrelled with Brissot, who had been one of the witnesses of his marriage. A man who kept a gaming-table had been thrown in prison by the police. Camille undertook his defence; he set up for an Athenian republican; he wrote that "in the forests of Gaul and of Germany our forefathers staked their individual liberty at the *trente-et-quarante* and the *biribi*." Brissot attacked his defence of gambling. This miserable quarrel had its importance, as it determined the first attacks of Desmoulins on the Girondins, or *Brissotins*, as they were then called.

Camille had become a friend of Danton; he lived in the same house; he was one of those weak men who never know where to stop, and who are led away where they would never have dreamed of going. He became the apologist of all the great *days* (*journées*) of the Revolution; after the 10th August he was appointed secretary-general to the Minister of Justice, Danton. He writes to Guise: "The bladder of your people of Guise, so full of envy, will dilate against me when they hear of my new fortune." He called it fortune! Being a coward at heart, he often became afraid of his responsibilities, and sometimes talked about the pleasures of solitude and the fields of Guise. He was elected to the Convention as deputy of Paris. He was one of those men who could never be returned in their own provinces, but whom the great capital throws up on the highest political waves.

Camille Desmoulins never wrote a line in condemnation of the massacres of September. When the nominal vote was taken on the fate of Louis XVI., he voted for death, and dared to say: "A king less is not a man less." His virtuous father had written him a touching letter, begging him, as he had always denounced the king, to abstain. Camille had constantly and grossly insulted the queen since the beginning of the Revolution; he insulted her on the scaffold. He could no longer stop in his career; he made war now against the Girondins, and his 'History of the Brissotins' may be said to have been the signal of the movement which ended with the extermination of the Gironde. When the Girondins were condemned he could not help exclaiming: "My 'History of the Brissotins' kills them." Was it remorse, or was it fear? It was fear. The soul of this villain was not capable of remorse. All his sensitiveness was nothing better than nervous alarm about himself.

We must end this sad account of the history of a brilliant mind added to a mean character. Desmoulins became merciful only just at the time

when he was himself attacked by Hébert and the Jacobins, and began to suspect that he would soon need mercy. The end was soon to come. Arnault, the Academician, has left us in his 'Memories of a Sexagenarian' an account of the day when he saw the Dantonists taken to the scaffold. Danton looked proud and scornful; Camille seemed like a maniac—he tore his shirt; his breast, his shoulders were naked; he made pathetic appeals to the people: "People, you are deceived. The men who are to be immolated are your servants. I called you to arms in 1789. I uttered the first scream of liberty!" The weather was splendid, and the crowd was looking at the *charrette* with a worn-out curiosity, which even the names of Danton and of Desmoulins could not turn into real excitement. Who were the other victims? Hérault de Séchelles, once called *the beau* Séchelles; rich, received at court, a cousin of the Duchesse de Polignac, he had thrown himself into the revolutionary party out of mere vanity; he had burned before the people the throne on the Place de la Révolution. "Let the signs of servitude," he exclaimed on this occasion, "let the plough, the sheaf of wheat, the cap of liberty be the only decorations of the Republic!" The gentleman was not quite dead in him, for he approached the scaffold with the greatest calm. The other victims are not worth mentioning. Hérault ascended the guillotine first; the executioner would not allow him to embrace Danton. "Our two heads," said Danton, "will soon embrace each other." Then came Desmoulins' turn; his last word was for his wife. Then came Danton; and his last words have become historical: "Show my head to the people," said he to the executioner, "they will not often see the like of it."

Michelet says in his history of the Terror, "What was the poor Camille? An admirable plant which flowered on Danton." It is, perhaps, time that we should cease to classify the Terrorists as flowers in a garden. There is nothing poetical in these men; they have been magnified by the events with which they were mixed up. History must, of course, take into account the circumstances into which they were thrown; but it is time that we should judge them as men, and not as demigods. M. Claretie is still a devotee of the goddess Revolution, and of the men of 1793; he cannot help seeing the truth, but it got lost in his book in vapid declamations. If you collect all the real *evidence* about Desmoulins, he will appear to you as an unmitigated villain, with a great deal of what the French call *esprit*.

# Correspondence.

## MOTIVES AND ACTS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In No. 520 of the *Nation*, you call attention to two conflicting decisions of Judge Dillon's, saying, "In 1869 the Iowa farmers were engaged in a very discreditable attempt to repudiate the town and county bonds," and that "Chief-Justice Dillon was ready to help them by laying down one theory of railroad property"; and "that in 1875 they are engaged in another attempt, equally dishonest, and Judge Dillon is ready to help them by laying down another theory of railroad property directly opposed to the former one." In No. 522 you say: "We had not intended, however, by anything we said to cast any imputation on Judge Dillon's motives," but "that foreign investors who do not know him, will see in his giving two decisions," each in favor of swindlers, "reason for doubting his purity."

Can foreign investors or any other honest-minded individuals, whether knowing Judge Dillon or not, come to any other conclusion than that, to render two decisions so diametrically opposed to each other, the Judge's motives must have been tampered with by some corrupting influences? You are rather severe on Mr. Beach and other exemplars of "chromo-civilization," but are you not yourselves, in this instance, while so roundly berating these wallowers in mud, also slightly in the mire? How can you or any one else reconcile these conflicting decisions with pure motives and honest juridical integrity? Can one's motives be read more distinctly than by his actions?

Respectfully, R. C. S.

Lazette, Kansas, July 26, 1875.

["R. C. S." is himself "slightly in the mire," owing to his failure to quote what we said more fully. Our language was: "The explanation the uncharitable foreign investor will be apt to put, we fear, on this extraordinary specimen of judicial wabbling . . . is that in 1869," etc. We did not put this construction on it ourselves—in the first place, because Judge Dillon's character has always stood very high; in the second, because he is now a Federal judge, and is, therefore, presumably independent of the Honest Farmer; and in the third, because a total change in the judicial mind on a point of law is not incompatible with judicial honesty. Our course, therefore, does not bring us into the category of the chromo-civilized. A chromo-civilized criticism of Judge Dillon's conduct would have been something of this kind: "Dillon is a corrupt old scoundrel. We have not the slightest doubt that both these decisions were bought and paid for in hard cash, and that if the truth were known he is looking for a nomination of some sort. But then in saying this we do not wish to be understood as casting any aspersion on his character. We accuse him of corruption in the regular course of our business as journalists, and because the sale of justice is denounced in the Bible. Personally, we consider Judge Dillon one of the finest jurists on this planet, a kind father, a dutiful son, a genial uncle, and, in fact, a cultured Christian gentleman."—Ed. Nation.]

## PROFITABLE AND UNPROFITABLE ECONOMY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your article of the 12th inst. on "Profitable and Unprofitable Economy," you have uncovered the root of our business troubles. "After a panic in money comes a panic of economy," and the patient who outlived the attack of the fever often dies of the regimen of recovery. Starvation is no more the remedy for the country's prostrate business than for a typhoid patient. One familiar with statistics might easily form an estimate of the effect on consumption of a general effort to reduce expenses. The extent to which a sanguine people living upon the scale established by a period of high prosperity is capable of reducing its expenditure under some strong impulse to save, would show an aggregate frightfully large, and quite enough to account for the universal absence of active demand for nearly all the productions of the country at the present time.

It is a fact that our markets are loaded down with surpluses in almost every department. Money—itself so erroneously supposed to be the one thing needful to stimulate business—is far in excess of the legitimate demand for it, and lying idle in vast amounts at the great centres. With all the means of life in apparent superabundance, the country is afraid to live. It is under the spell of the demon of economy, enforced or voluntary. Like Tantalus, it is up to the chin in a flood of good things, but cannot drink. For this state of things the press, as you point out, is largely responsible. "Universal extravagance" is assumed to have been the cause of the trouble, and universal economy is of course the obvious remedy. "Wear out your clothes," "discharge superfluous servants," "cut down wages," "dispense with luxuries"—in short, let every man go back several steps in civilization, and all will be well again. It is really not a very hard thing to follow this advice. A certain amount of self-denial in certain moods justifies the conscience of nations and individuals. We have been "going too fast"—that may be true. We ought to go slower; but the suspicion once aroused that we are "living in an era of speculation," that our "prosperity is unreal," that "credits are enormously expanded," a moral revulsion supervenes, and we fly at once to the other end of the balance and throw all our weight into the scale of "going too slow." When the tendency in that direction becomes strong and general there seems to be nothing to do but let it run its course, and die, as it will in the course of time, a natural death.

It may be well in the meantime to bear in mind that the great and sufficient cause of the existing dulness is the absence of demand, growing out of the unwillingness or inability of people to consume. All the phenomena of production and exchange centre upon the fact of consumption. With the failure of consumption comes the paralysis of industry as certainly as the cutting of a nerve of motion paralyzes a limb. It is absolute cause and effect. The cure will not be found in disputes about the use of the credit of the Government for currency (the greenback theory), as opposed to the use of the credit of the banks for currency (the specie-payment theory). With demand and supply in proper adjustment, we can get along with almost any kind of currency, or with no currency at all. Needed exchanges will effect themselves without the interposition of Government—though no argument is here intended against providing the business of exchange with the best currency that the wit of man can devise.

It is perfectly obvious that panics and revulsions occur in countries where specie payment is the rule and in countries where specie payment is not the rule; and though this does not settle the point that the specie-payment-credit theory is better or worse than the non-specie-payment credit

theory, it proves that neither the one nor the other is the true preventive of panics, nor the cure for their effects. The trouble here is really in the general credit system of the country, by which ninety-five per cent., or more, of the exchanges are effected, and not especially in the currency which, in comparison, is so insignificant an agency of business. The effects of the great panic of 1857 were not obliterated till men's minds became full of the war, and the energies of the population at home were taxed to supply the waste and consumption of the population at war. Demand for a season outran supply, and fortunes were rapidly made by the advance of prices. A complete demonstration was here afforded of the fact that in otherwise favorable conditions the business of a country will, as it were, transact itself quite satisfactorily without much reference to the currency which may happen to be employed. Neither the American nor the French Revolution failed because the one employed "continental" currency and the other *assignats*. The substantial fact remained in both cases that the necessary exchanges of commodities were effected, although with extremely imperfect instruments. And so in the Rebellion, each side used a currency not in principle materially different from "continental money" or *assignats*, and with a success which was measured rather by the outcome of the war than the intrinsic merits of the two currencies. By putting down the Rebellion "greenbacks" became a great success, while the Confederate money is not worth its weight in good rags. H. M. F.

August 15, 1875.

# Notes.

LOCKWOOD, BROOKS & CO., Boston, announce 'Toward the Strait Gate,' by E. F. Burr, D.D., author of 'Ecce Cœlum'; 'Correspondences of the Bible: Animals,' by the Rev. John Worcester; and 'Manual of Ancient History,' by Dr. John Lord.——Harper & Bros. have in press 'The American Revolution as seen by Horace Walpole,' edited by Mrs. C. H. Mohun.——Part 28 of Stieler's Hand-Atlas (L. W. Schmidt) has three beautiful maps of (1) North Africa and the Levant, with a side-map of the Nile Delta and the Isthmus of Suez on a scale five times as large; (2) N. W. France; and (3) Palestine and the Lebanon district. The Atlas will be completed in two more issues.——'Library Notes,' by A. T. Russell, is announced by Hurd & Houghton.——Dodd & Mead address a large audience in their forthcoming 'Common-sense in the Management of the Stomach.'——Macmillan & Co.'s fall announcements include 'Zoölogy and Geology of Persia, with Narratives of Travel,' by several writers, apparently colleagues of Sir F. J. Goldsmid on his telegraphic mission; 'Political and Military Episodes in the First of the Reign of George III.,' from the papers of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne; 'Ecclesiastical History of Ireland,' by W. D. Killen, D.D.; 'The Age of Pericles,' by W. Watkyss Lloyd; a 'History of Lloyd's and Marine Insurance,' by Frederick Martin (of the 'Statesman's Year-Book') and B. C. Stephenson; and 'Angola and the River Congo,' by Joachim Monteiro.

—The *Portfolio* for August (J. W. Bouton) is a good number, both in illustrations and letterpress, though the chief etching, by Brunet Debaines, after Turner's 'Port Ruysdael,' is not strong in expression of water. It seems to be too much for a French artist, nationally and inevitably weak as he must needs be in marine art, to comprehend Turner's forcible but experimental dealing with ocean effects; but the color of this hazy, ghost-like composition is well interpreted, and the sky, full of rising exhalation and saline fume, is admirable. The other etching, a Thames view, by L. B. Phillips, is respectable, and the photo-"fac-simile," a study of a travelling tinker, by Legros, is very good. Among the literary notices, Mr. Carr very gravely compares the late Frederick Walker with Millet, and there is the beginning of a spirited criticism by Mr. Atkinson on Wiertz, the desperate sensationalist of Belgium. The technical notes reach an extreme limit of attenuation in this number, being restricted to a slight explanation, seemingly by Mr. Hamerton, on a problem in etching. Surely the editor, with his special advantages of international acquaintance, could gratify the profession with accounts of the methods of eminent and recognized authorities, such as Baudry, for example, or Bonnat, or Couture, or even Merle, Boulanger, Duran, or Gérôme. The Munich school is probably beneath his notice, but there are pickings worth having in the art-discoveries of Piloty, Max, Beyschlag, and Genelli. The comparison of art-methods is so wide and fruitful a theme that it is most desirable to have it well reaped rather than gleaned.

—One of the latest admissions to the company of immortals in the 'Familiar Quotations' is Abraham Lincoln. Out of all his homely sayings and public utterances still current or well remembered, Mr. Bartlett has properly chosen the concluding sentence of the Gettysburg address. He gives it, as we believe, in its correct form, and perhaps in that in which it is most frequently quoted; yet we have found no less than three variants in as many reprints of the full address. In Edward Everett Hale's 'The President's Words' (Boston, 1865), p. 121, it reads as follows: "And that *the* government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth." In Samuel P. Bates's 'Battle of Gettysburg' (Philadelphia, just issued), p. 214, we find "*a* government of the people"; and in B. J. Lossing's 'Civil War in the United States' (Hartford, 1868), p. 80, "*governments* of the people." The exact phrase is that given by Mr. Bartlett, namely, "government of the people." A comparison of the three versions just cited shows that they were borrowed from a common source, which we surmise to have been the stenographer's report for the Associated Press at the time the speech was delivered (November, 1863). It differs in a number of important particulars from the original manuscript as we find it copied in Arnold's 'Lincoln and Slavery' (p. 423). The differences are mainly such as a reporter would naturally make in using the sign of the definite article for that of the demonstrative pronoun, *e.g.*, "we take increased devotion to *the* [that] cause"; "we here highly resolve that *the* [these] dead . . . that *the* [this] nation," etc. In one instance there has been a transposition of the auxiliary *shall* and the parenthetical clause "under God"—the latter standing first in the original; in another, the word *here* ("they here gave the last full measure of devotion") has been inserted, while a corresponding locative phrase has been omitted in the following passage (Mr. Lincoln's words in brackets): "the unfinished work that [which] they [who fought here] have thus far so nobly carried on." The most considerable rhetorical change is the following:

*Reporter.*—"We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We *are met* to dedicate a portion of *it* as *the* final resting-place *of* those who here gave their lives that that nation might live."

*Lincoln.*—"We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We *have come* to dedicate a portion of *that battle-field* as *a* final resting-place *for* those," etc.

Finally, the omission of the word printed below in italics takes away a shade of meaning which may or may not be missed, but which certainly harmonizes with that spirit of modest humility at the shrine of departed worth in which the speech was conceived: "The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our [*poor*] power to add or detract." It will be admitted that what promises to be the most classic and most enduring of American orations ought to be as carefully preserved, without alteration or abridgment, as a standard of weight or measure. And few, we think, will deny that on the whole Mr. Lincoln's composition was better than the reporter's. If his manuscript is still in existence, could it not be reproduced in fac-simile?

—The loss which any community suffers by the death of a sound lawyer is one usually more often felt by the profession itself than by the public at large, and this is undoubtedly true of the death of the late Judge Parker of Cambridge. Forty years ago, his death would have been that of one of the most rising lawyers of the New Hampshire bar, and a few years later it would have been that of Chief-Justice of New Hampshire. For ten years he held this position, and abandoned it to take a chair in the Law School at Cambridge, which he occupied for twenty years. He was emphatically a learned lawyer of the old New England school, as well trained in the technicalities of pleading as in the principles of the law, and taking a great delight in the law as a complete system, not perhaps mathematically perfect, but sufficiently so to gratify the natural love of order, and at the same time give scope for the exercise of much ingenuity in drawing inferences and taking distinctions. As a teacher, the full effect of his learning was impaired by a dry manner, and many students have probably found his conversations about law more interesting than his public lectures. The Law School at Cambridge is much changed and much improved since his time. Degrees are now dependent on examinations, new methods of study have taken the place of the old, and a general spirit of progress has taken possession of the place; but it may be doubted whether the school will ever possess a teacher more completely at home in the subject which he taught, or more thoroughly and conscientiously a lawyer, than Judge Parker.

—French Protestantism, and all that depends on the growth of Protestantism in France, has met with a great loss in the death of Athanase Coquerel the younger. He was born in Amsterdam in 1820, while his parents were on a journey, and was destined himself to be an extensive traveller—in Europe, in Asia Minor, in the United States—thus adding to the breadth of view which he derived from his distinguished father and from his religion that which comes from experience of foreign parts, and is too

seldom acquired or sought by Frenchmen. For all that, he remained a Frenchman to the core, and never could forego his resentment towards Germany, and never, so far as we remember his utterances in the *Renaissance*, was able to lay the fault of the Franco-Prussian war squarely upon the shoulders of his countrymen. He was slightly wounded in the leg while ministering to the wounded during the siege of Paris; but he could forget and forgive this more easily than he could the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, and the annexation with them to Germany of a large and substantial fraction of his co-religionaries. But really he owed less animosity to Bismarck than to Guizot, the leader of the Orthodox party, sometimes designated in his lifetime as a Papist Protestant, or a Protestant who didn't protest. He was at least a Protestant Pope, and when Coquerel had reviewed in a friendly spirit Renan's 'Life of Jesus,' he suddenly found himself excommunicated. At Guizot's instigation his license to preach was revoked by the Consistory of Paris, whereupon he founded near the Bastille a so-called Liberal Church, which was attended by a large congregation of his admirers. As a preacher, his reputation outweighed, and no doubt deservedly, his father's. His last years were troubled by the plight into which Guizot's influence with Thiers and his government had plunged the Liberal wing of the French Protestants, and he foresaw many trials and persecutions for those who, like himself, joined a Unitarian faith to a persistent assertion of direct inheritance from the Huguenots. His visit to America, where he arrived four years ago this month, ought to have been a recreation from the severe mental strain of the siege of Paris and the Commune, but it was in reality a money-raising mission, in behalf of the threatened Liberal cause, and proved a severe strain on his vital powers. He died suddenly of a bronchial affection, July 25, at Fismes, in a purely Catholic region, and there, rather than at Paris, he insisted on being buried, in order to test once more the right of the state religion to forbid the sepulture of heretics in consecrated ground. His burial, however, was not obstructed by the authorities.

—Alluding in our issue of May 13 (No. 515) to the inception of the *Antikritiker*, we repeated the current rumor that "the intellectual godfather of the undertaking" was a certain "Prussian local medical inspector and writer," whom we did not name. We added that we believed he had a rather bad reputation on account of his literary quarrels, and we suspected that he played "a more prominent part than the prospectus and title-page intimate." We have received from Herr Nehring, the publisher of the *Antikritiker*, a delayed letter covering one from Kreis-Physicus Dr. Schauenburg, who expresses great indignation at our treatment of him, but who leaves it for Herr Nehring to say that he (Dr. S.) is an esteemed medical author, and that he has no more to do with the conduct of the *Antikritiker* than any other contributor. We are sorry to have been misinformed in this matter; our allusion to Dr. Schauenburg's reputation was, we need hardly explain, not intended as a reflection on his moral character.

—Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift* contains a review of Mr. Bancroft's 'History of the United States,' and more particularly of the last volume, by Dr. Von Holst. After praising the work as the beginning of scientific historical research and writing in this country, and as laying the foundation for all future writers on the same theme, the critic proceeds to point out some of the particulars in which Mr. Bancroft ought not to be received as an authority. He finds in Vol. X. an unreasonable space allotted to Germany—its history since the Christian era, and the attitude of its leading minds, and especially of Frederic the Great, towards the American Revolution. Mr. Bancroft, he says, conveys a wholly false impression of the state of feeling in Germany at that time, and almost tones out of sight the ugly facts concerning the letting of mercenaries to England, which Dr. Kapp so clearly brought out in his 'Soldatenhandel.' The last-named author had also, as long ago as 1871, told the truth about Frederic the Great in a work specially devoted to his relations with the United States; but Mr. Bancroft, says Dr. Holst, neither reports the facts nor so much as mentions Kapp's work. But strangely enough, while thus painting in warm colors the sympathy of the German men of letters and the Prussian king for the struggling colonies, Mr. Bancroft belittles the part played by those German commanders who proved their sympathy by joining our armies and taking the field against England. His slighting estimate of Steuben is in curious contrast with that arrived at by Dr. Kapp in his biography, which was declared to be without exaggeration by Mr. Bancroft himself when furnishing an introduction to the 'Life of Steuben.' Kalb is depreciated in like manner and equally in the face of notorious facts. The same faulty perspective which gives undue prominence and credit to Germany, causes the intervention of France to be undervalued. Dr. Holst cites a good deal of evidence to show that Mr. Bancroft has given an untrustworthy account of the good behavior of American troops as contrasted with that permitted by British officers; and of the patriotism and enthusiasm of the American people during the Revolution. "Enthusiasm," it is remarked, "is so far from having been a characteristic feature of the War for Independence, that one might almost be tempted to call the want of it characteristic." And again: Mr. Bancroft portrays "an extraordinary people under quite commonplace leaders, while it was in truth a quite ordinary people under leaders some of whom at least were extraordinary in the highest degree." In the chapter with a misleading title—"Striving for Union"—occurs the statement that "the American *people* were bent on having a government," whereas, says Dr. Holst, citing various American authorities, a central government was attained only after the greatest friction on the part of the States, and mutual concession and sacrifice under "a grinding necessity." He sums up Mr. Bancroft's defect as an historian in a word not easy to render in English—*Tendenz;* bias, purpose, or preconceived theory, we suppose we must call it.

—Those who have read Mr. Darwin's works are aware that there is no bird of greater metaphysical interest to man than the pigeon. It was from the results of pigeon-breeding in fact that Mr. Darwin was led to some of his most startling conclusions with regard to the descent of man from another representative of the animal kingdom. It must have struck a good many people that the pigeon may be of interest not merely as throwing light on our own somewhat dark past, but as being itself no less than man a progressive animal, and so worthy of some speculation as to its own future development. A correspondent of the *Spectator*, having this praiseworthy object in view, has been apparently for some years studying the rise and progress of the carrier-pigeon, and in a recent letter to that paper he gives some conclusions and predictions which are rather startling. With the carrier-pigeon the effect of careful breeding is of course to perfect its flying capacity, and if this correspondent, who is evidently quite *au courant* in the matter, is to be relied upon, we are on the eve of very important events in pigeon-flying. Fifty years ago, he says, when a pigeon accomplished the journey from Paris or London to any part of Belgium, he had a regular ovation (such a feat was this considered to be), and he became "an object of all but national worship." Nowadays, any number of pigeons are regularly let loose on the Spanish frontier, at the southwest angle of France, to fly to Liége in the east of Belgium, close to the German frontier, they being expected to accomplish this distance (580 miles as the crow, but not the pigeon, flies) within twelve hours. A bird that gets in in eleven hours may indeed bear off the national honors for the year; not by being the only bird, but by being the first of a number. This extraordinary development in the last fifty years has been due to the application of the principle of selection on a national scale to millions of birds. In the light of the progress already made, the question arises whether a pigeon might not cross the Atlantic. The correspondent doubts this, but is ready to maintain the "almost indefinite perfectibility" of the pigeon, provided always that he has natural landmarks to go by. Thus he says he should not consider it the least impossible that, "if general attention were turned to the training of pigeons," and "if the world at large were to throw its resources into the matter," a hundred years would develop a bird that might come back from Japan as easily as a bird now goes from Spain to Belgium. As to the rapidity of the pigeon's flight, he says: "Under favorable circumstances, a pigeon may perhaps fly a hundred miles an hour. It is conceivable that, applying those principles of transmutation which have differentiated the race-horse from the cart-horse, our '1950' pigeon might reach to one hundred and fifty or say even two hundred miles an hour." So that if their power of carrying weight could only be developed as rapidly as their flying powers, our "1950" pigeon would be the best mail-carrier in the world, and indeed we see no reason why we should not obtain, a century or two later, a bird combining the rapidity of the pigeon with the other valuable qualities of Sinbad's Roc.

## THE BOOK OF MARCO POLO.*

I.

WHEN Marsden published his learned edition of the 'Travels of Marco Polo' in 1818, it was supposed that he had so nearly exhausted all the possible sources of illustration of his author that future editors would find little or no matter for new commentaries. And when in 1865 Pauthier gave to the world a substantially authentic text for the old traveller's narrative, under the title of 'Le Livre de Marco Polo,' and astonished European

* 'The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East. Newly Translated and Edited, with Notes, Maps, and other Illustrations, by Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., late of the Royal Engineers (Bengal). Second edition, revised, with the addition of new matter and many new illustrations.' 2 vols. 8vo. London: John Murray. 1875.

scholars by an imposing display of Chinese and other recondite lore, accomplished critics expressed a similar opinion with respect to his labors. But in the first edition of an English translation which appeared in 1871, the learning and diligence of the distinguished Oriental geographer, Colonel Henry Yule, brought to the elucidation of Polo's meagre, fragmentary, and confused recital a great amount of interesting and valuable material, which, though not inaccessible to earlier editors, had remained undetected until his patient and comprehensive researches brought it to light. The four years which have elapsed since the original publication have enabled our editor to incorporate in a second issue a large stock of new explanatory and supplementary matter, both from existing sources, which even he had overlooked, and from the journals and private communications of very recent travellers in the wild theatre of Polo's wanderings.

But Colonel Yule's rectifications and augmentations of our knowledge of the *terra incognita*, no insignificant portion of which had remained untrodden by any European foot save the Polos' until the present day (we may almost say, hour), are by no means wholly borrowed from the reports of others. His long personal familiarity with the East had qualified him to comprehend and interpret much that had proved unintelligible to former students, and he has given proof of rare discrimination in reconciling and harmonizing many apparently conflicting statements in his text by judicious choice between different readings, by happy conjectural emendation of corrupt passages in the manuscripts, and by illustrations and supplementary contributions from his own ample stores of knowledge, as well as often from quite unexpected quarters. Colonel Yule modestly disclaims any extraordinary amount of linguistic attainment, but few professional scholars, even in these days of polyglot study, read as many tongues as he, and in his felicitous translations from quaint and obscure or equivocal originals (which may well earn for him the compliment of *grand translateur*, anciently bestowed upon Chaucer), in his verbal criticisms, and especially in his new and ingenious etymologies, he has exhibited a linguistic sagacity which would have placed him in the first rank of philologists if he had chosen to devote himself to language with as much zeal as he has done to geography. We will not anticipate the judgment of the learned by suggesting that Colonel Yule has given further evidence of his knowledge and command of the dialect of his author, in the concoction of the curious "manuscript in the old French tongue of the early fourteenth century," quoted in the preface to his second edition; but in any case, the reader who, supposing himself a proficient in that "old French tongue," denies the genuineness of the manuscript, will show no mean amount of attainment in that respect if he is able to adduce good *linguistic* grounds for questioning its authenticity.

While linguists are many, truly genial geographers have always been few, and the most adventurous and even learned travellers—such, for example, as Manning, whom Charles Lamb vainly endeavored to dissuade from a journey to "Independent Tartary"—often want the power or the inclination to turn their observations to any real scientific account. It is therefore fortunate for the cause of knowledge that Colonel Yule has chosen to exert his rare gifts in a comparatively unattractive and unambitious field of labor, and contented himself with arranging around Polo's slender and disjointed carpentry a mass of binding, covering, and decorative joiner-work, which has compacted it into a coherent and harmonious whole, instead of rearing an independent monument to his own literary reputation out of original materials. The compositors' rule, oftener preached than practised, is: "Follow *copy*, even if it go out at the window." The commentator must stick to his author with like fidelity, though he lead him to the antipodes. Hence, in a case like the present, the arrangement of his illustrative and supplementary matter can be neither alphabetical nor chronological, nor even strictly topographical, and, to borrow an illustration from an art in which Colonel Yule is an adept, his architecture, though not wanting in unity of design or in symmetry of detail, must be of the Arabo-Gothic rather than of the Grecian type. At the first view, therefore, the book in its present form has not the aspect of a philosophical whole, and in fact we are not yet able to co-ordinate scientifically the scanty geographical secrets of the impenetrable East, which thus far have been more or less dimly revealed to us. But what is possible in this respect has been most ably done by our editor, and it is by no means unmerited praise to say of this new redaction of the book of Messer Marco Polo, that it has certainly done much more to illustrate the wanderings of the Cathaian traveller than any—we are tempted to say than all—of the threescore editions which had preceded it. Indeed, as a repository of our existing knowledge of 'Cathay and the Way Thither,' it comes very near realizing the ideal prefigured by a former publication of Colonel Yule's under that quaint but attractive title.

He has, however, by no means confined himself to the illustration of Polo's itinerary, which could have no great interest except for geographical specialists. His enquiries embrace a vast range and variety of subject, natural, civil, and religious history, political economy, social institutions, manners and customs, commerce, curious questions in literature and art, directly or indirectly connected with the nature and life of the vast countries lying between Venice and the uttermost East, or bordering on the routes followed by the three Polos in their whole periegesis and their intermediate journeys. This wide scope of research has given opportunity for many learned disquisitions and erudite excursuses, which Colonel Yule's spirited treatment and pleasant style have rendered attractive, and he has thus accomplished the difficult task of making even a commentary in a high degree both instructive and entertaining.

The introductory matter, text, and annotations fill two octavos of about 600 pages each, of which the narrative, though printed in large type, composes not much more than a quarter. Fifty closely-printed pages are occupied with a singularly complete and commodious verbal and real index, wisely arranged under a single alphabet; the form, type, paper, and mechanical execution of the book are unexceptionable, and the pictorial illustrations numerous and well designed and engraved. In short, the author and publisher have evidently spared neither pains nor cost to make these volumes as conspicuous for their material good taste, elegance, and convenience as for their literary merit.

'The Book of Marco Polo' has given rise to more questions difficult of solution than any work of the same nature which has ever appeared. For example, the personal veracity and general accuracy of the traveller, the possibility of tracing his routes and identifying his localities, the reason for certain strange omissions to notice remarkable objects, facts, and customs with which Polo, supposing his narrative to be true, must have been familiar, such as the great Chinese wall, the mariner's compass, gunpowder, the art of printing, the general use of tea, and the like, which we should suppose could not fail to strike very powerfully the attention of an intelligent European of the thirteenth century; then the critical doubts as to the form and language of the original text, and whether there may not have been a later and more complete recension than any of which manuscripts have yet been found—all these Colonel Yule has ably discussed, and to many of them given satisfactory answers, though there remain some of which no sufficient resolution has been suggested. One of the most important of these, next to the fundamental problem of Marco's sincerity and honest purpose of speaking the truth, comes under the last head—that, namely, of the possible existence of a fuller recital of the traveller's observations than that of which alone old copies are known to us. Ramusio's Italian text, published about the middle of the sixteenth century, contains a considerable number of weighty passages which do not occur elsewhere. Are these fabrications, or are they taken from a more complete narrative drawn up by Polo at a later period, and under more favorable circumstances than that taken down in French, from his oral recital, by Rusticiano or Rustichello di Pisa, his fellow-captive in prison at Genoa? Many critics have rejected these additions as spurious, less on the ground of improbability or internal evidence of unauthenticity, than because Polo himself is known to have recognized the text of Rusticiano (in which they are not found) as authoritative, as no manuscript copies are known from which Ramusio could have borrowed them. Colonel Yule, for reasons which it seems difficult to resist, believes that they are in great part "supplementary recollections" of the traveller noted down at a later period of his life by way of illustration or complement to some copy of Rusticiano's manuscript; and we may add what, perhaps, should have been said before, that our editor is firmly persuaded of Polo's strict veracity and honesty of purpose.

The neglect of Polo to mention noteworthy points which could not possibly have escaped the observation of one who travelled so emphatically with his eyes open as the Venetian, is not so easily dealt with, and, after all, we cannot do better than to ascribe the omissions, in a general way, to the peculiar circumstances under which Polo's narrative was communicated to his companion in captivity. It was written in a crowded prison, where, as Cervantes says, "todo triste ruido tiene su habitacion" (every doleful sound hath its abiding-place), and of course in the midst of innumerable interruptions and distractions. Many years had elapsed since the period of the earliest journeys, and Marco had neither journal nor notes to refresh his memory, or indeed, so far as we can see, any motive for deliberately recording observations which might, under the circumstances, prove revelations of important commercial secrets to the rivals and enemies of his country. These considerations account for many imperfections. But we, being unhappily of the guild of bookmakers, think ourselves authorized to treat this as a question of our competence, and to theorize a little on the

composition of Rusticiano's book. We shall therefore, *pace* Colonel Yule, enter into some perhaps heretical, and possibly even not altogether novel, speculations on the technical authorship of the work.

According to Rusticiano, the two, being together in prison, said to each other: "Go to, now, let us make a book," and thereupon Polo dictated, and Rusticiano as amanuensis wrote, this now world-famous story. This account of the origin of the work has generally been accepted as satisfactory, but let us consider the probabilities. There is no apparent reason why Marco, who, educated as a merchant, certainly was able to write, should have dictated his narrative to a scribe instead of penning it himself; the first person is rarely used in the recital, which has much more the air of a hearsay report than of a copy from formal dictation; it is too unmethodical and *décousu* to be accepted as a deliberate history of travel and observation. It is written in French, not the vernacular of either party, Marco being a Venetian, Rusticiano a Pisan; and, considering where and how Polo spent the years of his youth and early manhood, it is hardly probable that he even knew French. It is therefore a translation, not an original redaction, and as it is much more strongly marked by Italic words and idioms than Rusticiano's other works in French, the communications from which it was derived were probably made in Venetian, Marco's household speech, or in that of Rusticiano, Tuscan, which at that time, A.D. 1298, had already acquired recognition as the *lingua comune* of Italy. Now Rusticiano was a professional writer, or, to describe him more accurately, a writer by trade. He would have been the Anthony Munday of his time, a regular bookseller's hack, had he not lived before the halcyon days when, to the infinite advantage of literature and the unfailing solace and comfort of "unprotected" authors, the process of evolution, development, or natural selection had unfolded that latest form of literary organism—the modern bookseller. Rusticiano combined in himself the functions of author, editor, and publisher, "three single gentlemen rolled into one," and he found it convenient to live on the product of other men's brains rather than on the growths of his own. So he translated, revised, compiled, abridged, and supplemented for publication or republication such good matter as he "became possessed of by finding." The marvellous relations of Messer Marco might very naturally strike him as excellent raw material for a new book, especially as the prison library was probably not very rich in *materia prima* for literary elaboration. Hence, under correction, it seems to us very probable that Rusticiano, upon his own mere motion, and not as the scribe of Polo, jotted down what struck him most in the conversations with which they whiled away the dreary hours of their long confinement. He wrote the story in French, because French was his professional language, and was indeed employed as best suited for general circulation by many a better man than himself—as, for example, Brunetto Latini and Canale, the one a Tuscan, the other a Venetian. We may suppose, then, that in Rusticiano's text we have not what Marco would deliberately have dictated as a history of his adventures, but so much of his oral narratives, delivered rather in the form of *yarns* than in a consecutive recital, as the "gaping soul" of Rusticiano understood or misunderstood, remembered, and thought good to record; and we may fairly ascribe many of Polo's otherwise unaccountable reticences and discrepancies to a want of intelligence, judgment, and memory in his reporter. Nor is the fact that Polo subsequently recognized Rusticiano's patchwork as authentic, by giving away copies of it, in the least inconsistent with this theory. Polo, once at liberty, and returned to his merchandising and other cares at Venice, would naturally have other things to do, in restoring his affairs, deranged by his absence, and setting his house in order, than to write a book, and he would gladly avail himself of Rusticiano's labors to spare himself a toil, for which, as a busy man and "no scholard," he had neither leisure nor stomach. He virtually said to the curious world: "Take this; ye get no more of me"; and we must thankfully accept this summary, such as it is, not only as the one source to which we owe nearly all we know of Polo and his wanderings, but as a memorial, without which, as our editor suggests, even the name of the Venetian Ulysses might have utterly perished.

Polo's reputation for veracity was by no means high in his own time. Not only was he known as "Squire Million" to the street (or rather canal) boys of Venice, but he is complimented with that sobriquet in legal documents of the period. Copies of his recital, indeed, were multiplied; but, probably on account of the general distrust of his reports, he seems to have produced little general impression on the European mind of his own or even of succeeding centuries. Mandeville, whose descriptions sometimes so nearly coincide with Polo's as to have suggested the idea that his book is made up of plagiarisms from Marco and other voyagers, never mentions Polo. Even Dante does not appear to have had any knowledge of him; he is not referred to in the Dittamondo of Fazio degli Uberti, or, so far as we have observed, by the compilers of any of the encyclopædic works of the fourteenth century, or by Froissart, fond as he was of fable and tales of adventure; and Col. Yule does not find Marco to have been freely used by any writer of that period except the author of the romance of 'Baudouin de Sébourg.' On the other hand, Chaucer, who, we believe, does not name Polo, was evidently acquainted with his travels, and, as Col. Yule pointed out, borrowed the name of his hero Cambuscan from that of Chinghiz Kaan, who figures so largely in Polo's history. But Chaucer was a fabulist, and would not have respected or quoted Polo the less if he had supposed all his reports to be quite fictitious. De Barros, so far as we have been able to discover, refers to Polo only once, and then barely to correct an error respecting Prester John into which the traveller had fallen, nor can we find any mention of him in Clavijo, in Pietro della Valle, or in Coryat. It is curious that while Milton's imagination was evidently fired by Messer Marco Millione's notices of the "barbaric pearl and gold" which "the gorgeous East with richest hand showers on her kings," and his poems are pervaded with the *prestige* of Oriental life, Shakspere nowhere gives any indication of a knowledge of Polo's travels, scarcely even of an acquaintance with the strange world that forms their theme. But Shakspere, long before Pope, was of opinion that the "proper study of mankind is man," and Polo's Paynims were as simply men and only men as the most home-bred of the dramatist's countrymen. With him the accidents, the outward circumstance, the integuments of humanity were nothing, and under his scalpel the moral and intellectual dissection of the Englishman showed an organization not differing from that of the Tartar. Shakspere, therefore, had nothing to learn from Polo, and the material splendor of the East had no attraction for his eyes. Besides, Shakspere was a contemporary of Raleigh, whose search for El Dorado, following the Spanish conquests in America, had turned the minds of Englishmen in another direction. The old half-superstitious reverence for the East was neutralized, and men were coming to believe that not the morning star, but Hesperus, indeed, "bringeth all good things."

GEORGE P. MARSH.

ROME, June 26, 1875.

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*A Christian Painter of the Nineteenth Century:* Being the Life of Hyppolite Flandrin. By the author of 'A Dominican Artist,' etc. (New York: Pott, Young & Co. 1875.)—The story of Hyppolite Flandrin's laborious, remarkable, and prematurely-arrested career has been related here in a tone a trifle "goody," perhaps—a trifle too suggestive of what is called "Sunday reading"—but with great good taste and sympathy, and much of what the writer himself (who is either an English Catholic or a sublimated Ritualist) would call unction. Flandrin's life and labors, however, are a very fair subject for unction, and the author exaggerates nothing in calling him above all things a "Christian painter." The great mass of American travellers know him chiefly through the noble mural paintings of the beautiful church of St. Germain-des-Prés—that smaller sister of Notre Dame. These may be called a great achievement, in spite of all deficiencies, and when it is observed that they represent but a small portion of the artist's work, and that he died, wearied and with sight impaired, at the age of fifty-five, it will be seen that he deserves a substantial memorial. Except a certain number of fine portraits, he painted nothing of consequence all his life but religious subjects. He may almost be called a theological painter. His long processions of saints along the entablature of nave and aisles, seen through the dim, colored light of St. Germain-des-Prés and Saint Vincent de Paul, have, if not the archaic rigidity, much at least of the simplicity and dignity, and of the look of being fashioned in serene good faith, which belong to the great mosaic figures wrought by the early Christian artists in the churches of Ravenna. If one had inclined to doubt that Flandrin worked in perfect moral harmony with his pious themes, his biography would offer a complete refutation. Modern religious painting is, we confess, rarely to our taste; but Hyppolite Flandrin's is among the best. Flandrin is less skilful in certain ways than Mr. Holman Hunt, but we prefer him either to that artist or to the mystical Overbeck. He is not at all mystical—he is not even very largely symbolic; but he commends himself by an extreme sincerity and naturalness, and by a mild solemnity which has not the drawback of seeming to have been produced by ingenious research. This is made plain to the reader of Flandrin's letters, from which the author has quoted with a frequency for which we are grateful. We only regret that she might not have left them, or parts of them, in the peculiar homeliness of Flandrin's French. They are not brilliant; they are hardly even interesting. Flandrin was a mild and passive soul, and his phrase lacks trenchancy, just as his character lacked it. But this character,

as his letters reflect it, was so earnest and grave, so single in aim, so all of one piece, that it seems to remind us again that the main condition of success for an artist is not so much to have an extraordinary gift as to use without reservation that which he has. Flandrin was no dilettante—he was not at all a product of what is called the highest culture of the time. He was a plain man, born into poverty and trouble, who learned his art by sacrifice, and believed in the priest, the rosary, and the *bénitier*. Thirty years in Paris studios never perplexed his faith, and he had the happy faculty of assimilating the current cleverness only just so far as it helped him.

He was born at Lyons in 1809, and his early years were spent in that hard apprenticeship to misery which has been the lot of so surprisingly large a number of eminent Frenchmen. His father was a struggling miniature-painter, with seven children, and two of his brothers manifested an inclination for the brush. One of them, Auguste, died young, after achieving respectable promise; the other, Paul, is a distinguished painter of the old classical landscape of composition. Paul and Hyppolite came up to Paris when the latter was twenty, and entered the studio of Ingres, then the leader of the liberal movement. Ingres was in the full sense of the word Flandrin's master, and Flandrin was completely submissive to his influence. What Flandrin eventually became was a less frigid and less classical but also a less accomplished and less various Ingres. As with Ingres, his strong point was outline and his weak point color. He competed in 1832 for one of the *prix de Rome*, and gained it, went almost immediately to the Villa Medici, and remained there for more than five years. In Paris he had felt, in all its cruelty, the pinch of poverty, and even in Rome, having nothing beyond his very moderate pension, he was uncomfortably impecunious. But after his return to France in 1838, fame and prosperity came to him with little delay, and from that moment his life was filled to overflowing with well-remunerated work. He received many Government commissions, and worked on a vast scale in the churches we have mentioned, in those of St. Séverin, in Paris, of St. Paul, at Nîmes, and of Ainay, near Lyons. In 1841 he lost the sight of one eye, in consequence of an unsuccessful operation undertaken to correct a squint. His frescoes look indeed like the work of a man who is without the faculty of seeing things in relief; his figures have too many flat surfaces. His health had never been strong, and in 1863 he went to Italy for rest. He found it—but for ever, dying in Rome a few months after his arrival. His letters contain few passages salient enough to quote, but we recommend them to the reader. They have an almost childlike simplicity, and give one a great good-will to the writer. He was not a painter of the first force; one can hardly call him interesting, in any deep meaning of the word. But he had in a remarkable degree a natural sense of certain beautiful qualities—sweetness, dignity, elevation, and repose—and here and there he reached something akin to grandeur. The great point with him is that, so far as he goes, he is perfectly genuine. He believed in the miracles of the saints whom he painted, and yet his painting was almost as "knowing" as if he did not.

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*The Sonnet.* By Charles Tomlinson, F.R.S. (London: John Murray. 1874.)—After the *ottava rima* there is in Italian no metrical combination so peculiarly national and popular as the sonnet. Its origin and early history are not clear, and it was to be expected that the author of the present work would throw some new light on these points, or at least reproduce the opinions of his most trusty predecessors in this field. The early history of the sonnet requires, at least for negative purposes, a knowledge of Provençal, with which language Mr. Tomlinson does not seem at all acquainted. This would not make any great difference were he familiar with the works of such scholars as Diez and Bartsch, whose statements in regard to Provençal poetry he could have received with perfect confidence. His ignorance of the bibliography of his subject leads him into some amusing blunders. For instance, on page 12, he has occasion to mention the *sestina*, and remarks that he was unable to find in Crescimbeni, or any similar authority, on what principle the terminal words of the various stanzas were arranged. He called to his assistance a mathematical friend, and between them they solved the puzzle, which solution, we may remark, is to be found in any good work on Italian prosody, or in Affò's 'Dizionario della Poesia Volgare.'

Mr. Tomlinson's method of arrangement is open to serious criticism—it is, in fact, no arrangement at all, the author passing from one topic to another in a bewildering and most unsatisfactory manner. He first classifies the bulk of Italian sonnets according to their scheme of rhyme, concludes from the prevailing order that the sonnet is a poem of regular construction, then digresses into its history, but while not yet fairly launched strikes the *sestina* and pauses to communicate the discovery of its arrangement made by himself and his mathematical friend. He then resumes his historical disquisition to make the remarkable statement that the regular sonnet was used as early as 1321, such a sonnet being written by Guglielmo degli Amalricchi in honor of Robert, King of Naples. From the context it seems likely that the author refers to the sonnet in Provençal, where, it is needless to say, it never existed. In the next line the sonnet is mentioned as perfected by various poets, among them Fra Guittone d'Arezzo, who died in 1294.

The remainder of the work is occupied with the classification and translation of sonnets of Dante and Petrarch, and with rambling remarks and criticisms of the work of others in this field. Many of the translations are accompanied by extracts from the older commentators, from two of whom, Tassoni and Muratori, Mr. Tomlinson has drawn freely. His own comments are not always to the point, as on p. 157, where he makes a curious mistake in regard to "'l terzo cerchio," mentioned in the sonnet, "Levommi il mio pensier in parte ov' era." He says: "There are also curious speculations about the third heaven, 'l terzo cerchio,' which was probably suggested to the poet by St. Paul (2 Cor. xxi. 2)." A very slight acquaintance with Dante should suffice to discover that the third heaven meant here is that of Venus, inhabited by the spirits of lovers. Mr. Tomlinson gives a very slight and disappointing account of the sonnet in England, omitting all reference to its importance in Spain, Portugal, and Germany. Our author's versions are in general accurate and smooth, and will convey to any one unacquainted with Italian a very fair idea of the best examples of the great master of the sonnet.

Mr. Tomlinson might confer a favor upon English readers by giving them, without any extraneous matter, a collection of the best sonnets arranged as far as possible in chronological order, with brief explanations of the difficult passages—in short, a comment like that of Giacomo Leopardi on Petrarch.

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*Fusang;* or, The Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century. By Charles G. Leland. (New York: J. W. Bouton. 1875. 12mo, pp. 212).—The substance of this book is made up of the narrative of the Buddhist priest Hoei-shin, translated, with comments, by the late Prof. Neumann of Munich. There follow then further comments by Mr. Leland, and other documents and papers bearing upon the subject. The material of the book is interesting and valuable, but there is a curious confusion in the arrangement. It takes some study to determine just what belongs to Hoei-shin, what to Neumann, and what to Leland; and, what is worse, when this is done, we confess ourselves unable to make up our minds just how much is proved and how much is mere inference. Fusang, as we make out from the original document on page 25, is "twenty thousand Chinese miles in an easterly direction from Tahan." Tahan, again, Prof. Neumann tells us (p. 24), is five thousand miles east of the Painted People, and these Painted People are, says the 'Year-Book of the Southern Dynasty,' "about seven thousand Chinese miles (or twenty of our geographical degrees) to the northeast of Japan, a direction and distance which places us in the midst of the Aleutian or Fox group of islands" (p. 22). This country was visited by the Buddhist missionary, Hoei-shin, and he gives an account of some of its institutions and manners and customs, which have some resemblances to those of Mexico—an identification which the above-given distances might also support. The name *Fusang* is that of a Chinese malvaceous plant (p. 162), and is applied to this country because of its abundance there; but inasmuch as the real *Fusang* is not found in America, Prof. Neumann is obliged to suppose (p. 37) either that it once existed here and became extinct, or that the name is applied to a plant which it merely resembles, just as the settlers of America gave the name *walnut* (Juglans) to the *hickory* (Carya). Therefore he makes the rather wild suggestion of the *maguey*, or American aloe, which bears no resemblance to the Fusang, except that it "supplies as many wants in Mexico as the original Fusang is said to do in Eastern Asia." It is hard to argue either for or against a theory which is built on such a very improbable hypothesis as this; for the rest, the arguments adduced have considerable weight, and considerable space is occupied by some chapters which discuss the practicability and the probability of an early communication between Asia and America, and the settling of America by the way of Behring's Straits. This is a subject which cannot be said to bear directly upon the main topic of the book. A settlement is one thing and a missionary enterprise is another; arguments for either may make the other more probable, but they are hardly likely to be both true.

The looseness of reasoning and carelessness of expression which injure the argument very materially, are illustrated in many little occasional points. Hoei-shin is made, for instance, to speak (p. 25) of the *Dryanda cordifolia*, which the Fusang-tree resembles in its leaves, and we are left to

guess that by this is meant the Chinese Fusang, although we gather from Dr. Bretschneider's expressions (p. 171) that it is a quite different plant. Again, on page 15, *Lieu-kuei* is identified with Kamtschatka ; and on the next page a translation from the Chinese Year-Books begins, "Lieu-kuei lies, etc." But a few lines below the name *Kamtschatka* is introduced as if it stood thus in the original. There is a good deal of this slovenly kind of expression.

*Schiller's Die Piccolomini.* Edited with an introduction, commentary, index of persons and places, and map of Germany, by James Morgan Hart. (New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.)—This is the second number of the series of German Classics undertaken by Mr. Hart and his publishers, and it deserves all the praise we gave to the 'Hermann und Dorothea' which preceded it. It deserves higher praise, in fact, for, while the text is just as carefully printed, the editing shows an even greater diligence of research, and is still more suggestive of German thoroughness and conscientiousness. The introduction alone, clearly and entertainingly written, occupies sixty pages. The student continues to be well served in the commentary. In short, there is no falling-off in quality or in quantity, and for such an enterprise this is a most hopeful augury. We have but a single criticism to make of the present volume, and that is that the reader is not reminded of the metrical translations by Coleridge and Carlyle of the 'Piccolomini' and other parts of the Wallenstein trilogy.

*Wooden and Brick Buildings,* with details. 160 plates of plans, elevations, etc., etc. 2 vols. large quarto. (New York : A. J. Bicknell & Co.) —The printed testimonials which accompany this work seem to indicate that it was intended for architects and builders ; and it may do them the same sort of good that they derive from the Architectural Sketch-books which have sprung up since the heliotype process was introduced by Messrs. Osgood & Co. In these periodicals, however, some attempt is made by the editors to keep out crude material, and to save the profession from the disrepute into which an indiscriminate admission of *soi-disant* architects' drawings would tend to bring it. In the volumes before us, the designs of some of the best and some of the poorest architects in the country are figured side by side, without any aid to the uncultivated judgment except what is furnished by the names respectively attached to them. There is reason to fear, therefore, that this collection of plates will not hasten the ascendancy of sound taste and sound reason in building ; that it will embolden builders to pass as architects sooner than it will diffuse higher ideals among the latter ; and that, so far as it falls into the hands of the public, it will probably mislead instead of educating, and promote senseless copying, in which the worst model is more likely to be chosen than the best. Regarded as a mere advertisement for the contributing architects, it is defective just so far as it supplies no reason why they happen to be represented in it, and no guarantee (such as the sketch-books presumptively afford) that their best efforts are here exhibited. Most of the plates are left to explain themselves. Against some few, with no apparent rule, the architect has set a brief description or commendation of his design, and occasionally the specifications are added in full. At the end of the second volume the New York form of contract is given, and this is followed by the Institute's schedule of charges, etc.

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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE business world was startled on Friday morning by the announcement that the Bank of California had, just previous to the close of bank hours the day before, stopped payment. This was followed on Saturday morning by the news that Mr. Ralston, the president of the bank, had suddenly died while bathing on the evening of Friday; whether he took his own life, or whether the death was natural, is a question in dispute. To those familiar with San Francisco speculations and the extent to which Mr. Ralston was involved in them, the failure of the bank was no surprise; but to the great majority, who regarded the bank as the representative financial institution of the Pacific coast—a section of the country which had escaped the evils attendant on the use of an irredeemable paper currency—the stoppage of the bank was shocking. San Francisco was thrown into a panic, and two other institutions—the Merchants' Exchange Bank and the National Gold Bank and Trust Company—closed their doors. The exchanges were closed, and many minor suspensions occurred. The news from California since the failure has been meagre, and the extent of the effects of the panic there is not yet known. The real condition of the affairs of the Bank of California is still a matter of conjecture. All accounts concede that the liabilities of the bank were from two to three times its capital, and much larger than capital and other assets combined, and that if the creditors of the bank are to be protected it will be by reason of advances of the stockholders, who are known to be men of ample ability to pay in full every debt of the bank. The effect of the failure on this side of the Rocky Mountains was light, and there was no reason why it should have been otherwise. The causes of the failure are more clearly apparent. Mr. Ralston, a born speculator and accomplished in all the arts of speculation, was identified with nearly every speculative enterprise of the coast; in short, he was widely "extended," and his control had involved the bank in his speculations to a sufficient extent to impair its credit. Besides, in his speculative campaigns, he had incurred the enmity of other speculative capitalists, who, there is every reason to believe, combined to effect the overthrow of the bank, knowing well that with its downfall his power was for ever broken. A depositors' run on the bank was started, and its unsoundness was demonstrated in less than forty-eight hours. The failure was the result simply of illegitimate banking, of a spirit of speculation which in a country like California was kept alive and ablaze by mining discoveries and the excitement incident thereto, instead of by the uncertainties of a fluctuating currency. In addition to the Bank of California suspension came that of a large mercantile house in Baltimore—Stirling, Ahrens & Co.—a firm which did an extensive business in the importation and refining of sugar. Its liabilities exceed $2,000,000, and the losses fall for the most part directly on Baltimore. Other minor failures have occurred, so that the week has been notable in this respect.

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Notwithstanding these failures, the outlook in regard to the autumn trade is far from discouraging, and merchants are hopeful. Both the South and the West have full crops, and the West has the advantage of high prices for its products. The new crop of cotton is estimated at from 4,250,000 to 4,500,000 bales; and in addition to this great advantage is the scarcely less important one that the political condition of the Southern States is more settled than for years. The stock of manufactured goods in the hands of distributors in the agricultural sections is not large, and, with the need and the means to replenish, it is naturally expected that there will be a large distribution of goods. The manufacturing interests of the country can, of course, not be improved until after the present overstock of goods in their hands or those of their agents is removed; but, with the agricultural interest flourishing, this is only a matter of time. The money market is becoming firmer, but the New York banks begin the autumn with a surplus reserve of over $20,000,000, so that there is no reason to expect an oppressive restriction in bank facilities. In Wall Street speculation was tame until the latter part of the week, when there was a break-down in Western Union Telegraph and one or two other speculative shares. Gold advanced during the week about one "point," and for a variety of reasons. The Bank of California failure, and the panic in San Francisco which followed, induced the transfer of about $2,000,000 gold from New York; a decline of consols in London, because of talk of complications between Great Britain and China, had its influence.

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The "soft-money men" held their expected convention at Detroit last week. The attendance was expected, it is said, to reach 10,000, but only 600 persons were present, and the proceedings were languid. The principal speaker was Mr. Kelley, and there was a letter from Henry C. Carey. The resolutions were of a very extraordinary character. They declared that the people ought to lend the Government money at a low rate of interest; that the Government ought to supply the people with "a safe and uniform currency"; and that the volume of this currency ought to be adequate "to the requirements of the country," but they did not mention what these requirements are; denied that the "soft-money men" were repudiationists or inflationists, and affirmed that they simply advocated the redemption of greenbacks in bonds, and of bonds in greenbacks, but did not acknowledge their obligations for this idea to Mr. Wilkins Micawber, formerly of London, and afterwards of Australia; advocated the issue of Kelley's 3-65 bonds to the whole amount of the Government debt, to be changed and exchanged for greenbacks on the Micawber plan; the payment of all debts of the country in legal-tenders, except bonds made payable in coin; demanded the immediate repeal of the specie-resumption bill of January, 1875; declared that the currency would render the country "independent financially of foreign influence and complications," and not subject to "the disturbing control or influence" of the Hwang-tse or foreign devils; and called for greenback clubs to push the Micawber idea. There has been so much discussion of these matters already, that, without meaning any disrespect to Mr. Micawber, we shall make no comment on the resolutions.

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"The Scholar" has been making some disturbance in "politics" during the week. The Milwaukee *Sentinel* takes up the case of Professor Anderson of the Wisconsin State University, of which Mr. Bishop of Milwaukee gave some account in a recent number of the *Nation*, and offers various reasons, of the accuracy of which we cannot judge, for the selection of Mr. Warner for the Secretaryship of State; says he is not only of Norwegian parentage, but was born in Norway; that he is not illiterate, but is "master of the English as well as of his own language, and of all the branches taught in our common schools"; and that instead of being "rather disreputable," he is highly esteemed by the people of his county. It also adds that Professor Anderson is wanting in judgment, but admits that Mr. Barron, the Regent, met him at the Capitol, and "quietly suggested to him that it might injure the State University if a professor were seen dictating to a political convention whom it should and whom it should not nominate." It does not mention, however, what we believe is true, that Mr. Barron tried to get Professor Anderson removed from his professorship, nor does it notice the assertion of a correspondent of the Madison *Democrat*, that the worthy Mr. Barron himself, after protesting pathetically on behalf of "the poor man" in the Assembly against having the land granted by Congress

to the State University appraised at more than a dollar and a quarter an acre, he being a Regent of the University at the time, entered 69,000 acres of it himself a few weeks later, which he has since been selling to "the poor man" at from $5 to $10 an acre. This, if true, is far worse than "dictating to a political convention."

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The affair also drew forth a letter from Professor Sumner, of Yale, who is himself a "scholar in politics," and who says in substance, as the result of his experience, that politics is unpleasant for the Scholar, but that nevertheless he ought to go into it. The letter would have been more valuable if it had gone into details, but it called forth from the Springfield *Republican* some approving remarks, which closed with an expression of opinion that New Haven politics with Postmaster Sperry and Congressman Kellogg is a wretched place for the Scholar, and that in any case politics can do very well without him, the country being really very well taken care of by "ungrammatical common people," who know nothing about political economy and Greek conjugations. We must remind the *Republican*, which is nothing if not "practical," that to find a match for the plan of saving the country through Horace Greeley, superintended by Mr. Fenton and General John Cochrane, with the Sermon on the Mount for a platform—a plan which the *Republican* highly approved—one would have to go, not to colleges or libraries, but to kindergartens. It is not everybody who can afford to be hard on the Scholar.

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The Republicans in New York seem to be making a serious mistake in their attacks on Mr. Tilden and his Canal Reform. That Mr. Tilden is a politician, and has in times past had some very queer political associates, there can be no doubt, but there is no doubt either that his movement against the "Canal thieves" bears all the marks of an honest attempt to rid the State of a great abuse. His investigating commission is, of some hundreds which have been investigating abuses during the past few years, the first which has succeeded in getting any money back from the people who have defrauded the public. Twelve thousand dollars is not much, to be sure, but it is a good deal more than has ever been restored by Tweed. The work of the commission, too, in making its enquiries into the frauds, has been very thorough, and conducted in the manner of a judicial investigation, rather than in the loose and disconnected way in which such matters are generally managed. They have not allowed State officials implicated in the negligence by which the frauds were made possible to go about denying their culpability and accusing the commissioners of ignorance and incapacity, and declaiming against the evil tendencies of the times which permit the slander of our best men to go unrebuked; but they have, in all such cases, summoned the officials before them, and called upon them to make good their denials, which has in no case been successfully attempted. Honest and able investigations, followed immediately by clear reports and by suits for restitution, are what most people suppose Canal reform to mean, and that such reform as this is all a sham, like the platitudes of a convention, is beyond belief. If the Republicans really have any hope of getting control of the State again, there is only one way for them to do it, and that is by going to work and showing, at Washington and in the Custom-houses, that they are better reformers than the Democrats. This, however, takes time and trouble; it is a great deal easier to denounce Tilden for his hypocrisy and for being the "tool" of the "Boss."

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The Enforcement Acts provide in general terms for the criminal prosecution of any two or more persons who unite, combine, and conspire together to obstruct and hinder the execution of the processes of the courts. It would seem as if the Attorney-General would have to begin proceedings under them very soon against the proprietors of the *Tribune*, Judge Daniels of the Supreme Court, and Mr. A. G. Browne, jr., who have formed a combination or conspiracy to render null and void the judgment of the Court of Appeals in the Tweed case. Judge Daniels has just rendered a decision in a habeas-corpus proceeding, in which he admits that the Tweed case must be good law, but declines to apply it, on the ground, apparently, that the consequences would be bad. The *Tribune*, on the other hand, has printed a letter from Mr. Browne in which that gentleman (a lawyer of established reputation) says that in the case of Suydam *v.* Smith (52 New York 383), the Court decided exactly the opposite of what it had laid down in the Fisher decision cited by Mr. O'Conor. The persons who make these shameful attacks on this venerable bench should remember that any little inconsistency they may discover in its decision is probably due to the political character of these jurists. Without going so far as to say that all important cases, like the legal-tender suits and the Tweed case, ought to be decided in favor of both plaintiff and defendant, it is clear that a judge actively in politics who, when accused of having decided a case in a particular way, can immediately produce a decision made about the same time directly the opposite way, has many points in his favor before the people.

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The New Jersey constitutional amendments, which are to be voted on in a fortnight, provide against any loan of money or credit by cities and towns to individuals or corporations, make the pay of legislators an annual salary, forbid special legislation, and give the governor the right to veto parts of an appropriation bill while approving others. These amendments were drawn up by a constitutional commission, and are all good. We should be glad to see in some State the experiment tried of allowing the governor to dismiss the legislature for cause shown. Though probably this would seem to most constitutional reformers something like a reintroduction of "monarchical" prerogative, there would really be nothing dangerous in it, and it would not be nearly so great a blow at the sovereignty of the legislature as many other reforms actually adopted and found to work well. The threat of dissolution held over the head of a corrupt and slothful legislature might prevent the scandal to which its sense of irresponsible power frequently gives rise. As an illustration of the value of restrictions on loans, State or municipal, we may refer to to the very striking instance of the State of New York. The constitution of the State contains very stringent clauses to keep the State debt within limits, while the city of New York has been left to take care of itself. Both State and city have been constantly plundered by contractors and statesmen of every stripe; but the State debt to-day may be said hardly to exist, while the city owes a hundred and twenty-five millions at least, and her debt is steadily increasing.

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The Georgia "insurrection" has subsided almost as suddenly as it arose, the number of Georgians slaughtered, as is common in such cases, being one negro, who is supposed to have been killed in a squabble with some of his own race. A large number of desperate characters, however, have been arrested and lodged in jail, and the grand jury has been charged by Judge Herschel V. Johnson with regard to them. The black-hearted villany of the South comes out very plainly in his charge. He begins by telling the grand jury that he has been advised of a "plot of insurrection," and has ordered a full investigation into all the circumstances. He then gives legal definitions of insurrection and attempts to incite insurrection, cautioning the jury not to be guided by suspicion, rumor, or hearsay. He warns them, too, against exaggerating the enormity of the crime, or allowing any consideration of color to affect their minds, reminding them that they must "ignore the fact that the accused are negroes" or "that they were ever slaves." The explanation of this extraordinary behavior is not, as some foolish enthusiasts would have us believe, a growing spirit of fairness and good-sense at the South, but a deep-laid conspiracy on the part of the Georgia "banditti" to murder all the negroes and Union men, meanwhile keeping themselves beyond the reach of Ku-klux law by a great display of moderation and desire for justice. The wretched tyrants are now conscious

that the eyes of the North are upon them, and, like the bandits of the stage, the judge, the sheriff, and the grand jury have come to the conclusion that they are "observed" and must "dissemble."

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Colonel Baker has been peremptorily dismissed from the army, with the usual formula—it is said by the interference of the Queen, who put an end to the waverings of the Commander-in-chief's Office on the point of allowing him to resign. The delay in announcing this decision, combined with the lightness of the judicial sentence, excited a good deal of dissatisfaction, which found expression in the radical press, and with a good deal of force, the special point of complaint being his treatment as a "first-class misdemeanant" and exemption from all the hardships and degradation of prison life—from everything, in fact, except confinement. The dismissal from the service, however, completes his ruin, as it will prevent his finding employment in any foreign army, besides driving him out of society at home, and ought, even if he is not a very sensitive man, to kill him. There is some slight connection between this incident and the career of Kenealy, which appears to be rapidly approaching its close also. One of his own "Magna Charta Associations," and that the largest, has turned upon him and denounced him savagely for his bad temper, want of judgment, and tyrannical disposition, and, worse than all, accuses him of pocketing "the people's pence," without rendering any accounts or having any responsible treasurer.

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The trouble in Herzegovina does not seem to abate, and there are rumors of the entrance of reinforcements from Dalmatia and Croatia, and of various reverses to the Turkish troops. But as all this news is collected at Trieste, and comes down from the mountains in the mouths of peasants, it is not very trustworthy. There appears to be little doubt, however, that the Turkish troops on the spot do not make much headway; that, in the absence of railways, reinforcements reach them very slowly; and that those going by sea, by way of Kleck, find difficulty in penetrating the defiles into the mountains; that the Servians have put an army corps "in observation" on the frontier, which, though it looks like a precaution in the interest of peace, operates as an encouragement to the insurgents, and has had the effect of causing excitement among the Servians themselves; that there is danger of popular pressure being brought to bear on Prince Milan in favor of interference, but that nothing of the kind will be permitted by Austria; that the whole affair is having a very serious effect on Turkish credit, and that there is still talk of mediation.

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The Sultan has at last, or rather has again, apparently been impressed with the necessity of putting his affairs in order. He has announced his intention of contributing $2,000,000 out of his civil list this year towards the cost of making a railroad to Bagdad, and in fact has agreed to cut the civil list down permanently from about $6,000,000 a year to less than $5,000,000. A reduction has been made too in all the other official salaries, the Grand Vizier losing one-third of his. Another measure proposed is what is called "the secularization of the Vakoufs," or lands belonging to the mosques under a singular form of endowment. This endowment consists in the consecration to the service of the mosque of a piece of land by the owner, who, however, does not surrender the possession of it, nor does the mosque come into possession of it until his descendants in the direct line are extinct, but from the moment of the gift the property becomes exempt from taxation and strictly entailed. No holder can afterwards alienate it, and the state cannot tax it. The consequence is that an enormous extent of real estate has thus been withdrawn from taxation, and the desire to prevent the property from lapsing by the extinction of the founder's family has long been a fruitful source of fraud. It is now proposed to give the present holders a release from the entail on the direct heirs, and to allow its descent in the collateral line on the payment of a fine. This is not likely to bring in much if any money, first, because the holders of Vakoufs are generally poor and unenterprising; secondly, because those who have direct heirs would not see the use of barring the entail; and, thirdly, because those who have not would hardly ever care enough about the collateral branch to be willing to pay money for its benefit. Reforms in the direct taxation are also in contemplation, such as the commutation of the tithes now levied on produce for a fixed money payment, but then this could fairly be carried out only through a small portion of the empire. Through most of it the absence of roads deprives the farmer of access to any market not within a few miles of his home, and to ask him to pay in cash, therefore, would be asking an impossibility. The deficit last year was $1,500,000, which may not seem large, but is likely to be larger this year. The prospect of a financial collapse naturally adds fresh interest to the troubles in Herzegovina.

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The connection of Turkish finance with Indian finance is apparently very remote, and yet it is in reality by no means remote. A breakdown in the former might be the means of bringing Russia and England once more face to face on the Eastern Question, and the collision would seriously aggravate the anxiety already felt among English politicians about the Russian advances in Central Asia, and in a scarcely less degree about the condition of native Indian opinion. In a debate in the House of Commons brought on about two months ago by Mr. Baillie Cochrane, Sir George Mackenzie, who long held a high administrative position in the Northwestern Provinces, showed conclusively that nothing could be done either by arms or diplomacy in Afghanistan to arrest or prepare for a Russian attempt, for instance, on Herat, and that there was nothing for it but to await events. It is, however, admitted on all sides that there is not much to be feared from Russian arms, as the British can meet any force with which they can cross the mountains with a force far more effective; but that there is, in the present state of Indian feeling, great danger from the effect of Russian influence. The very efforts which England has made to promote civilization in India, and which have been wonderfully fruitful, seem to be working her evil, for with the moral and mental elevation of the natives has come growing discontent with foreign rule and with various kinds of inequality, such as the difference in the pay of English and native officials. This discontent now begins to show itself with considerable boldness in the native press and theatre, and it is very puzzling. British rule is the best rule India has ever had. Her grievances are sentimental mainly, but sentimental grievances are just the ones with which Englishmen find it most difficult to deal. One little incident which has just occurred shows how delicate the relations of the two communities are becoming. The cheating of the Manchester manufacturers in the quality of their goods has led some native capitalists to import machinery and start mills at home, which have proved eminently successful, and, with the aid of cheap labor and the import duties now levied, they are able to beat the coarser English fabrics out of the market. Whereupon some of the Manchester men have called on the Government to lower the duties; and very cool observers, who have little sympathy with the Manchester men, such as the *Economist*, are urging the Government to do so, because it is well known that they are not to be, and were never intended to be, kept up longer than there was absolute need for the money they bring in, and that "it can conceive nothing more dangerous to the incipient industry of a country than to attract capital temporarily into a trade by artificial bounties and then withdraw the aid so given." This is true; but the matter has a political as well as an economical bearing, and there is now the danger that a reduction of the duties will, under present circumstances, be looked on by the natives as a sacrifice of their interests to those of their British competitors in trade.

## THE CRASH AT SAN FRANCISCO.

THE effects of the panic at San Francisco upon affairs at the East are apparently likely to be so slight, and it finds the public mind so hardened to financial disasters, that there will probably be much less philosophizing over it than the magnitude of the disaster would lead one to expect. But it throws some light which is worth attention on problems now under discussion at the East. It is not impossible that some of the half-witted advocates of irredeemable paper may see in it proof of the worthlessness of coin as a circulating medium, and will observe at their meetings in a fatuous way that we now perceive that specie furnishes no protection against panics; to which the reply is, that nobody has said it did. In fact, nearly all the great panics in commercial history occurred "on a specie basis." What *was* said by the friends of the greenback was, however, that, being a non-exportable money, *it* would furnish protection against panics, and this was never said with so much confidence as in the winter of 1872–3, on the eve of a very great panic. It is now established pretty effectually that we are at least just as much exposed to commercial crises under irredeemable as under redeemable paper. The friends of hard money, however, go further than this, and say that inasmuch as the constant fluctuation of values under a paper standard gives trade an aleatory character, it increases the spirit of speculation in a greater degree than hard money, and in so far as it does this is more likely to produce panics than hard money.

But, as we have before now pointed out in these columns, it is not so much in the production of panics as in the recovery from them that the evils of an irredeemable paper currency and the advantages of hard money are seen; and of this we have no doubt the California catastrophe is going to furnish another striking illustration. After a panic under an irredeemable currency, when men come to put their affairs in order, wipe out old scores, and try to make a fresh start, they find themselves met at the very outset by a clamorous demand from that part of the community which has goods for sale or debts to pay, that the standard of value shall be changed in the interest of "the debtor class"; or, in other words, that the very foundations on which trade rests shall be taken up and laid anew. At a time when the uncertainty caused by a general collapse of credit is at its height, and is filling men's hearts with fear, they find themselves threatened with the loss of the only instrument by which they can ascertain the value either of their own property or of anybody else's. In the midst of a gale, with the sails flying from the yards, the ship on her beam-ends, a part of the crew insists on throwing the compass and sextant overboard, and steering by the stars and dead-reckoning. Through this last experience we at the East are now passing. Under a specie régime, no such aggravation of a panic is possible. When the first burst of alarm is over, and people look to see where they are, and in what manner they shall begin anew, they find the gold standard still untouched, and by its aid they find out exactly what they are worth, and what their debtors are worth, and in making settlements are able to tell exactly what they will receive or what they will have to pay one year or ten years hence. The advantage of this in clearing away the rubbish of overspeculation is simply incalculable. In the great crisis of 1837, and again in the great crisis of 1857, we had this advantage. When the squall was over, and men began to examine the ruins, they were not met by crowds of blatherskite orators inviting them to settle their debts in bits of paper, and pointing out the untold riches which lay in calling every pint a quart, or every yard a yard and a half. The bank currency went, but all debts and all property were estimated in gold and silver. In the present crisis, on the other hand, we do not possess this advantage, and hence the slowness of our recovery. Every debtor wants to settle in a different kind of money, and some in new money got up for the occasion. Every month some quack appears on the scene with a new standard of value, manufactured by a patent process of his own, and gets a parcel of politicians to promise to have its use made compulsory on all citizens. It is no wonder that under these circumstances people are afraid to go into any new business, and are longing to get safely out of the old ones, and are letting their money lie idle in the bank, where it is likely to do least mischief and expose them to fewest risks.

From these evils the Californians, owing to their clinging to the specie standard, will escape. Now, when they begin to settle old scores, they will settle on a fixed basis, which politicians cannot shake or alter. Everybody knows what his debtor's assets are worth and what they will be worth, other things remaining the same, a year or five years hence. He has not, in winding up his old ventures, to keep an eye on Kelley, or Allen, or Sam Cary, or George H. Pendleton, or to find out what Thurman is thinking, or what Morton or Logan is up to. The rant and speculation of all these eminent thinkers and economists will pass him by like the idle wind. About the 3-65 scheme, and the land-bank, and "the poor man's money," and the "people's money," and "the blood-stained, battle-born money," he will not trouble his head. He will listen, not for the melodious notes of the inflationist oratory, but for the chink of United States dollars, and on them, and not on the vapid speculations of half-cracked demagogues, he will seek to rebuild his prosperity. One other advantage the Californians will have of which we here can know nothing. It is said, though we do not believe it, that the Bank of California failed because gold coin was scarce; the real reason was the common one —its inability to pay its debts. But supposing gold coin to be overscarce in California, scarcer than the needs of commerce require, and the people demand it, and are willing to sell their property to procure it, back it will come from Europe as fast as it is wanted, and when it comes *it will go into the circulation.* The Californians will not witness the extraordinary spectacle which was witnessed in this city during the panic in 1873, of gold arriving in large quantities from Europe to lie in bank, at a moment when the banks were paying their depositors in certified checks for want of currency.

But for nothing is the Californian crisis more valuable than for the illustration it affords of the danger of "basing" credit on things which cannot be readily turned into coin. To put money into things which it cannot be taken out of at short notice has long been recognized as the very essence of bad banking. Nearly all great bank failures have occurred from this course. No bank which issues notes and takes money on deposit, payable on demand, can help enterprises from which returns come in slowly, if at all, except at the peril of its life. Therefore, attempts on the part of banks to aid in "developing the material resources of the country" are simply mad. This is the business of capitalists, not of banks. The temptations it offers to bankers whose heads are not strong, or who are intoxicated with the fumes of success, are often irresistible, particularly in this country, where schemes "with millions in them" are so common. Nevertheless, it is in this business that the Bank of San Francisco, or rather its president, seems to have engaged, and he has perished as scores of others have perished before him. But at the bottom of this rashness, perhaps on his part, and unquestionably on the part of many others who have come to grief in the same way, there lay a hallucination which shows itself constantly in the speeches of the paper-money quacks, viz., the notion that so long as your paper represents property, or, as they say, is "based" on property, which has or may some day have value, you cannot make a mistake in issuing it. The Bank of California was in this way "based" on mines and canals and railroads and hotels which it had used its funds in working, and therefore, according to our currency doctors, it ought not to have failed. They have, in fact, used the term "base" so much, and have in using it so rapidly extended its meaning, that the connection they make between promises to pay and the thing they are "based" on, is often simply one of mental association. They often talk about "basing" as if they thought that a man might, if he saw a cow worth $50 passing his window, give his note to a creditor for that sum "based" on the cow, on the simple condition of informing the creditor of the nature of the transaction and without having any property in the cow whatever,

or without her having any connection with the note beyond suggesting its amount. The scheme of having the Government issue notes based "on the entire wealth of the country" is hardly more rational than the issue of notes by private citizens "based on" other people's cows. The "entire wealth of the country" not being in the least degree available for the payment of the notes, not being salable or in any manner disposable in satisfaction of them, they might as well be "based on" the crown jewels of England or the guano of Peru. All "basing" of credit, or promises to pay money on demand, on anything not immediately convertible into cash, is in fact a delusion which is at the root of all bad currency schemes and all bad banking. Analyze any of the great national or banking swindles or collapses of the last two hundred years, and we shall find that they have consisted principally in "basing" obligations to pay money on something not immediately salable for coin—sometimes hopes, sometimes land, sometimes railroads, and sometimes buildings or bridges. The final form of the craze is the issue of national currency, secured by something over which the Government has no control, and which it could not sell if it tried. "Basing" is, in fact, the great madness of the times.

## THE FARMER AS A "MEDIÆVAL BARON."

WHEN the Grangers and their friends were, after the panic, driven to extremities in their efforts to describe the enormous, flagitious, and high-handed greed of the Railroad Bondholder and Stock Speculator, and words failed them in direct recital of his crimes, they resorted to analogy, or, as they would say in Brooklyn, to an "allegory." They said that anybody who wanted to receive a distinct impression of the Bondholder must study the history of the Middle Ages, and make himself familiar with the manners and customs of the robber barons of that sad period, who used to sally forth from their strongholds on fine mornings and truss peaceful travellers on the highways, or bastinado the poor serfs down at the village in the hollow. If, on the other hand, anybody wished to receive a distinct impression of the Farmer who lives along the lines of road in the West, and travels on them, or sends his produce to market by them, he should read La Bruyère's and other contemporary accounts of the French peasantry before the Revolution, the brown, filthy, long-haired, greasy, stooped, leather-skinned, and ferocious-looking apes who passed in the French fields for men and women. We are not jesting about this. This comparison was seriously made in a paper read before the Social Science Association by a prominent champion of the Farmer, and he was invited by the president of one of our leading colleges to repeat it before the students, as a noteworthy, if not accurate, picture of American agricultural society less than two years ago, and the Granger newspapers and lecturers took greatly to the simile. The Mediæval Baron and the Degraded Serf of poor old Europe were reported at all the conventions as having established themselves west of the Alleghanies in spite of the Constitution and the fifteen Amendments, and might be seen by anybody who chose to hire a buggy and drive out on the prairie. The serf could always be found either ploughing in his fields or reading the newspapers in his own parlor, and the Baron's man-at-arms stood on guard at the railroad station, levying the dues for his lord.

To the surprise and pain of the Eastern public, however, accounts are coming in every day which seem to indicate that the Farmer has got tired of being a Serf, and has himself become a Mediæval Baron. Now, as a Serf, he was simply unfortunate; but as a Baron he is immoral. It is unpleasant to be robbed and bastinadoed, but not wicked; while to rob and cudgel is sinful in the highest degree. Nevertheless, it does really seem as if our old friend was tired of his humble but virtuous rôle as a hind, or villein, and had converted himself at one bound into a high-handed and ruthless lord, and as if he had either reduced the Bondholder to serfdom, or had cooped him up in the walled towns, and stripped him carefully every time he ventured outside. The stories about him in this new character are now so numerous that we can hardly doubt their general accuracy. To some of them, in which he is represented as extracting money from the Bondholder for town and county improvements, ostensibly as a loan, just as his mediæval prototype used to extract it from Isaac of York and Moses of Seville, and then laugh at him and pull his beard when he asked for repayment, we have already called attention. The most recent example has occurred in Mason County, Illinois, where the local Barons got the Bondholder to advance money to make a levee to keep the river from overflowing their lands, and gave him in return county bonds, which professed to be "based" on assessments laid on the property that was benefited by the embankment. That the Bondholders should not have known that such bonds were illegal under the new constitution, and would bind neither the county nor anybody else, seems doubtless very extraordinary; but what can one expect from a Serf? That the Barons knew, we have not the least doubt, and that they joked and laughed over the operation in their castles on the prairie, we have just as little. Accordingly, when the Bondholder asked for his money, he was told with a chuckle that the issue of the bonds was unconstitutional, and that he must take himself off. To be sure, they had got the money, and the lands were drained, and the owners were reaping the fruits of the outlay, but the Barons do not expect to be called on to repay loans or surrender plunder. If they were compelled to do so, where would be the use of being a Baron?

The Bondholder is having another very curious experience down in Alabama. The Barons there determined to treat themselves to one of those modern contrivances called a railroad, to wit, "The Alabama and Chattanooga" line. So they got a number of English and Dutch money-lenders to advance them nearly $5,000,000 in 1869 on the security of first-mortgage bonds, guaranteed by the State Government, which were put on the London market by the aid of prospectuses containing several false statements upon important points. On the first of January, 1871, the company in due course defaulted in the payment of the interest. This and the interest of the following July were then paid by the State, according to contract, and it took possession of the road. In the following September the road was put into bankruptcy and sold under an order of the Court to the State of Alabama, which began to try to sell it to somebody else. In the meantime another Court appointed a receiver of the property, nominally in the interest of the mortgagees, and with "extensive borrowing powers." In the following January the State also made default on the interest on the bonds, and having failed to pay the small amount in cash due on its purchase of the road from the Bankruptcy Court—about $235,000—the Court threatened to sell the road again to the highest bidder, without regard to the first-mortgages, unless the money was put up by somebody. So the first-mortgage bondholders met in great alarm, and agreed to advance the amount needed, $250,000, to the State, and the State was to issue $1,500,000 currency bonds, which were to be given to the bondholders in payment of their back coupons. So they paid the cash over to the State, and awaited with impatience for these currency bonds. Two months afterwards they learned, however, to use their own somewhat comic phrase in the report which lies before us, "with feelings of which deep disappointment formed a part" (what was the composition of the remainder they do not mention), that the Governor, or Head Baron, had postponed the payment to the Bankruptcy Court, and that he was using the new bonds in payment of the floating debt of the State, and that the State Treasurer did not see much use in paying the back coupons, as the State would "have to default again in sixty days." Accordingly, it did promptly default in the following July, and the Governor applied to the United States Circuit Court to have new receivers appointed, and new receivers were appointed accordingly. We have said that the old ones had "extensive borrowing powers." Under their management the road earned exactly twenty-five per cent. of its working expenses, and they borrowed as hard as they could to meet the deficiency, and borrowed harder than ever after

the application had been made to the Court to remove them, so that they managed to contract a "floating debt" of $1,200,000. The two new receivers, however, in some unaccountable manner, made the road pay its expenses and something more in the first two months of their administration.

The suit in which these receivers were appointed ended in another order of sale, in which the rights of the first-mortgage bondholders were protected as against everything but the receiver's loans, and the validity of these was ordered to be proved. A man named Balch, about whom the bondholders could learn nothing, then turned up as purchaser, and the Court directed the road to be delivered to him on certain conditions, of which the first was the deposit of $200,000 in cash; but as soon as he found he could have his purchase he disappeared, and after the appointment of another set of receivers, and another sale, the first-mortgage bondholders finally bought the road, and are now in possession; that is to say, after two or three years of litigation and worry, during which they have lost the interest on their money and have been cheated by the State, they are put in possession of an uncompleted and ill-equipped road, have lost the guarantee of the State, and are left to bring their property up to the paying point as well as they can under the savage eye of the Honest Farmer, who will probably be legislating against them a year or two hence as foreign extortioners and speculators, and egging on the State Attorney-General to sue them, and the Governor to call out the militia against them, and "bring them under the dominion of the law." It must be admitted that this sort of performance does not do much for the national credit, and does still less for the national morals. A sovereign State playing the part of a common Jeremy Diddler, by using money for one purpose which was paid to it for another, and converting its own bonds into an instrument of fraud, is one of those spectacles in which there is a lesson; but it is certainly not an improving one.

## A WHITEBAIT RETROSPECT.

London, August 14, 1875.

AMONG the customs which the earnest Administration presided over by Mr. Gladstone allowed to fall into desuetude, and which the easy-going Administration presided over by Mr. Disraeli has revived, may be mentioned the ministerial Whitebait dinner at Greenwich on the Thames. Of what particular ceremonial this indigestible banquet is the survival, I do not pretend to say. It is an idiosyncrasy or fancy of the governing classes in this country. What it comes to is this: In the hot August days, at the end of an exhausting period of work, some thirty or forty middle-aged and elderly English gentlemen, each with his own comfortable house in London and his three or four luxurious clubs, go aboard a dirty river steamboat and steam down through the least savory part of the river Thames to an inferior eating-house overlooking the mud and refuse of London, and there surfeit themselves on curiously-dressed sea-fish and indifferent wine. This was the old annual prelude to the close of the session before Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister, and this is the revival which Mr. Disraeli—a man who looks as if he should not tamper with his constitution—has thought it due to a Conservative reaction to bring out. Last Wednesday the Ministers went down to Greenwich, and all the more important among them—both peers and commoners—were present. This time last year, you may remember, there was a good deal of talk in the newspapers about the Whitebait dinner. Mr. Disraeli retired to the seclusion of his villa in Buckinghamshire while his Ministers had their fish feast, and the Marquis of Salisbury, who was then brooding over the insults heaped on him by his chief in a moment of extreme elation, was pointedly announced in the fashionable prints to have gone to Hatfield. The gossipmongers, who are clever at detecting the signs of the times, saw in these defections from the dinner a split in the Cabinet. But nothing came of it. Terror of dyspepsia had probably more to do with their defection than any other emotion. This year they were both in their places. Philosophers say that pity is the true foundation of the feelings of affection, and it may be that pity for Mr. Disraeli's misfortunes during the past session has knit together the hearts of his Cabinet. How that may be, I cannot say, but there was no appearance of estrangement, and they sat down to their banquet as if they liked it, and rather enjoyed each other's society.

It may not be uninteresting to speculate what these eminent persons talked about at this the supreme effort of the session. They are at present, it must be remembered, the most important people in England—the people who are keeping the consciences and guiding the destinies of the country, and to whom their country looks in time of trouble. It is not, indeed, difficult to imagine one class of topics which might engross the attention of these the custodians of the good name of England at the present moment, and it is not a pleasant class; and first let us suppose that they turned their attention on themselves, and dwelt during the first five or six courses of the fish upon their own shortcomings. Starting with a brilliant programme of proposed social and sanitary legislation in the month of February, they have arrived at the conclusion of the session without having passed a single measure of anything like first-rate importance. There is probably not a human being, except the new inspectors to be appointed at considerable salaries to stop unseaworthy ships, who will be either better or worse, happier or unhappier, healthier or unhealthier, for the legislation of the session. If the session had been a blank in reality as it must be in history, the English world would have suffered nothing, as, by the weary work of the session, it has gained nothing. The Prime Minister has damaged his reputation as a statesman. Sir Charles Adderley has proved his incompetency for any public position except that of a peer of the realm. Mr. Ward Hunt has shown that a large physical frame does not always contain a generous disposition and a magnanimous character. The other Ministers have given evidence of an activity in their several departments, sometimes but not always well directed, and not one of them has shown any capacity for filling the place of leader of the House of Commons, which must ere long be vacant. Their supporters, or rather their nominal supporters, are still in a considerable majority in the House, and some of the old party discipline remains. But want of confidence in a leader very soon produces faulty discipline in his followers. Early in the session there were indications of unruliness among the men who sit below the Ministerial gangway, and before the end of it there was as much hostile criticism from the Ministerial side of the House as from the Opposition. Outside the House of Commons, from one end of England to the other, there came up unpleasant but not uncertain sounds. Meetings have been held in many places to protest against the inefficient conduct of affairs, and resolutions condemnatory of the Ministry have been freely carried. The sacrifice of the interests of the sailors, who are dear to the people, in favor of tenant-farmers, who are not regarded with sentimental feelings, has taken possession of the popular imagination. Mr. Plimsoll is for the moment the god of the popular idolatry. He has extinguished Dr. Kenealy even in the affections of the lowest of "the residuum," and he has inflicted a serious and lasting blow upon the character of the government of Mr. Disraeli.

And now let us suppose a turn in the conversation from politics to commerce, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer may be imagined to have introduced the topic of the Foreign Loans Committee, which he first opposed, and then reluctantly, under the pressure of his supporters, sanctioned. The frauds which have been exposed by this Committee were not perpetrated during the past session, it is true, but the public have learned during the session that in the heart of this virtuous England, and mainly in the city of London, swindling transactions on the largest scale are carried out by the agency of the Stock Exchange not only with impunity, but almost without discredit. English firms and English Members of Parliament have been found to sell their good names without any hesitation to foreign adventurers and swindlers. They have accepted bribes from needy blacklegs, and helped them to impose upon and rob their fellow-countrymen and countrywomen, and these firms are still regarded with consideration, and these Members of Parliament still sit in the House of Commons and take part in the deliberations for the welfare of the country.

And turning from commercial to social backslidings, what pictures of English life have been exhibited this season! Gambling on a great scale goes on, we are told, in many of the best clubs in London and in private houses tenanted by leaders of the aristocracy and of the fashionable world, and along with rumors of gambling come uglier rumors of unfair play, oozing up from time to time like the bubbles of a polluted fountain. One officer of the army, the scion of a noble house, was cashiered a few months ago for not doubtful dealings in a public room at Cannes. Another officer, late of the Guards, was driven to make a vain attempt to establish his character in a court of law against a charge of unfair play in a railway carriage. An official holding one of the most coveted offices in London had to resign his office and disappear, on account of an accusation of something more than strange dexterity at whist in one of the most select clubs in London—an accusation tendered by some of the most leading men in

England ; and ladies, even, have not escaped the ugly contagion both of fair and unfair play. But over this dark part of this imaginary Ministerial conversation let us trust that the President of the Council would call upon his colleagues to draw a veil. Mr. Hardy, however, the Minister for War, we may suppose, could hardly divert the conversation from the scandal caused the other day by the outrageous conduct of a distinguished cavalry officer—a scandal which shows that it would be hazardous indeed to scratch too deep below the surface of our boasted civilization, and also, perhaps, that the precautions taken by prudent mothers to protect their daughters from too much contact with the world are not unreasonable. Of course the Minister of War cannot be held responsible for the brutalities perpetrated by any officer in the army. But this startling incident in the military life of modern England is one that could not fail to be mentioned in the retrospect which I have endeavored to imagine. Neither must I omit from this unpleasant catalogue the latest incident of crime—the fraud and flight of Alexander Collie. We have no Minister of Finance in England. The nearest approach to such an officer, being the President of the Board of Trade, is Sir Charles Adderley. I do not know whether he is responsible for the framing of the following advertisement, which appeared in the second column of the *Times* on Tuesday last, but, if he is, it is the most creditable thing he has done this session :

"One Thousand Pounds Reward.—Absconded, by not surrendering to his bail on the 9th of August instant, and recharged on a warrant issued on that day with conspiracy to defraud the London and Westminster Bank, by false pretences, Alexander Collie, late of 17 Leadenhall Street, London ; Aytoun Street, Manchester ; No. 12 Kensington Palace Gardens, and Dover House, Roehampton, in the County of Surrey, Merchant and Commission Agent. Description : Age fifty-two years, height six feet, hair reddish-brown (turning grey, cut short), whiskers reddish, and complexion florid ; high cheek-bones, eyes small ; has a deep scar on upper lip extending towards the cheek ; dresses well in dark clothes, tall hat, walks erect, square shoulders, rather thin build ; a native of Scotland. The above reward of £1,000 will be paid for the reapprehension, or such information as shall lead to the reapprehension, of the said Alexander Collie. Information to be given to Inspector Bailey, City of London Police, Detective Department, 26 Old Jewry, E. C.—9th August, 1875."

Alexander Collie, the subject of this advertisement, laid the foundations of his colossal dealings, as I understand, in a series of more or less successful ventures in blockade-running during your great war. Since then, like so many men of humble origin and imperfect education who have battened on commercial speculations, he has lived a life of vulgar ostentation, struggling like the frog in the fable to expand his petty existence to the dimensions of those who were to the manner born. Like his prototype, he has gone off with an ugly explosion, ending not unfitly, as an outlaw from his country, a speculative career which commenced under such sinister auspices. He is the last of the British blockade-runners. They have all gone to a bad commercial end, and he has gone to more utter ruin than any of the others.

But now we may imagine the Ministerial banquet drawing to its end. The large embossed basin filled with rose-water—an unvarying feature of a Greenwich dinner—is being handed round, and such guests as may wish to dip their napkins in diluted hair-oil have an opportunity of doing so. The Prime Minister of England rises to move the adjournment to the Terrace, and, after congratulating his colleagues on their successful session and their agreeable conversation during the evening, he modestly announces that, politically, commercially, and socially, England never was sounder than at the present moment, under the present Prime Minister and his Government, and he cheerfully calls upon the members of his Cabinet to join him in singing "nunc dimittis."

## THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONGRESS AT PARIS.

Paris, August 11, 1875.

THE evening papers of to-day in New York should contain a telegram announcing that in the distribution of awards this afternoon by the Geographical Congress some six or eight of the first honors, in letters of distinction and in gold medals, were accorded to institutions and citizens of the United States. At least, I presume to hope that the telegraphic bureau has deemed such national honors worthy of immediate publicity, and that for many Americans they will have a higher significance than prizes won in a boat-race or a rifle-match ; though I have no idea that prominent merchants, bankers, and editors of New York will subscribe for a dinner complimentary to the successful contestants in this high arena of science, nor that politicians will devise a procession in their honor. But, whatever satisfaction and pride you at home may extract from the compliment paid by the jury of the Congress to American science and skill, the two or three deputies who sat as members of the Congress for the United States found every day some fresh cause for humiliation at the meagre figure which their country presented at this general court of the scientific world.

More than a year ago, the Geographical Society of Paris, pursuant to the action of the first Congress, held at Antwerp in 1871, decided to convoke at Paris a second International Congress, representing geography and its affiliated sciences, and appointed a bureau, of which the Vice-Admiral Baron de la Roncière-le-Noury was president, to make the necessary arrangements. In issuing the call, the term "geography" was used in the broadest sense, to include geodesy, hydrography, meteorology, botany, zoölogy, anthropology, ethnography, philology, topography, cartography, statistics, explorations, and discoveries ; and arrangements were made for an exposition of books, maps, instruments, and materials used in and derived from the service of geography in all these subdivisions ; in a word, here was a platform upon which men of science, travel, and research, from all parts of the world, could come together, share each other's knowledge, and plan for further conquests in the common domain of man and his abode. In this enterprise the Geographical Society of Paris was warmly seconded by the Government of France, and invitations were issued in a liberal spirit to the governments and the learned bodies of foreign countries to participate in the Congress and contribute to the Exposition. The Government of the United States declined to do anything in the matter, either by an appropriation of money and materials or by the designation of commissioners. The American Geographical Society appointed a small delegation to represent it in the Congress, and, by dint of much entreaty, at the very last moment the Government consented to recognize certain of the Society's appointees as commissioners, in order to give them a status, on the express condition that they should in no wise represent the Government, nor incur any liabilities upon its account. Restricted in this manner, an American physician of Paris, and Prof. Nourse of Washington, with one or two other deputies of the American Geographical Society, represented as best they could the scientific work of America at their personal cost and trouble. And what was the consequence ? An entire wing of the Tuileries was filled with the apparatus and the results of geographical science—each nation having a section of its own, in which its geographical work was set up for inspection and for comparison with others. It was a superb collection, truly a marvellous display, and fitted to impress one profoundly with the nurture that different peoples have given to science, and the fruits with which that nurture has rewarded them. This long series of halls was one continuous lecture upon comparative civilization. Well, after wandering through them for hours, studying the catalogue, and questioning the guides, the American might stumble at last upon the place to which his country had consigned herself in this competitive Exposition—a room eight feet by twelve, in an obscure corner of the building, containing the charts of the Coast Survey, Gen. Myer's weather charts, Gen. Walker's Statistical Atlas, the United States Census, Col. Hayden's reports, a few volumes of statistics, and a few photographs of public buildings ! It was no fault of the committee that the United States were shoved into this insignificant corner ; they gave us all the room we needed, and as good as we deserved ; and, as above stated, each and every form of scientific labor represented in that tiny collection received some token of approbation from the jury. It was our own fault that we had so little to exhibit, and nobody to explain what was there.

Then, in the Congress itself, our status was still more unpronounced—in fact, it was just nothing at all. More than fifteen hundred members of the Congress were enrolled. These were divided into seven sections for the discussion of classified questions, and every afternoon the whole body met to hear reports of the morning's work of the sections. Having given in my credentials and joined a section, I set out upon a tour of observation to find my colleagues, whose names I knew only from a chance paragraph in the New York *Herald*. For three days I searched in vain for an American face or name, and many a question and joke did I have to parry as to the paucity of our representation and the insignificance of our collection, until I had the comfort of stumbling upon a brother delegate, and finding that he had been suffering the same disappointment and mortification. At length we were able to count up in all some four or five American names in the fifteen hundred of the Congress. The whole deputation could have been shut up with the American collection in the aforementioned room of eight feet by twelve.

The French committee, with admirable fairness, had arranged to have the several nations represented in the central bureau and the vice-presidencies, and on the opening day there were speeches from Germany, England, Russia, Holland, Italy, Hungary, Belgium, Switzerland, Egypt ; but,

through our defect of representation, the name of the United States was not so much as mentioned. On each succeeding day the presiding officer was chosen from the different nationalities in turn, but on no occasion did this distinction fall to the lot of an American. In the several sections the chairmen were chosen daily from different nationalities, but no member from the United States was ever called to fill the chair of a group. Most important discussions were had in the sections, and abstracts of these will be given in the official report ; but, alas ! how little can be credited to members from the United States. By its own indifference it came justly to pass that from beginning to end our country was counted out. The American delegates were far too few to assert themselves, and those who appeared had not been chosen altogether upon scientific grounds, but from considerations of convenience and to fill up chinks ; they were zealous in doing their part ; but when they entered the Congress they found America was *all* a chink, and so had to go under. That is the case as it was.

In contrast with our actual appearance at Paris, it is easy to see what might have been done, and ought to have been done, on such an opportunity. (1) The Government of the United States, having contributed so much to the advancement of science by explorations in the South Seas and in the Arctic Ocean, in South America, Central America, and in Palestine, by surveys in the interior and along the coast of its own territory, by deep-sea searchings and astronomical observations, might have sent a complete set of its own publications in charge of a person competent to exhibit them. Whatever the theory of the functions of government, no one would have thought of complaining if the Government had made a full exhibit of its own scientific work to a Congress of the scientific world. If it is not competent to do that, why should it have ever encouraged science at all ? Instead of this, the Government, or some official, sent three paltry boxes, and left a private gentleman in Paris to pay all the expense of having their contents suitably displayed.

(2) If the Government at Washington could not directly make appropriations toward such an exhibition, the Secretary of State should at once have given publicity to the invitation to the Congress, and with his moral sanction have commended it to the governments and the scientific bodies of the several States. In that case, several States might have been represented by a full report of their geological and topographical surveys and their industrial resources, and thus there would have been a proximate representation of what the United States are, and have accomplished, in a geographical point of view.

(3) The merchants and bankers of New York should have placed at the disposal of the American Geographical Society a fund of ten thousand dollars, by means of which the Society could have furnished a "round ticket" for the trip to Paris to twenty gentlemen, selected impartially from the whole country, as the foremost representatives of science. Such gentlemen are not apt to have means to spare for so long a journey in the public interest ; and the Geographical Society, while most earnest for the success of the Congress, had no funds for such a commission. Twenty men of repute in science, or even ten, with the proper auxiliaries of books, charts, and instruments, would have placed the United States upon an equality with any nation in the Congress in branches of science where we have no reason to fear competition. The honor we did achieve in the Exposition by even our scanty showing would have been increased tenfold by the presence of such men in the Congress itself. As it was, we seemed to be distanced not only by France, Germany, and England, but by Russia, Switzerland, and Belgium. It is more than a pity, it is a shame, that so rare an opportunity for exhibiting the better side of our nation has been heedlessly thrown away. At a time, too, when we are courting Europe for our Centennial Exposition, we had need to show a spirit of international courtesy. Many Frenchmen and Germans have said to me here, "How can you expect us to go over to your Exposition next year if you care so little for this ?"

J. P. T.

# Correspondence.

## THE UNIVERSITY OF JENA.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : The last number of the *Independent* contains the following paragraph :

"Mr. J. M. Hart, in his volume on 'German Universities,' has this sentence : 'Jena is, I believe, the only university in Germany which degrades itself by selling its degrees to foreign applicants.' The passage has just been brought to the notice of the Jena professors, who are much disturbed by it, since the statement, though doubtless made in good faith, is totally unfounded. We have received direct and reliable information from Jena, which satisfies us that Mr. Hart has done a great injustice to one of the best of the German universities. . . . We need only mention the names of Schrader, Grimm, Hilgenfeld, Haeckel, Schmidt, etc., to show the intrinsic falsehood of Mr. Hart's statement."

The wording of the above is such as to excite some wonderment. The readers of a semi-religious paper like the *Independent* may reasonably look for more skill in casuistry. If an author's statements are "doubtless made in good faith," it is scarcely logical to brand them with "intrinsic falsehood" ; if they are intrinsically false, it is mere euphemism to make good faith the empty compliment before the blow.

But it would be wasting time to quarrel longer over words, so long as the facts are against me. I have been assured by private information from Germany—doubtless the same information that crept into the *Independent* —that my charge against Jena is unfounded. The information is of the highest order, and not to be suspected for a moment. I hasten, therefore, to remedy the injustice, so far as that is now possible, by publicly withdrawing herewith the charge, and promising to correct it in future editions of the 'German Universities.' I must add—and herein you, Mr. Editor, will bear me witness—that this retraction had been promised by me a fortnight ago, voluntarily, and before I had reason to suspect that the *Independent* was possessed of any information on the subject.

Suffer me to clear my skirts a little more. The present faculty of Jena assert explicitly that they do not sell diplomas. I accept their declaration and admit that my words of last year, so far as they have any present bearing, are wrong and unjust. But the case was not always thus. For many years, even down to my own student-days, the Jena faculty did sell diplomas. A Jena graduate, now residing in Philadelphia, wrote to me some months ago as follows :

"I received the diploma of M D. in 1864. During the time I was there I learned that up to 1860 the old faculty did sell diplomas of Ph.D. to foreign applicants without examination, but this pernicious practice was entirely broken up by the Government retiring the old faculty and forming a new one. Prof. Schulz, the dean of the medical faculty, told me at the time how the old faculty had degraded the institution, but that the new one had eradicated the blot upon its escutcheon by their strict obedience to the regular forms of the other universities," etc.

It will appear from this that my words in the 'German Universities' had at least some foundation. The mistake that I made is one that is liable to occur in every book of an autobiographical character ; the writer is always in danger of confounding his recollections with the changed facts of the present. My charges against Jena were based upon the local tradition current at Göttingen from 1860 to 1864.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell upon the deep regret which I feel both for myself and for the Jena professors whose susceptibilities have been wounded. May they accept this apology in the spirit in which it is offered, with the assurance that it has given me sincere pleasure to learn of the changed state of affairs. Something surely can be overlooked in a work the whole animus of which is admiration and friendship for the German universities. Perhaps this public adjustment of the grievance may, after all, be productive of good by vindicating the dignity of Jena more fully than ever before.—Yours very respectfully, J. M. Hart.

August 16, 1875.

## "THE ELEMENTS OF ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION."

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : In your recent review of Professor Whitney's Essays you say he "describes the vowel sound of *they* as a slide beginning with *e* in *let* and ending in *i* in *pin*. He gives the same sound in *fate, fail, great, they*. We make this slide in *they* uttered alone, but make no *i*-vanish in *fate, fail, great*, or in *they* prefixed—*they came, they ran*." Are you positive about this ? Careless assertions are not frequent enough in the *Nation* to encourage the assumption that you have not carefully observed your own utterance of these words ; yet I can more easily suppose your ear does not detect all the sounds you utter than believe you pronounce *fate*, for instance, so flatly as you must if you really make no *i*-vanish. I come to this conclusion—(1) because few English-speaking people detect this *i*-vanish in any of our words ; (2) because, since I learned to distinguish this sound myself, I have found it frequently a good shibboleth to detect a foreigner, it appearing about equally difficult for us to omit, and for the Continental student to pronounce, the *i*-vanish ; and (3) because I cannot pronounce this word *fate* with three sounds without modifying the position of the tongue during the utterance of the second, which I surely could do if the latter were a

simple sound. Let us substitute carefully for this *a* the *e* of *let*, or, more exactly, the continental *e*, and there results *fet*, similar to *let* with the *e* prolonged, which is very unsatisfactory, and unlike any pronunciation of *fate* I ever heard from the mouth of an American.

My native dialect should be the same as that of your reviewer, for I am a native of Harvard, Massachusetts, and a graduate of Harvard College. Up to the time of my going abroad after my graduation I had never received any intimation that either *ā*, *ī*, *ō*, or *ū* was a compound sound When, therefore, a teacher of vocal music, in Germany, could not tolerate my pronunciation of the German *e*, which I pronounced like our "long *a*," it was equally impossible for me to understand the nature of the defect in my pronunciation, and for him to explain it. My utmost endeavor to imitate his utterance of this simple sound was futile until my own ear became trained to distinguish in my pronunciation the furtive *i* which I had invariably added.

Two years later I had a French teacher in Paris, who spoke English with the usual defects of a Frenchman. His pronunciation of *fate* was peculiarly painful to me. It sounded exceedingly flat in his mouth, and his efforts to improve it by simply imitating the correctly-pronounced word were unavailing. When, however, I analyzed the word for him, and directed him to pronounce it slowly at first, and in two syllables (fĕ-ĭt, using the *i* of pique, not of *pin* for the vanish), bringing them more and more closely together till they were pronounced as rapidly as possible, then he pronounced *fate* as well as any American. The same method has yielded the same result many times since.

By these observations I became thoroughly convinced that to omit this *i*-vanish in our "long *a*" was conclusive evidence of a mother tongue whose alphabet lacked such a compound, and that to pronounce the Continental *e* with this *i*-vanish added was equally significant of an English or American origin. This conviction has been much strengthened by teaching American students to pronounce German and French. Every class, and as far as I remember every individual, has required considerable persistent training in order to establish the habit of pronouncing the *e* and *o* of the Continental languages without adding the vanish of the corresponding English vowels.

Professor A. Graham Bell, of Boston University, son of the inventor of "visible speech," justly remarks, in an article in *Old and New*, that "when teachers themselves know *what they do* in speaking well, the correction of all peculiarities of utterance will be a matter of little difficulty." At present many of our language teachers, if asked *what they do* when they pronounce *o*, would only be able to reply with Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, "Mais, je dis *o*." Is not this ignorance the chief of the lions that seem to stop the road to a reformed spelling? Then come these formidable dialects to be conquered and harmonized. Against such foes Professor Whitney's essays and your review of them are the best of ammunition. These notes from my personal experience are given, not so much from any fear that the wrong view of the letter considered will ultimately prevail, as from a conviction that only by discussions of this character can we develop that phonetic sense which must precede a phonetic orthography.

W. C. Sawyer.

Minneapolis, Minn., July 8, 1875.

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[There is a warm discussion going on among the masters of phonetics, in England, about this *a* in *say, fate*. Mr. Ellis insists on the sound which he marks *ee*. He "deprecates much" Mr. Bell's insisting on *ei*. But Mr. Bell and Mr. Murray hear the *i*-vanish from Mr. Ellis's own mouth. Very likely our correspondent would hear it from ours. We have had experience with foreigners similar to his. The facts seem to us to be that the French and German *e*, like our *e* in *let*, is made with the organs a little further open than *a* in *late*, and the sound of *i* in *pique* is made with the same organs a little nearer closed than *a* in *late*; so when one is making *e* in *let*, if you tell him to add to it the sound of *i* in *pique*, he will in doing it pass through the sound of *a* in *late*, and will recognize it, and soon learn to hold it. Telling a man to add an *i*-sound to *e*, is in effect directing him to a closer sound; telling him to avoid an *i*-vanish, is practically a direction to make a more open sound. Our correspondent's difficulty in making *fate* with three sounds perhaps arises from the fact that the tongue is raised for the *t*, and so does really with him educe the full *i*-vanish, though it does not with us. Perhaps if he tries *ape* he will find that he can hold his tongue steady and unmoved for *a* while he closes the lips for *p*. The Dutch are having a quite similar dispute over their *e* sound.—Ed. Nation.]

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## THE NAPOLEON OF THE BANK OF CALIFORNIA.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I ask permission to correct, through your unbiassed paper, certain comments which have been made during the past few days by a part of the press (the New York *Tribune* among others) on the failure of the Bank of California and its president. They would have seemed utterly heartless to one at least of their readers, if he had not remembered that ignorance of facts is often no hindrance to the most confident assertion of editorial opinion.

The gist of the moralizing was that Napoleons are no more to be desired in the financial than in the political word. I beg leave to say, as one who, from earliest recollection, has been indebted to Mr. Ralston for countless kindnesses; as one who has known his life at home and at business, that so far as the qualities (which all men admire), strength of will, accuracy of judgment, and great power of execution, are concerned, he *was* Napoleonic; but if selfishness is ascribed to him as the governing motive of his conduct, I deny it as untrue. It is true that Mr. Ralston possessed a wonderful farsightedness, a singular rapidity and soundness of judgment and great executive power, and he might well have said of these qualities, as John Stuart Mill said of his early training, that they enabled him to start with an advantage of a quarter of a century over his contemporaries; for he was able both to plan and to execute, while ordinary men were still *thinking* of planning. But it is *not* true that these great powers were employed by him for selfish ends.

It is one thing to accumulate millions in such a manner that honest people, who have the interests of worthy and needy institutions at heart, shall be in constant dread lest these vast sums be ultimately converted into a single tissue-paper bond, and so swallowed by the possessor as a pill on his death-bed. But it is another and far different thing to use one's accumulated wealth in whole-souled devotion to the development of an immature State; in lending aid to industries which, having been at first unsuccessful, nobody else had foresight enough to regard as anything but hopeless failures. It was thus that Mr. Ralston, unaided, rescued from their financial embarrassment the woollen mills and the Kimball carriage and car manufactory—two enterprises which have since won credit for California, and by their success have encouraged manufacturing projects in other directions.

It is one thing, also, to have (as one of Mr. Ralston's associates had) a reputed daily income of $10,000. But it is another thing to prefer, as Mr. Ralston did, to such an income—which, if the other had it, he might himself equally have had—the expenditure of his money in encouraging artists, in aiding charitable institutions, in giving every imaginable pleasure to friends, in sending his own horses and carriages for the use of invalid friends who were travelling in parts of California where the most comfortable conveyances were not to be had, and in extending to strangers a bounteous hospitality not outdone by Nature herself when she welcomed the first strangers to that land.

Some of the newspapers have said that he lived in a luxurious style unprecedented in the history of bank cashiers. True; but it was for others' pleasure, not his own. It was not for *his* use that nearly a dozen varieties of choice wines and every delicacy known to cookery appeared on his table. And when he entertained his guests with music and dancing, and invariably excused himself at ten o'clock to rise again at six, everybody well understood how essential was this regular rest for his unceasing work. Prior to the building of a railroad, and for a short while after its completion, he was accustomed to take recreation in driving daily from his country-place to and from the city (twenty-five miles), changing horses half-way But of late years his increasing work has rarely allowed him to be more than once a week at home, where his horses have still remained in constant service for others' pleasure. This was some small part of his unselfishness and care for others' interests which his late failure would seem to belie, but which, when balanced with his warrantable self-confidence, will not appear diminished. He was a leader because none were so fit to lead as he. He was the Bank of California because the directors were well aware that he was far better able to promote their interests than they themselves, and that they were better fitted to go through the formality of ratifying his acts than to impede his action by questioning his judgment. If this is the stuff Napoleons are made of, surely, sir, you must join me in hoping that the world may have more of them.

A. A. Wheeler.

Cambridge, Mass., August 30, 1875.

# Notes.

A NEW publishing firm, of Joseph H. Coates & Co., has been formed in Philadelphia, Mr. Coates having withdrawn from the firm of Porter & Coates. The two houses are under one roof, and will have intimate business relations.——The *Independent* of Aug. 26 gives a number of Cypriote inscriptions from the remains in the Cesnola Collection, with their Greek and English equivalents furnished by Mr. Isaac H. Hall. Most of them relate to votive offerings.——The *Athenæum* states that the publication of the second volume of Corssen's work on the Etruscan language will not be delayed by the death of the lamented author. It was, in fact, already in print, needing only revision and an index. He leaves an unfinished work in MS., 'Beiträge zur italischen Sprachkunde,' which will also shortly appear.——The second *Abtheilung* of the second volume of Marquardt and Mommsen's 'Römische Alterthümer' has been issued. No less than 360 pages are devoted to the *Princeps*, or Emperor, his subordinates and administration. If this is not an entirely new field, we are not aware that it has ever before been thoroughly or systematically worked; certainly not in the light of the new scholarship. It has a very great importance as connecting the republican institutions, with which we are pretty familiar, with those of modern times.——*Nature*, July 29, in an article on the regulation of rivers, apropos of the recent disastrous floods in Europe, recalls a paper, pretty much forgotten in this country, by the late Charles Ellett, jr., on the "Physical Geography of the Mississippi Valley, with suggestions for the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio and other rivers." It appeared in the 'Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge' for 1851, and would seem to be worth reviving. Mr. Ellett proposed a system of reservoirs for the purpose both of keeping a uniform depth of water on the shoals and bars, and of taking off the excess of freshets.

—*Lippincott's Magazine* for September contains a sprightly paper, by Mrs. Sarah B. Wister, entitled "A Rococo Love-Story," for which the recently-published correspondence of the Chevalier de Boufflers and Mme. de Sabran furnished the material. If that beauty's portrait could have been added from the same source, the readers of the magazine would have had still greater reason to be thankful. Mrs. Lynn Linton begins a new serial, "The Atonement of Leam Dundas." "Our Architectural Future," by Edward C. Bruce, is written with more than the usual intelligence of writers who approach this theme, and still seems to fail of conveying his own ideas with distinctness. He is misled and confused, as other less cultivated men are constantly, by the assumed necessity of giving or finding a name for every architectural design. Thus he is an advocate of what he calls the Romanesque, and an opponent of the so-called Gothic style; and yet he says that the eclecticism which assumes the latter name in this country has generally at the root of it "the idea of fitness, convenience, and adaptedness to practical purpose." Now what difference does it make whether the architect who is governed by this idea, which, we need not say, is the capital stock of the genuine builder, does or does not consider his design "pure Gothic," or is or is not aware that he is on the road to the "Romanesque"? And what praise or blame is it to point out to him "Greek lines and forms permeating" his construction, and "abundant souvenirs of Vitruvius"? The laws of proportion and the necessary directions of straight lines will of course produce resemblances in the architecture of nations the most distant from one another; but the school which works out its designs from use and fitness knows that it is only taking its own and not another's property. And let it be, as Mr. Bruce would have it, that our American sun and sky will sooner or later bring us to the building for which the Levant furnishes the model; the result, if it is a rational one, may be reached by the unconscious efforts of architects who have learned the lessons (for all countries and all times) of honest construction only from the Gothic monuments of Belgium and northern France. "Our people have at bottom a juster and sounder sense of the beautiful than the northern races of Europe. They show it in the superior elegance of their public parks, vehicles, and vessels, and will increasingly evince it on the broader and finer field of architecture." They will do so only when they can be made to understand that the same principles underlie the building of a cathedral as of a "clipper" or a "buggy," and to pay as little regard to the name of the style in the one case as in the other.

— Mr. William Page contributes to the last *Scribner's* a very elaborate argument to prove that the German death-mask of Shakspere (which he is using as the basis for his ideal portrait of the poet) is authentic, and in fact the most authentic likeness in existence. He admits that the evidence for the pedigree of the mask is wanting, but maintains on internal grounds that the case can be made out. There is no doubt that he is absolutely convinced of the correctness of his conclusions, and, if his article had been thrown into a somewhat colder and more logical form, there can be no doubt either that it would by itself, and in the absence of contrary arguments, produce a very weighty impression. The evidence is of a kind, however, that it would require a jury of experts to weigh properly, with a strong probability that they would, like most æsthetic experts, fail to agree from having made up their minds beforehand *pro* or *con*. There is, too, something about the subject of Shakspere so fascinating to the imagination of anybody who begins the study of it that there is no saying how long he will be able to keep his feet on the solid ground of fact, without wandering off into speculations which have not a shadow of foundation. We know of at least one investigator who, without having yet been locked up in a lunatic asylum, brings out every few years a new edition of a work proving Shakspere to have been none other than Lord Bacon, and this author has himself merely followed out logically the ingenious footsteps of those who discovered before him that Shakspere was the real discoverer of the circulation of the blood—to cite one of a dozen examples. The recollection of Judge Holmes's wonderful excursus makes us somewhat chary of believing at once any startling addition to Shaksperian learning; but we must admit that Mr. Page's investigations are very interesting, and that his head, or rather the photograph he has reproduced from the mask, is a fine and noble one. He assumes, if we correctly understand him, the Droeshout print, the Chandos portrait, and the Stratford bust as all being more or less faithful representations of Shakspere, and then, by measurements and comparisons of peculiar marks, shows that the mask is the most Shaksperian of all. Of twenty-six measurements of the mask, as for example of the distance between the eyebrows, between the inner corners of the eyes and the outer corners of the eyes (Mr. Page gives the measures themselves in the article), "at least ten or twelve fit exactly corresponding points of the Stratford bust," and "few persons need be told that this planet never did, at any one moment, contain two adult heads whose faces agreed in any dozen like measures, and the law of probabilities makes it remote when such an epoch will arrive. To a working artist's mind, the agreement of these measures is either a miracle or demonstration that they are from the same face."

—The several thousand or hundred thousand persons, young and old, of both sexes, in the United States who were amusing themselves a short time ago with contests in spelling, will be interested in an article in the *Atlantic* called "A Patriotic Schoolmaster," by Mr. Horace E. Scudder. The patriotic schoolmaster in question was no other than Webster, of 'Webster's Unabridged,' and the facts with regard to him which Mr. Scudder recalls throw a curious light on our educational past. Dr. Webster belonged to the generation immediately succeeding that of "the founders," and he was by nature an educator. He was also, like all others of his time, an ardent patriot, and he seems to have been one of that body of misguided men who first set this country thinking about the possibility of producing not only an American government, but American morals, American political economy, American art, American letters, and even an American language. At first he began moderately with a Reader, the title-page of which contained this direction for the guidance of parents and teachers, taken from Mirabeau: "Begin with the infant in his cradle; let the first word he lisps be 'Washington,'" and in the preface to which the editor says:

"In the choice of pieces, I have been attentive to the political interests of America. I consider it as a capital fault in all our schools, that the books generally used contain subjects wholly uninteresting to our youth; while the writings that marked the Revolution, which are perhaps not inferior to the orations of Cicero and Demosthenes, and which are calculated to impress interesting truths upon young minds, lie neglected and forgotten. Several of those masterly addresses of Congress, written at the commencement of the late Revolution, contain such noble sentiments of liberty and patriotism that I cannot help wishing to transfuse them into the breasts of the rising generation."

But as he went on he became more and more advanced in his views, insisting, in an essay on the Manners, Government, and Debt of the United States, that "a fundamental mistake of the Americans has been that they considered the Revolution as completed when it was but just begun," and adding significantly, "This country is independent in government, but totally dependent in manners, which are the basis of government." In morals, fashions, and modes of speech, he discovered a slavish subserviency to Europe. Patriotism gradually getting the better of Dr. Webster, his interest in the reform of language, which was indeed genuine, became curiously confounded with political interests, until, in an essay on the necessity, advantages, and practicability of reforming the mode of spelling

and of rendering the orthography of words correspondent to their pronunciation, we find the following extraordinary passage :

"A capital advantage of this reform," he says, "in these States would be, that it would make a difference between the English orthography and the American. This will startle those who have not attended to the subject ; but I am confident that such an event is an object of vast political consequence. For the alteration, however small, would encourage the publication of books in our own country. It would render it in some measure necessary that all books should be printed in America. The English would never copy our orthography for their own use ; and consequently the same impressions of books would not answer for both countries. The inhabitants of the present generation would read the English impressions ; but posterity, being taught a different spelling, would prefer the American orthography. Besides this, a *national language* is a bond of *national union*. Every engine should be employed to render the people of this country *national ;* to call their attachments home to their own country ; and to inspire them with the pride of national character. . . . Let us then seize the present moment, and establish a *national language* as well as a national government. Let us remember that there is a certain respect due to the opinions of other nations. As an independent people, our reputation abroad demands that in all things we should be federal, be *national*, for if we do not respect *ourselves* we may be assured that *other nations* will not respect us. In short, let it be impressed upon the mind of every American that to neglect the means of commanding respect abroad is treason against the character and dignity of a brave, independent people."

—Some of the changes in spelling introduced by this patriotic enthusiast have, as Mr. Scudder says, been adopted in this country, if not in England, and there are probably few educated Americans who still write *honour*, *labour*, or *cheque*, though down to within a few years we remember *publick* and *critick* to have been preserved by Virginia purists. On the other hand, some of his most cherished reforms, as indicated in the following sample of reformed English—

"The reeder wil obzerv," he says, "that the orthography of the volum iz not uniform. The reezon iz that many of the essays hav been published before, in the common orthography, and it would hav been a laborious task to copy the whole for the sake of changing the spelling. In the essays ritten within the last yeer, a considerable change of spelling iz introduced by way of experiment"—

have not been adopted altogether into the vernacular. In connection with this article, the reader will find another on the "Spelling of the Future" in the current number of the *Galaxy*, by Mr. Richard Grant White, in which he considers the subject apropos of the appointment of a committee by the American Philological Association on phonetic reform, which Mr. White considers neither necessary nor desirable nor possible. If what is contemplated by the reformers is a general revolution in the English spelling, they may find in the reformatory efforts of Dr. Webster some food for reflection, there being always one great obstacle in the way, which is sure to make any change slow and to prevent any violent *saltus*—we mean the absence of any final authority on the subject. When we remember that we have not even an Academy, and are accustomed, too, on most occasions, to thank heaven that we have not, it must be obvious that the amount of resistance to any change proposed *ex cathedrâ* is simply incalculable, for it amounts to the whole force of custom in a population very tenacious of custom, while the force the innovation has behind it is the convenience, not of the generation now on the stage, but of those to come. That changes will always be taking place in the English language Mr. White does not deny ; but he insists that they will be in the future, as they have been in the past, gradual, and not introduced on the gigantic scale contemplated by Dr. Webster, whose reforms, as Mr. Scudder points out, have been successfully, though unconsciously, parodied by Mr. Josh Billings.

—In *Harper's Monthly* Mr. S. G. W. Benjamin follows in the footsteps of Mr. S. A. Drake, and treats pleasantly of one of the "nooks of the New England coast" neglected by the latter—namely, Gloucester and Cape Ann. Of the other illustrated papers two happen to relate to the tournament, Porte Crayon's describing the sham article at the South—wholly sham it would be except for the good horsemanship—and Mr. Edward Howland's the tournament of the Middle Ages. Mr. M. D. Conway begins a series of papers on the South Kensington Museum which promise to give untravelled readers a more definite notion than they have ever had of the scope of this wonderful institution. A ground plan, numerous views of exterior and interior, and of special objects, and portraits of the director, Mr. Cunliffe Owen, and of Sir Henry Cole, who may be called the creator as distinguished from the founder of the museum, adorn Mr. Conway's always interesting text. Mr. Parton arrives in his progress at recent English caricature, and gives numerous specimens of it from Cruikshank to Matt Morgan. The Centennial paper of the present number is by Prof. W. G. Sumner, and relates to the monetary development of the Republic. It is a succinct chronological record of the financial measures, shifts, and disasters of the country from its first settlement (but more minutely from 1775) to the present day. The works necessary to consult for the desired information are for the most part (Mr. Sumner's own work is omitted) mentioned in the foot-notes, thus greatly enhancing the value of the paper for reference. The inflationist who reads it will have to confess that the "monetary development of the Republic" is not exactly the phase of our national growth on which we shall be urgently desirous to have foreigners fix their attention at the coming Exposition. We commend to him, whatever be the nature of his pet scheme for making something out of nothing, the following extract, the only one for which we can find room :

"The great fire of December, 1835, at New York led some to propose a bank of $5,000,000 for the sufferers. Niles said, 'To make a bank is the grand panacea for every ill that can befall the people of the United States, and yet it adds not one cent to the capital of the community.'"

—Mr. John Hogg, the London publisher, sends us a printed "Caution to Publishers," being a summary account of the copyright case of Van Voorst *v.* Hogg. The circumstances were curious. The plaintiff is the proprietor of a work which appeared in 1837, called 'Yarrell's British Birds.' The defendant issued last fall a holiday-book of animals for children, under the title of the 'Parlor Menagerie,' and was greatly surprised on being presently accused by Mr. Van Voorst's solicitor of having been guilty of "piracy" in the use of fifty-one woodcuts, which, it was alleged, had been copied from illustrations in Yarrell's work. All these cuts, however, had already been published by Mr. Hogg in 'Our Feathered Families' as long ago as 1862–63 ; and what is more, they formed part of a lot of woodcuts purchased by Mr. Hogg's father in 1859 from the stock of a deceased Newcastle printer and publisher—67 of them being from the hand of Thomas Bewick, and 94 by two of his pupils. It is very clear that "piracy" is not the word to express Mr. Hogg's innocent part in the matter, even before one examines the question of the originality of the blocks themselves. The case being pressed, however, a laborious examination and comparison of the cuts was begun before the Master of the Rolls, but before it was half over a compromise was proposed by the plaintiff's counsel, and was accepted by Mr. Hogg, apparently to save expense. Each party paying its own costs, the latter agreed to omit the cuts in controversy from future editions of the 'Parlor Menagerie,' and to deposit the blocks in the Court of Chancery until the expiration of the copyright of 'Yarrell's British Birds,' which will take place in two or three years. It appeared in evidence that Yarrell had copied some of his birds (not among the fifty-one) "line for line, and feather for feather, from originals existing prior to 1837" ; that like most popular delineators of birds who have succeeded Bewick, he was indebted to this master for the best of his illustrations ; that the alleged copies had mainly superficial resemblances, such as naturally arise in copying from stuffed specimens or from characteristic attitudes of the living birds ; that the engraving of them was of an earlier school than Yarrell's ; and that the surroundings of the figures were entirely different in the two cases. The Master of the Rolls was satisfied that "the 'Parlor Menagerie' could in no way injure the plaintiff's book," and that "what he was asked to administer was 'extreme law.'" The legal questions opened up, however, were very peculiar, and he could only say that "every copyright case must be decided on its own special circumstances" ; and this being so, Mr. Hogg very properly cautions his colleagues in the book-trade against buying woodcuts without guarantee. He even found unavailing the plea that copying from woodcuts in a book was legal at the time when Bewick's pupil (Rieveley) did what copying from Yarrell could be proved.

—We find in the *North China Herald* (Shanghae, June 12) a review of the thirteenth annual report of the Peking Hospital by the physician-in-charge, Dr. Dudgeon. This gentleman appears to be a very effective missionary in his way, owing to his professional skill, his fluent command of the Chinese language, and his access to all classes of citizens in consequence of his honorary connection with the British Legation. From the highest to the lowest, he is in the habit of receiving kind looks, courtesy, and respect, and more substantial tokens of gratitude for his services rendered to individual patients. Fine pieces of silk, boxes of tea, jars of wine, cakes, fruit, scrolls, and money for his daughters are enumerated among his presents in the report.

"One reigning prince, the descendant of the celebrated Prince of the Tourgouth Tartars, sent 100 catties of rice, and on another occasion (and this last is by no means uncommon) a Chinese dinner, served up in innumerable little dishes. The same prince is preparing a handsome wooden

tablet for erection in the hospital. He has been cured of opium-smoking, and the thousand ills that sometimes follow in its train."

This cure is something of a specialty with Dr. Dudgeon. Adjoining the hospital is a little shop "for the sale of anti-opium pills and diffusion of knowledge." The first was the prime object of the shop, but it was frequented by so many literary persons that the doctor added a reading-room, and succeeded in disposing of a number of copies of various translations of scientific works and 7,000 of the pills. This bears a strong resemblance to the temperance coffee and reading-rooms of our Western civilization, though an anti-tobacco or anti-liquor pill of proper efficacy is still a desideratum. The steady increase in the importation of opium into this country (of a value in 1873 of $680,437 for the Chinese in California) should lead some philanthropist to arrange with Dr. Dudgeon for a supply of his antidote.

## THE BOOK OF MARCO POLO.*

II.

THE Italians were emphatically the travellers of the thirteenth century, and though foreign countries accessible only by sea were in general discovered by inhabitants of the Atlantic coast, yet Columbus, Vespucci, and Cabot were all Italians, and, as Burckhardt observes, Italian scholars maintained a literary monopoly in cosmographical description even down to the end of the fifteenth century. Before the birth of Marco, his father and uncle had travelled and resided in the Asiatic provinces of the Greek Empire, whither they resorted "on a venture of trade," and had pushed their commercial campaigns into even remoter regions. Marco's accounts of the consideration which his older relatives as well as himself enjoyed with Eastern potentates, usually so jealous of Christians and foreigners, have been thought highly incredible, but these statements appear to be confirmed by other evidence; and, besides, the position of the family as merchants would serve rather to recommend than to discredit them in Oriental eyes. Commerce was never regarded in the East with the contempt in which it was held by Roman pride—a false pride, by the way, which has rendered it so difficult for modern scholars to extract out of the disdainful reticence of ancient writers any satisfactory notices of the important traffic which was carried on in the days of the Empire between Rome and Oriental countries hardly known even by name to the classic authors. On the contrary, trade, especially with foreign countries, was always an honorable profession in the East. Mohammed, the founder of Islamism, was a merchant, and we learn from Chardin that the kings and nobles of Persia dealt largely in silks, carpets, and precious stones.

In Polo's time, merchants seem to have found less difficulty in distant commercial expeditions than were encountered by trading caravans in the most civilized countries of Europe, where they were exposed to be ransomed and pillaged as often as they came in sight of a stronghold of one of the predatory barons who then infested the Christian world. Long after the time of Polo, the Moslems were less intolerant and barbarous than they became in the course of the wars of conquest which culminated, if they did not terminate, in the capture of Constantinople and the transfer of the seat of Ottoman empire from Anatolia to Rumelia. When, a hundred years after Polo's captivity at Genoa, the king and great lords of France were seeking the redemption of the French princes and nobles taken prisoners by Bayazîd at the battle of Nicopolis, there was found no obstacle in the way of communication and negotiation with the conqueror at his capital of Broussa; and Froissart mentions several Christian merchants who appear to have enjoyed in that capital as great immunities as regular heralds, to have travelled and traded freely in Asia Minor, and even to have been honored with the personal acquaintance and favor of Bayazîd himself. "Syr Dyne of Respōde," says the old chronicler, "was alwayes in their coūsayles [of the French lords], and he sayes ever that the marchaūtes Venisyās and Genowayes myght well helpe and ayde in that busynesse, for he says marchauntes myght go whider they lyste, and day by day they passe and repasse, and dayly marchauntes christened hath entercours with the Sarazins and exchaunge one with another their merchaundyze" ('Chronicle,' reprint, Lord Berners's translation, vol. ii., p. 123). And again: "Syr, the marchauntes of Gennes and other isles are knowen over all, and occupye the trade of marchaūdize in Quayre, in Alexandre, in Damas, in Damiat, in Turkey, and out in farre countreyes hethan, for as ye knowe well marchaūdize flyeth over all the worlde" ('Chronicles,' ii., p. 221). Even in the seventeenth century Chardin writes that he, both as a merchant and as a Protestant Christian, could reside and travel in the heathen East in greater honor and with less molestation than in his native country, Catholic France, then under the "glorious" rule of the *grand monarque* Louis XIV.

The subject of the mutual intercourse and reciprocal influence of the East and the West is full of interest, and the labors of Heeren, Baldelli-Boni, Beauvoir-Priaulx, Weber, and others, among whom Reinaud, author of the learned 'Relations politiques et commerciales de l'Empire Romain avec l'Asie orientale' (Paris, 1863), deserves especial notice, have by no means exhausted it. Mutually repugnant as the Asiatic and the Occidental have always been, they have never ceased to exercise upon each other, if not a sympathetic influence, a fascination like that of the serpent upon his victim. The current of this influence, like the migration of peoples and the course of empire, has generally set westwards, and the sure guide of language, as well as the constant traditions of the Western races, shows that the blood which tingles in our own veins comes by personal descent from tribes shone upon by the rising sun. To that source, too, we trace our religion and many of our laws and social institutions, though, like our languages, often so much disguised and changed as to be hardly now readily recognizable as kindred. The very word Oriental is with us symbolical of splendor and redolent with fragrance. The universal prejudice which led Columbus, by a happy error, to seek for Asia in the West, still survives in popular geography, and the Antilles are called the West Indies, as in Spain Las Indias is still the general designation of Spanish America. The hostile contact of the Hellenic with the Persian race in Asia Minor, and the repulse of Xerxes in his memorable attempt to subjugate Greece, the expedition of the Ten Thousand, and the wondrous campaign of Alexander, checked the influx of Oriental ideas, as well as the irruption of Eastern invaders into Europe; and, fleeting as were the "thrones, dominations, princedoms, powers" into which the Macedonian conquests were divided, the moral and intellectual influence of this reversal of the tide of history is now known to have been substantial, widespread, and permanent. Alexander, under the names of Dhulkarnein [two-horned, Ammon] and Iskander, is still one of the demigods of Asiatic mythology, and late researches have pointed out coincidences between Greek and Asiatic art too striking to be accidental. The illustrations of Col. Yule's interesting and valuable 'Mission to Ava' in 1855 show that even Burmese architecture in its decorative features, its mouldings, and its minor members, is wonderfully like the Hellenic. Here, certainly, the Greeks were not the borrowers.

The gems, and tissues, and dyes, and perfumes, and spices, and medicaments in which the Asiatic world is so rich, excited the cupidity of mediæval Europe as keenly as the "gold and silver and ivory and apes and peacocks" (*qu.* ostrich plumes ?) of Tarshish did that of Solomon and his harem. Even the Scandinavian peddlers and pirates coasted the southern shores of the Mediterranean, cheating the Blámenn, or Moors, with hard bargains, or plundering them with the strong hand, according to circumstances, and though the reprisals of the Moslem on the Nazarene were generally confined to the Mediterranean, yet on several occasions, as late as the seventeenth century, Algerine corsairs returned the visits of the Vikings, landing in Norway, and even in Iceland, and carrying off hundreds of prisoners to toil and die in slavery. On the other hand, though Asiatic taste generally prefers the handiwork of its own artisans, yet the Orientals were not slow to adopt the weapons and other military improvements of the Europeans. The "Rumes" or Rumelian artillerists and engineers whom Albuquerque and other Portuguese invaders of Southern India found in the service of the native princes, were as probably Greek or other Christian renegades as Turks, and even the mosaics of the Taj Mahal were certainly, in part at least, designed if not executed by Tuscan artists. Cunningly wrought glass is an old article of Venetian export to the East, and Chardin states that the art of glass-making was introduced into Persia by an Italian.

The reciprocal intellectual influence of the East and the West is an obscure subject. The Oriental languages are generally difficult of acquisition to Europeans, and though Arabic must have been, to a considerable extent, adopted by the Syrian Christians soon after the Mohammedan conquest of Palestine, and prevailed widely among the followers of both religions in Spain when Haroun al Raschid and Charlemagne exchanged letters and presents, there is little evidence of the pursuit of Indian or even Persian lore by Christian scholars until long after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Florentine Sassetti detected the relationship between Sanskrit and the languages of Europe. Colonel Yule thinks that even Polo, in his long sojourn in the Celestial Empire, did not learn the Chinese language, though he acquired some other Oriental tongues. Still, some interchange of intellectual as well as material products there certainly was,

*'The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East. Newly Translated and Edited, with Notes, Maps, and other Illustrations, by Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., late of the Royal Engineers (Bengal). Second edition, revised, with the addition of new matter and many new illustrations.' 2 vols. 8vo. London: John Murray. 1875.

even at periods of great mental torpor in Christendom. The Sanskrit religious romance of Sâkya-Muni and a disciple became the Romish legend of Barlaam and Josaphat as early as the ninth century, and these Buddhist divinities secured a place in the old Christian martyrologies which they still retain in the festal calendar of Rome.

All this implies much personal intercourse along the borders of Christendom and heathendom, and of course such intercourse could not fail to lead to excursions to the chief internal marts and sources of production of precious wares. There was, besides, not to speak of crusades undertaken to secure to the Christian pilgrim free access to the holy shrines of Palestine, the stimulus of religious propagandism, which brought legions of armed Moslems into Christian Asia and Europe, and sent missionaries of the Cross into every Asiatic country. Although we know that many a Christian apostle penetrated far into mysterious Asia to preach the Gospel of peace to the Paynim, not many of these emissaries have left any record of their missions. One, however, who preceded Polo by but a few years, is too remarkable to be passed unnoticed. We allude to the Minorite friar, Rubruquis, despatched by Louis IX. on a political and religious embassy to the Tartars, translations of whose narrative were published by Hakluyt and by Pinchas. These fully justify the judgment of Colonel Yule, who characterizes this journal as marked by "rich detail, vivid pictures, acuteness of observation, and strong good sense," and as "a book which has few superiors in the whole library of travel." Our editor admits that it is only with rare exceptions that Marco Polo exhibits any of the remarkable intellectual qualities of Rubruquis, and still less does he claim for him "the genius and lofty enthusiasm, the ardent and justified previsions, which mark the great Admiral [Columbus] as one of the lights of the human race." Polo's real title to the regard of posterity, "his indisputable and, in their kind, unique claims to glory" are summed up in the following passage on pp. 103 and 104 of the introduction to this second edition of Polo's travels:

"He was the first traveller to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia, naming and describing kingdom after kingdom which he had seen with his own eyes—the deserts of Persia, the flowering plateaux and wild gorges of Badakhshan, the jade-bearing rivers of Khotan, the Mongolian steppes, cradle of the power that had so lately threatened to swallow up Christendom, the new and brilliant court that had been established at Cambaluc; the first traveller to reveal China in all its wealth and vastness, its mighty rivers, its huge cities, its rich manufactures, its swarming population, the inconceivably vast fleets that quickened its seas and its inland waters; to tell us of the natives on its borders, with all their eccentricities of manners and of worship; of Tibet, with its sordid devotees; of Burma, with its golden pagodas and their tinkling crowns; of Laos, of Siam, of Cochin-China, of Japan, the Eastern Thule, with its rosy pearls and golden-roofed palaces; the first to speak of that Museum of Beauty and Wonder, still so imperfectly ransacked, the Indian Archipelago, source of those aromatics then so highly prized, and whose origin was so dark; of Java, the Pearl of Islands; of Sumatra, with its many kings, its strange, costly products, and its cannibal races; of the naked savages of Nicobar and Andaman; of Ceylon, the Isle of Gems, with the sacred mountain and the Tomb of Adam; of India the Great, not as a dreamland of Alexandrian fables, but as a country seen and partially explored, with its virtuous Brahmins, its obscene ascetics, its diamonds, and the strange tales of their acquisition, its sea-beds of pearl, and its powerful sun; the first in mediæval times to give any distinct account of the secluded Christian Empire of Abyssinia and the semi-Christian Island of Socotra; to speak, though indeed dimly, of Zanzibar, with its negroes and its ivory, and of the vast and distant Madagascar, bordering on the dark ocean of the South, with its Ruc and other monstrosities; and, in a remotely opposite region, of Siberia and the Arctic Ocean, of dog-sledges, of white bears, and reindeer-riding Tunguses.

"That all this rich catalogue of discoveries should belong to the revelations of one man and one book is surely ample ground enough to account for and to justify the author's high place in the roll of fame; and there can be no need to exaggerate his greatness or to invest him with imaginary attributes."

This "rich catalogue of discoveries," illustrated, rounded out, and completed as it has been by Colonel Yule's great knowledge and laborious researches, forms one of the most important chapters in the history of geographical enquiry, and we earnestly recommend it as an indispensable acquisition to every public library and every comprehensive private collection of books of great and permanent value.

George P. Marsh.

Rome, June 26, 1875.

## THE WAY WE LIVE NOW.*

THE good American will find in this novel not only an entertaining story of modern life, but also a justification for his love of country. Whatever hard things have been said in times past of America by English travellers, English newspapers, and English writers, no description of ordinary American life at their hands was ever made blacker than this picture of English civilization by Mr. Trollope. Whether it is a fair picture or not, we do not undertake to say, but Mr. Trollope is not a satirist, and hitherto his descriptions have been always accounted truthful. Moreover, in the great international controversy which has been raging so long between England and the United States as to which is the worse country of the two, we, on this side of the water, are certainly entitled, black as we may be, to the presumption that such a state of society as Mr. Trollope here describes could not have been absolutely invented, even by so clever a novelist as Mr. Trollope.

The novel contains descriptions of several different kinds of English life—the great world in London; the younger club life in London; genteel English country life and humble English country life; and we are allowed also to get a glimpse or two of the journalistic world in London and of commercial life, and of course learn a good deal of the condition of the matrimonial market. On the whole, we have found the most interesting and attractive part of the book to be that relating to the Bear Garden, a West-End club got up for the benefit of a number of young gentlemen who are after a fashion social reformers. Every one who has ever belonged to a club has observed that the habit of opening it early in the morning and closing at midnight really amounts to a premium upon early hours and the prejudices of the senile class which affects such hours. That carpets should be worn out and morning papers bought and other expenses incurred for the few old dotards who may happen to drop into their club before the afternoon, while the great majority of the members do not get up till two o'clock and begin to play loo and "blind hookey" at midnight, is clearly so much waste. To reform such evils as these the Bear Garden was started; opening at three in the afternoon and remaining open till morning. The chief frequenters of the club with whom the story has to do are Sir Felix Carbury, a young baronet (son of a doting mother) who has run through his property and is rapidly going to the devil; Mr. Miles Grendall, the son of the broken-down Lord Alfred Grendall; Lord Nidderdale; Lord Grasslough; and Mr. Adolphus, or Dolly, Longestaffe. Sir Felix is a confirmed gambler, drunkard, liar, and coward, while Grendall habitually cheats at cards (if we understand a hint thrown out by Mr. Trollope, Sir Felix by-and-by begins to imitate him); Lord Nidderdale is an honest young fellow having his "fling," with no nonsense about him, and intending to marry, not from inclination, but as his father may determine, whenever the "fling" shall have lasted long enough; and Dolly is a young man about town of independent property. Dolly himself is an amusing character, but his family, we are bound to say, is not, his mother being a fool, and his sisters two wise virgins who not only admit to themselves, but almost make public proclamation of the fact, that they are what our friends of the Bear Garden would call "on the marry"; and so plainly does one of them talk about this that she actually loses a husband—an honest old Jew evidently not accustomed to Christian plain speaking—by it.

To return to the club. It is managed by one Herr Vossner, who undertakes to carry it on and relieve the members of all the trouble of superintendence. This the members—all of whom seem, during most of the book, to be nearly born fools—think is an admirable plan; and so indeed it turns out to be, for Herr Vossner. The main occupation of the club, of course, is cards, and, as ready-money is not always to be had for this purpose, the members issue their "paper" for their gambling debts, and when the worst comes to the worst get Herr Vossner to "do" bills for them. All this is natural enough, but the utter indifference of the members to cheating is rather remarkable. Miles Grendall is, as we say, detected at producing an illegitimate number of aces from his sleeve, and this fact is communicated by Sir Felix to one or two of the other members. The only effect it seems to produce on their minds, however, is of regret that so unpleasant a thing should be mentioned; and so they all go on playing with Miles as before. Miles not only cheats, but gives his I O U's to his antagonists in such unlimited quantities, and with such an entire disregard of the necessity of redeeming them, that they become so much waste-paper, being "based" on the entire wealth of Miles himself, which is nil. This, too, one would have thought, would have greatly diminished the pleasure of playing with Miles, but it does not seem to. One evening, Mr. Fisker, the American "financier" of the book, goes to the club and is invited to play, and wins heavily. What is passed over to him, however, is not the coin of the realm, but the elastic currency issued by Miles, of which the losers have a great abundance; and we are rather surprised, on the whole, that one or two of the more conservative players insist on making a little arrangement with Vossner by which they pay Fisker, the next morning, in hard money. In the end the club is found closed one fine day, Vossner having absconded

* 'The Way We Live Now. A Novel. By Anthony Trollope. With illustrations.' New York: Harpers. 1875.

over-night with the spoons, and having sold the paper in his possession to another gentleman, strongly suspected of being his partner.

Mr. Augustus Melmotte, one of the leading characters of the book, is a Continental sharper, who has risen from the gutter to the possession of great wealth, and has settled in London for the purpose, among other things, of getting social position. He is ignorant, arrogant, is rather a suspected character, and yet he gets on swimmingly in London society. His daughter becomes engaged to Lord Nidderdale, and he himself is elected to Parliament from Westminster, though so totally unaccustomed to the ways of Parliamentary life that he begins his first speech in reply to one of the members of the House by getting up with his hat still on and exclaiming, "Mr. Brown is all wrong," and on a cry of order being made, adding, "Yes, you are," frowning angrily at the member in question. The general tone of English manners described in the book is so peculiar that we should not ourselves have been sure that there would be anything out of the way in all this; but we have Mr. Trollope's word for it that Mr. Melmotte's manner of addressing the House was unparliamentary. His daughter Marie falls in love with Sir Felix Carbury, who is advised by his mother, Lady Carbury, to run away with her, and actually makes an appointment to do so. She is supposed to be a great catch, and it is on this account that Lady Carbury desires the marriage. Unfortunately, at the last moment, after Marie has arranged all the details of the elopement, and Sir Felix has got the necessary money to carry them both to New York (they are to be married on board ship), he imprudently gambles it all away, and, being too drunk to remember the engagement, naturally misses the train for Liverpool. It ought not to be forgotten, as illustrating the constancy and fundamental shrewdness of Lord Nidderdale and his father, that the latter, notwithstanding the attempted elopement—for Marie herself did actually go to Liverpool with her maid to meet Felix—consents to a re-engagement with her, which is only finally broken off with the general smash-up of the Melmotte establishment brought about by the discovery that Augustus himself is a forger.

There is not wanting an American swindle, which consists of a railroad line to connect Mexico with California. This project Fisker and Melmotte father, and the operations of the directors on the London market consist, of course, of the usual hocus-pocus with shares issued and tied up at the same time, brilliant prospectuses, and very little railroad-building. What strikes us chiefly about this part of the book is the extraordinary folly of the English public, which can be induced to invest in an enterprise presided over by Melmotte, assisted by the young gentlemen of the Bear Garden, who go into the management as ornamental directors, but who do not pretend, in their very open and unguarded conversation, to know anything about the scheme or to have the remotest idea of its merits.

Mr. Trollope's picture of the literary life of London is entertaining, but it is not fresh. We have heard something before now of that dishonest tribe, the critics, and it hardly needed the amusing correspondence of Lady Carbury, the doting mother of Sir Felix, with the three editors of the *Beehive*, the *Morning Breakfast-Table*, and the *Evening Pulpit*, on the subject of her venture, 'Criminal Queens,' to show the real relation between authors and the conductors of the press in London. How Lady Carbury cajoles one editor and throws herself on the mercy of a second, and allows a third, without too much reproof, to kiss her in a moment of frenzied admiration, need not be told, nor how little her manœuvres help the sale of 'Criminal Queens.' Poor Lady Carbury, whose severe literary labors are only varied by the performance of the maternal duty of letting her son in at daybreak, when he is in a condition that renders the use of his latch-key difficult, has a hard life, and it would have seemed only fair for the author to have disposed of Sir Felix in some way before the novel ended. But though he is terribly mauled on one occasion by honest John Crumb, who suspects him, not without reason, of dishonorable designs with regard to the young woman John desires to marry, he makes no sort of resistance, but allows himself to be beaten like a cur, and so preserves his valuable existence, to the inevitable future misery of his mother.

Paul Montague, the honest young man of the book, is so extraordinarily weak that we cannot help wondering that he comes out as well as he does. He is always getting into some mess, either being engaged to one woman when he is rapidly becoming interested in another, or gambling, or getting his property involved, or entangling himself in some other way. He is well-drawn, as all the characters in the book are, but, one asks, why should so feeble a creature be thought worth drawing at all? He is in love with Hetta Carbury, and has been engaged to Mrs. Hurtle, an American widow, who has killed her man and been divorced from her husband, but with all her eccentricities is perhaps the nicest person in the book; and with Hetta her cousin Roger Carbury is also in love. Roger is an honest country gentleman, who is almost removed from the main current of the story, and who evidently thinks that "the way we live now" is not at all a good way to live.

On the whole, it is impossible to read "The Way We Live Now" without feeling that life, at any rate in certain quarters, is getting even with literature very fast. The best writers of fiction have always maintained that even in novel-writing there was some room to improve upon nature, either in the plot or in the characters, or the combination of the two; but if modern society is to be really made up of the Carburys and their friends, and the Melmottes are to lead it, we are free to confess that we think literature must lag far behind the reality. A novelist may describe it, and describe it entertainingly, as Mr. Trollope does, but cannot idealize it very much. It is on this account that we have the less doubt that Mr. Trollope has given a lifelike picture of "our Best Society."

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*Report upon the Condition of Affairs in the Territory of Alaska.* By Henry W. Elliott, Special Agent Treasury Department. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1875. 8vo, pp. 277.)—We have already referred (*Nation*, Feb. 4, 1875) to the volume in quarto printed by the Government in 1873 on the habits of the fur-seal of Alaska and the seal-fisheries in general. The volume which now lies before us is by the same author, and contains enlarged data on the same subject, together with a variety of other matter. Of its contents, five pages are devoted to prefatory remarks, ten to an essay on the character of the country, thirteen to the natives of Alaska and their condition, six to the duty of the Government with regard to the Territory and its people, fifteen to the nature and statistics of the fur-trade, nine to the sea-otter trade, fifty-eight to the condition of affairs on the Seal Islands, forty-four to the habits of the fur-seal, walrus, etc., three to the cod and salmon fisheries, forty-five to a reprint of the ornithological notice of the Prybilov Islands, by Dr. Coues, which first appeared in the Report of 1873, and the remainder to an appendix, consisting of notes on St. Matthew and St. Lawrence Islands, correspondence, statistics, extracts from Veniaminoff's 'Zapieska' (1840), and the law of Congress and regulations of the Alaska Commercial Company relating to the seal fisheries. The Report is not illustrated.

Mr. Elliott's first visit to Alaska was about the year 1866, when he passed from the British head-waters of the Stickeen River to the seaboard on his way to Victoria. In the spring of 1872, he was sent by the Treasury to the Island of St. Paul, touching on his way at Unalashka. He wintered at St. Paul, spending part of the following spring at St. George, and returning to San Francisco via Unalashka in August, 1873. In 1874, Congress appropriated $20,000 for two years' investigation by Mr. Elliott of "the present condition of the seal-fisheries of Alaska; the haunts and habits of the seal; the preservation and extension of the fisheries as a source of revenue to the United States, with like information regarding the fur-bearing animals of Alaska generally; the statistics of the fur-trade, and the condition of the people or natives, especially those upon whom the successful prosecution of the fisheries and fur-trade is dependent." Some members of the House having expressed themselves sceptical as to the ability of the gentleman named to carry out fully the intent of the bill alone, an officer of the Navy (Lieut. Washburn Maynard) was added to the commission. His report, however, is not printed with that of Mr. Elliott. These gentlemen sailed for the Seal Islands in the spring of 1874, touching at Sitka and Unalashka, and spending some weeks on the sealing grounds. In July they examined the uninhabited island of St. Matthew, and touched at St. Lawrence, at both places adding to our geographical knowledge, as they had previously done at St. Paul. They then returned to Unalashka, and sailed thence directly for San Francisco.

The general conclusions at which Mr. Elliott arrives are: That the agricultural resources of the country are *nil;* the mineral resources promising, though hardly to any extent investigated; the salmon-fisheries extensive and likely to be made productive; the cod-fisheries sufficient only for a local supply; that the seal-fisheries may be indefinitely carried on on the present basis without diminishing the supply; that firearms should be prohibited in sea-otter hunting and a summer close-time established; that the condition of the natives is far better than under the Russian rule; that the Alaska Commercial Company exhibits praiseworthy regard for the welfare of the people, and that its interests are identical with those of the Government and the natives; that there "is absolutely no law, no means of protection, no redress for injury, for any citizen of the United States even, to say nothing of natives" (pp. 233, 237, ¶ 4); that the troops should be removed from Sitka and a steam revenue vessel substituted for them, to traverse the Territory and carry the mails; that supervisory agents and school-teachers for the Aleuts would

"amount to nothing but discord and mischief" (p. 238); and, finally, that "it would be wrong to hint that the country is worthless, for on the Seal Islands alone the Government possesses property which would not remain in the market many days unsold were it offered for seven millions, and from which the annual revenue is doubly sufficient to meet all expenditures for the proper government of the whole Territory, if the matter was correctly adjusted." Mr. Elliott also thinks that the headquarters of the Territory should be removed from Sitka to Unalashka or Kodiak, as being nearer the centre of trade and civilized population.

Could we accept these conclusions without reserve, the showing, in a pecuniary point of view, would be more favorable than some of the reports concerning the Territory which have come to hand. Mr. Elliott has certainly made himself an authority on the habits of the fur-seal and the character of the islands on which they sojourn. His contributions to our knowledge of them and to our general geographical knowledge of some of the other islands of Behring Sea, are valuable and important. The name of Dr. Coues is a sufficient guarantee of the character and interest of the ornithological notes. The translations from Veniaminoff are of interest chiefly as relating to the conditions of thirty-five years ago. But when we examine the chapters on the present condition and character of the Territory and its inhabitants in the light of the itinerary above given, we find that they are based almost exclusively on the notes of Veniaminoff and information derived (as far as acknowledged in the Report) from individuals now or lately in the employ of the Alaska Commercial Company. Mr. Elliott's ocular observation has not extended over more than one and a half per cent. of the whole Territory; he has never touched the mainland of the Territory except at the Stickeen River; his actual residence has been confined to two little barren islands containing an area of not over 150 square miles. When, therefore, he says (p. 4) that he has "given the Yukon, Aleutian, and Sitkan districts close attention, having yet to more fully examine the Kodiak, Cook's Inlet, and Copper River districts," it would have been less misleading to the reader if he had stated that he has visited Unalashka in the Aleutian district; four islands in Behring Sea; Sitka and the Stickeen in the Sitkan district; and, for the rest, has collected reports from traders and other sources. How a "careful study of the history and habits of the sea-otter" is compatible with absence of personal observation of the living animal and the localities it inhabits, and how "old experienced fishermen whom I have met in the country personally engaged in fishing in these waters" (p. 5), from whom he professes to have derived his opinion of the value of the cod-fisheries, could have been met when Mr. Elliott has never visited the fishing-grounds, is not very clear. It would appear as if the Government might save the expense of agents and establishments on the Seal Islands by doing away with them altogether, if the interests of the Company are so clearly identical with those of the Government and natives as Mr. Elliott would have us (p. 95) believe. It would certainly seem, if no law, redress, or protection is to be obtained by whites or natives, that some action to establish such law and protection is called for from the Government. In this part of the world also an impression prevails that officers of law, clergymen, and school-teachers are capable of something beside discord and mischief, and that well-disposed natives have something of a claim to an education of a primary character, especially when they have enjoyed it under the despotic rule of Russia.

The Report is also marred by occasional errors of fact. On p. 17 we are informed that the temperature at Unalashka for July and August, 1831, did not rise above 35° Fahr., and that evenings were common with as low a temperature as 12°. A reference to Veniaminoff shows that the *minimum* for that period was 39.4°, the mean temperature 46.8°, and the maximum 64.6° Fahr. The statement on p. 20 that the Aleuts and Kodiak people with the inhabitants of the peninsula constitute one "decidedly distinct race" and the "Indians occupying all the rest (!) of the inhabited country" another; with that on p. 21, that the Eskimo of Kodiak have "no natural or blood affinity" with the Aleuts, might well astonish such veteran observers as Wrangell, Von Baer, and Erman. Again, on page 85, we are told that the "best" raw (fur-seal) skins are worth only $5 to $10, when the records of the London trade-sales show an average price in gold obtained for them of nearly double the amount stated (58–75s.) during the last four years.

We would suggest as an easy method of settling the vexed question of the value of Alaska for settlement that it be laid open to settlement by law of Congress, suspending the usual surveys until it be seen whether the expense would justify them. Then, if such deluded people as the Icelanders—who have examined the country and formed a different opinion from that evolved by Mr. Elliott—wish to settle there, they may freely indulge their propensity; and should they, in view of this Report, decide to stay away, no harm would be done to any one.

*A Summer in Norway*, with Notes on the Industries, Habits, Customs, and Peculiarities of the People, the History and Institutions of the Country, its Climate, Topography, and Productions; also, an account of the Red Deer, Reindeer, and Elk. By John Dean Caton, LL.D., ex-Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois. (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. 1875.)—Judge Caton has done what travellers in Norway are very apt to do: with an ever-present sense of adventure, as if he were exploring the heart of Africa or some equally unknown region, he has hastened, note-book in hand, from place to place, perused some random translation of the Sagas, and in this way gathered a miscellaneous mass of quite curious though sometimes inaccurate information, all of which he has with a due admixture of personal matter expanded into a book of formidable dimensions. The present work, although containing a great deal which can hardly interest any but the author's own friends, has at least the merit of being written in a very genial spirit, and the Norwegians have every reason to feel gratified at the flattering account which our author gives of their country, manners, and institutions. We do not mean to imply that this account is not, from Mr. Caton's point of view, in the main correct, although, to be sure, the voluminous title-page does seem to hold out a larger promise than the succeeding pages manage to keep.

When the author has occasion to use his eyes, he invariably uses them well, and his judgments of the Norwegian character—and, in fact, of everything relating to the present condition of the country—are remarkably sound and unaffected by prejudice either *pro* or *con.*; but, whenever he allows his mind to stray into the regions of the past, he loses himself, and soon betrays that he is hopelessly at sea. A jumble of isolated facts, gathered from random sources, is not history, neither can it be honored with the title of "historical notes." The simplest fact of history, in order to be properly represented and understood, requires a tolerably accurate knowledge of the whole civilization to which it relates, and this knowledge Mr. Caton does not possess. His standard of judgment is invariably that of the nineteenth century, and it is needless to say that heroes like Olaf Trygvesson and Saint Olaf (or Olaf the Holy, as Mr. Caton calls him), measured by this standard, do not appear to advantage. Here is, for instance, a passage which strikingly illustrates the author's want of historical perspective: "Had Olaf [Trygvesson] adhered to the monogamic teaching of Christianity, and been content with a single wife, he might have reigned long enough to have allowed the new faith to have taken root, but he must marry another wife, and go and claim her dower at the point of the lance." Again, on page 187, he administers a wholesome rebuke to Gyda, whom Harald the Fairhaired wooed, because, prompted by foolish ambition, she exacted of her lover that he should conquer all the kingdom of Norway, instead of marrying him for love while he was yet comparatively poor and unrenowned. But, after all, there were some ameliorating circumstances. "It may not be easy," he adds, in apology of her conduct, "for those of this generation, when staid and monogamic habits have revolutionized the sense of the proprieties of life, to understand how the triumphant bride could feel no humiliation in the knowledge that she possessed but a fraction of her husband's love, and share the royal couch with half-a-dozen wives, more or less" Evidently, Mr. Caton is not blest with too much humor. No wonder, therefore, that he can muster but little sympathy for "the insupportable bigotry and superstition of the pagan religion" (page 193); it is all an abomination to him. And still, knowing the tenacity with which the Norsemen clung to this barbaric faith, he has nothing but blame for the really great and powerful king, Saint Olaf, who, unwilling to accept a compromise, sacrificed his life in the effort to Christianize his kingdom. The means he employed were, judged from our present enlightened point of view, objectionable; therefore "this precious saint," as our author thinks, was worthy of no honor.

It is in no way surprising that Mr. Caton repeats the error, so common even among the more scholarly writers on Scandinavian history, of translating the word *viking* by the English "sea-king"; and, for the information of others, be it here stated that the word is not derived from *vi* (which, by the way, in Old Norse means nothing) and *king*, but from the word *vik* (a bight, bay) and the substantive termination *-ing*, as in English *tithing*, *whiting*, and consequently refers to the custom of the vikings of running into sounds and bays to seek booty and plunder. A reference to Vigfússon and other authorities will convince any one that this etymology is well established. When, however, the author in other places speaks of "Jarls or Vikings," and, again, of "Jarls or kings," he has not even the excuse of precedent for his blunder.

Mr. Caton's literary style is by no means above criticism. The inelegance of constructions like the following is self-evident: "With him he lived six years, who seems to have treated him well, without making him

feel the pressure of bondage," etc. ; and again, on the same page : "Here he lived under the protection of his uncle, making great proficiency in all athletic accomplishments, in *which* he showed a dexterity and courage far beyond all other boys of his age, *which* gave promise of his wonderful future." The spelling of proper names is no less capricious than is that of Mr. Carlyle in his late work on the 'Early Kings of Norway.' We find, for instance, *Haagan* for *Hákon* or Danish *Hagen; Bjarn* for *Bjarne*, etc. But, in spite of these and other minor deficiencies, we have no hesitation in recommending Mr. Caton's volume as, on the whole, an entertaining and, in everything which relates to the life of to-day, very satisfactory account of what it purports to describe. The visit to the Lapp encampment is an interesting bit of narrative, and the author's reflections on the Norwegian industries, national customs, and government are well worthy of notice, betraying, as they do, a keenly observing and practically intelligent mind. He is, as far as we know, the first foreign traveller who has given anything like a correct statement of the nature of the union between Norway and Sweden.

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*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1875.*

## The Week.

MR. GRATZ BROWN has emerged from a long retirement to write a voluminous letter on the currency, and, as might have been expected, his vision is dazzled by Kelley's 3-65 scheme. He thinks legal-tenders should be the only current paper-money; that the bank monopolists should all be swept away; that the greenbacks should, however, be convertible at pleasure into "3-65 bonds." The properties he ascribes to these bonds show that he looks on them as something like a talisman—something almost supernatural, in fact. If half what he says about them be true, Kelley will stand higher in history than Copernicus, Galileo, or Newton. They would, he thinks, absorb a large amount of idle capital at once, and would then attract "hundreds of millions" of money belonging to brokers and bankers and "savings institutions"; they would distribute the currency evenly and equitably among all the small traders and farmers; they would "repose," he says (which is a finer word than "base"), on the credit of the Government, and "represent the whole wealth of the country"; they would keep gold at home and prevent its being exported—a consummation which the Kelleys and Browns always speak of as if it were the New Jerusalem—and would wipe out the premium on it; they would cause a permanent reduction in the rate of interest, and enable a man to borrow at the same rate here as in England—thus upsetting the theories of the effete economists about the dependence of the rate of interest on the abundance of capital. Mr. Brown says, in fact, that "there is no substantial reason" why the rate should be higher in San Francisco than in London. The bonds would also "revive a now extinct commerce," "create a balance of trade," and lower the rates of freight on the railroads. The indirect effects of such a mighty instrument on morality and religion this great thinker does not point out, but then he knows it is not necessary: his readers can imagine them. He concludes with the characteristic and solemn remark: "If there be any question worthy the serious consideration of the national authority, that claims control of the money of the land, it would seem to be that of the reduction of the rate of interest." On this we humbly differ with the Western philosopher. We think the supply of a good digestive pill to the farmers and mechanics of the land by the National Treasury a far more serious question. The effect of such an agency on freights, interest, prices, credits, crops, would be vast and permanent, and if sold in boxes at $3 65 the gross, would possess most of the regulative features of Kelley's great discovery.

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Apropos of the rate of interest, the *Financial Chronicle*, in some remarks on the difficulty farmers in this country have in borrowing on mortgage, ascribes it to the knavish tricks of London brokers with foreign securities, as illustrated by the recent report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the foreign loans contracted in that market, and thinks if those brokers were more moral, and the English public were better informed, a large amount of foreign capital could be borrowed by American agriculturists at moderate rates. We are rather surprised to see so delusive a statement put forward by a financial paper of such good standing. Nothing is more certain than that any cloud which now hangs over American credit in England and Holland is due to the extensive defaults in American railroad bonds, to the dishonest management of American railroad corporations, and to the hostile legislation of Western States, and the wild and furious denunciations of capitalists and money-lenders indulged in by Western politicians during the last two or three years. To offer the Farmer any other explanation is to impose on his credulity. Moreover, as every economist knows, or ought to know, the cause of the low state of agricultural credit in the United States is a permanent and natural one. The reason why American savings-banks or capitalists do not like to lend money on farms is the reason why English capitalists are not likely to lend it, viz., the abundance and cheapness of land, and the consequent difficulty of selling it. A mortgage which a creditor cannot foreclose without buying in the property himself, cannot be attractive to money-lenders. Careful investors here do not like to lend on land outside the cities, and most of the farmers have therefore to borrow of local usurers, who are willing to take the pledge themselves in case of default. The state of things in France, the example of which the *Chronicle* cites, is totally different. There land is scarce, eagerly sought, and bought by the peasantry themselves at fancy prices, and if not sold can always be readily let at a paying rental. The great depreciator of agricultural credit in this country is the Government, which lets a man have a farm for a song.

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Mr. Geo. O. Marcy writes from Boston to the New York *Tribune* denying that the Illinois Pike County levee bonds are in any danger of repudiation, and giving various legal reasons why they cannot be repudiated, inasmuch as the money, which is a lien on the lands improved by the levee, is collectable by the State, and is paid into the State treasury, and paid out by the State, moreover, to the bondholders; and as the county in its corporate capacity has nothing to do with the matter, the commissioners to issue the bonds on the petition of the landholders whose property is to be benefited being appointed by the County Court; and as the legality of the bonds has been affirmed by the opinion of Judge Trumbull and the judges of the Supreme Court. This is all very well as far as it goes, and the correspondent of the *Tribune* on whose letter we based our recent remarks on this subject, seems to have been misinformed on some important points. But we have to remark that the bondholders, after they have paid their money, are apt to be "bloated"; that in taking interest from the Farmer whose lands have been improved they are "drawing his life-blood"; that while they are making probably eight per cent. he is perhaps not making four per cent. in his business, whereas he ought to make twenty; that a large number of these bondholders are probably sitting idle in their parlors or engaged in stock-gambling, while the Farmer is sweating over the plough and the hoe; that, as regards the judges, their sympathy with capitalists is well known; and that, even if the present judges of the Supreme Court have given opinions favorable to the validity of these bonds, other judges can be got, if the people choose, to take their places, who will give a different opinion.

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No statement of the condition of the affairs of the Bank of California has appeared during the week, although there has been a continuance of contradictory despatches from San Francisco. The newspapers published there which have been received by mail give a very different account of what immediately preceded the failure from that which was sent by telegraph, and it is now more than a matter of conjecture that the failure, unsound as the bank is conceded to have been, was precipitated by speculative combinations such as Wall Street is familiar with. There appears now to be no doubt that the creditors of the bank will be paid in full, and there is talk of a reorganization and a continuance of business with new capital, of which it is said over $7,000,000 has already been pledged. The other banks which suspended have been making preparations to resume. To strengthen themselves and to strengthen the general position there, gold has been ordered from New York. The Treasury were early compelled to decline making transfers of gold from New York, its stock of coin in the San Francisco Sub-Treasury having been reduced as low as was considered

prudent. On Monday, however, it consented to grant transfers to the extent of $1,000,000, the San Francisco Sub-Treasury having received a large amount of coin from the Mint. The fear that these transfers (which can only be made on account of New York bankers by their first depositing gold in the Sub-Treasury here) would deplete the New York gold market strengthened the price of gold here to the extent of advancing it above 115. The Treasury policy in the matter of bond redemptions, particularly on account of the Sinking Fund, has reduced the stock of gold here in the banks to about $10,000,000. This small stock, together with the prospect of a drain to San Francisco, has demoralized foreign exchange, and made possible such a decline in the rates for sterling as to justify the importation of gold before the cotton crop is fairly marketed. Outside the gold and foreign-exchange markets Wall Street has been featureless, with money easy to obtain on good collateral. The New York banks still have a surplus reserve of nearly $20,000,000, and do not expect at any time during the year that the rate of money will go above 6 per cent. The business outlook continues favorable; a fair volume of trade is doing with the Eastern and Middle and a large trade with the Southern and Western States. Credits are granted with care, and there is every sign of health and soundness. There is now no doubt that the staple products of the country for the year are much above the average, and it is certain that Europe will require more grain from us than last year.

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The contest for the Republican nomination for governor in Massachusetts promised a short time ago to be remarkable for the number and variety of the candidates if for nothing else; but as the day for the Convention draws near, the usual processes are thinning the numbers. A struggle for the office between the friends of Charles Francis Adams, George B. Loring, Mr. Talbot, Mr. A. H. Rice, and Mr. Washburn would have been a curiosity, but not more curious perhaps than that, as the crisis approaches, the knowing ones should begin to predict the greatest strength for Dr. George B. Loring. Mr. Washburn, to be sure, is not a very strong candidate, nor is Mr. A. H. Rice much known outside of Boston, while Mr. Adams has been rather talked about as a candidate, down to the present time, in the newspapers, than actually considered by the politicians; but why it should happen that after all these years we should hear of Dr. Loring as a party necessity, strengthened, too, by the withdrawal of Mr. Talbot, we do not understand. Dr. Loring is a smooth, oily, oratorical place-hunter, who has notoriously for many years been "in the hands of his friends" whenever an important office became vacant. No one can have any particular objection to his being elected, for even the charge brought against him that he is "Butler's friend" does not seem to have very much in it when we remember that he is, by profession, everybody's friend, and he would make rhetorically what might be called a truly centennial governor; but we cannot help wondering whether the Republicans in Massachusetts have really come to this at last, that they have no better man to put forward than he. There is really no difference of principle between the two parties in Massachusetts. Both are for hard money, against a third term, against centralization, and firm believers in equality before the law, so that there is really no appreciable issue except in the character of the candidates they put forward.

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The trials of the Georgia negroes seem to have come to a sudden end, the ringleader, Harris by name, having been acquitted, and a large number of his confederates having been released from custody. Harris's is understood to have been a test-case, and it is hardly probable that the Government will be able to bring forward any stronger evidence in the other postponed cases. A correspondent of the *Tribune*, who has been travelling in the State, reports that the only result of this extraordinary "plot" is the creation of a feeling of distrust between the two races much to be regretted, as likely to lead to an emigration of the blacks. Admitting that there is no sufficient foundation for this mistrust, he thinks nothing will persuade the blacks that the whites mean them no harm, while nothing will persuade a certain portion of the white population—*i. e.*, the young men who have kept up the traditions of "chivalry"—that the very existence of crime is due to any one but "niggers." He represents the negroes as talking of emigration *en masse*, and the whites as saying substantially that "the d—d niggers can go for all they care." No doubt the exclusion of the blacks from juries does something to increase the dissatisfaction, but we strongly suspect that much of this kind of talk about race-hostility, oppression, and emigration is of that kind which relieves the human breast, black or white, by an expression of a sense of injury, but does not necessarily lead to the purchase of railroad tickets. The dread of the proud white man by the "nigger," or the scorn felt for the latter by him, are not less certainly than the loathing felt on the Pacific coast for the heathen Chinese; and the laws of the United States, or even of the State of Georgia, affecting the negro, are tenderness itself compared with those affecting the Chinaman passed every now and then by the statesmen of the Pacific slope; and yet the emigration from China to California increases with every year. To judge by the extremely moderate behavior of the whites during the recent disturbances, the Georgia negroes, as a class, are treated with more consideration and justice than the Chinese in California, or, we may add, the "bloated bondholder" in one or two of the Western States.

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General Barlow, associated with Mr. O'Conor in the Tweed cases, has written another letter on the subject of the Court of Appeals decision, bringing forward the authorities which make against it. They certainly show, it seems to us, that the Court would have been amply supported by precedent had it determined to decide the other way, there being quite as good law on one side as the other. To any one who cares that the Bench should enjoy popular respect, the present position of the Court of Appeals is certainly pitiable. Having the whole matter entirely in its own hands, and having to decide one of the most important criminal cases that have arisen in the history of the State, they decide it in such a hasty and slovenly way that they are publicly accused by one eminent counsel practising before them of corruption, and plainly proved by him and his associate to have overlooked or slurred some of the most important cases bearing on the decision, and their opinion becomes at once the shuttlecock of the bar and the press. This is what comes of putting political jurists and "statesmen" on the bench, and leaving the best lawyers to practise before, browbeat, intimidate, and abuse them—some of the best of the profession not caring to conceal, even in print, the contempt with which they are regarded. This is a bad state of affairs. What renders it ludicrous is to have Tweed's friends exhorting us not to forget ourselves so far as to criticise this august tribunal.

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The Rapid-Transit Commissioners have come to the conclusion to which we suppose nine-tenths of the people who have looked into the matter must have expected them to come. They have made a report that they have "selected" two routes, one on the East and one on the West side of the city, nearly coinciding with the lines of the Greenwich-Street road, partly built and soon to be completed as far as Central Park, and the Gilbert Elevated Railway Company. They very naïvely admit, first, that they were shut out from the possibility of considering many attractive routes by the certainty of opposition from the Common Council and the landowners, and they have, as a matter of fact, not selected anything at all, but simply endorsed, approved, ratified (or whatever else it may be called) two routes already captured by existing corporations. The report is really tantamount to a confession that the number of conflicting interests and opposing theories are so great that any system of rapid transit must really be taken in hand and carried out by private enterprise; and this conclusion is certainly experimentally proved by the fact that of the seven miles of "rapid transit" actually existing in this city (the Harlem improvement made by Vanderbilt and the Greenwich-Street road), every actual step forward has been taken by the "monopolists" who have had the matter in charge, the utmost done by the public

being to put the monopolists in motion and to supply in one case some of the funds. It is remarkable to observe that not even the contemplated "East-side" line is now an independent road, but it has joined forces or combined with the Greenwich-Street corporation.

On Tuesday the people of New Jersey voted on the constitutional amendments described in our last issue, and which, with barely an exception, deserved the support of every good citizen, and were in harmony with the spirit of reform which has nowhere of late so powerfully and hopefully manifested itself as in our State Constitutional Conventions. A body called the Catholic Union of New Jersey appealed to Catholic voters to vote against four of the proposed amendments whose importance will be recognized, namely: forbidding any town or county to give money or property or loan its credit in aid of, or own the stock or bonds of, any association or corporation; forbidding the State or any municipal organization to give land or appropriate money to any association; directing the legislature to provide for a thorough and efficient system of free schools; and forbidding special legislation in certain cases, as in granting to any corporation, association, or individual any exclusive privilege or franchise whatever, and again in providing for the public schools otherwise than by general laws. In accord with the Catholic Union, what was perhaps never before witnessed in New Jersey, prepared ballots were distributed in the Catholic churches last Sunday, with admonitions how to vote; and the Bishop of Newark went so far, on account of an amendment (otherwise objectionable) which threatened to make church property liable to taxation, as to recommend cancelling all the amendments. In fact, at many of the polls one saw Catholics distributing ballots which were entirely erased. As we write, the result of the election is not known. One result, however, cannot be doubtful. Whenever and wherever the religious issue is raised in this country by the priests, it will be taken up, and it will not be disposed of to their advantage. In the long run, they will gain no more in the United States than they lately did in Bavaria by interfering openly in politics.

Dr. Döllinger has been holding another of his conferences at Bonn with the view of uniting the English, Greek, and Old-Catholic churches. The attendance of delegates from the Greek and English Churches has been scanty, and they are by no means representative men. As regards the Old-Catholics, it suffices to say that they are supposed to number 20,000 in Prussia to 8,000,000 of common Catholics, so that their sayings or doings are not of great importance. As the London *Times* points out, too, the English clergy who have gone to Bonn to promote unity are mostly men who are quarrelling bitterly with their fellow-Christians of all denominations in the British Isles, and some of whom are not willing even for the sake of Christian peace to let a brother Christian call himself "reverend" on his daughter's tombstone. When the British Church is in this condition, the chances of union and harmony with men so far removed in feeling and tradition as the Greeks and Continental Catholics are but small. What Dr. Döllinger has accomplished by this last conference is to procure agreement among the delegates touching "the procession of the Holy Ghost," but this has been accomplished by the use of very vague language, and the careful and friendly abstinence of each delegate from letting any other delegate know his exact meaning. In the meantime, the learned and philosophical world, as well as simple people in Germany and elsewhere, begin to laugh at the Doctor and his efforts, and say that, as he has been a good Catholic all his life, and has swallowed everything but Papal Infallibility, he ought not to make such a fuss in his old age about swallowing this, and that he deserves no pity or sympathy—in which there is a painful amount of truth.

The draft of the New Spanish Constitution made by the Royal Commission has been published. It differs but little from an average French constitution. Besides the formal provisions, it forbids taxation except by parliamentary or municipal vote, and, while making the Catholic religion the religion of the state, allows freedom of worship to other denominations. The great test of a Continental constitution is, however, its mode of protecting the citizen against arbitrary arrest, and it is in this, if in anything, that one finds signs of improvement. The Spanish Constitution, like most of the others, forbids arrest except on a legal warrant or search, except under certain specified conditions, and requires that an accused person shall have a hearing before a magistrate within seventy-two hours of his arrest, which is all very well. But supposing he is arrested without a legal warrant, or detained beyond the legal limit without a hearing, he has no remedy but a petition, and if the petition receives no attention he cannot sue anybody, so that, in point of fact, no new guarantee for personal liberty is provided. In like manner, nobody's house may be unlawfully entered by the police, but, if the police do enter, the owner has no recourse except complaint, which might be, and judging from experience would be, barren, unless the Government was in a good humor. All public processions and "manifestations" are forbidden to Protestants, and it is feared that this last term may be so construed as to prevent announcements of religious meetings, or open-air preaching, or advertisements of religious books. Education is to be free, on compliance with legal rules as to competency, and so is the right to print and publish, and meet for discussion, but the exercise of these rights is to be regulated by legislation.

The Cortes is to be composed of a Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The Senate is to be composed of three classes of senators, of one hundred each: 1. Sons of the king, and grandees with $12,000 a year; generals of a certain rank; the admirals of the navy; the chief-justices of the courts; the archbishops. 2. Persons nominated for life by the crown from among those who have sat in eight legislatures, or been senators and cabinet ministers, or who hold a certain rank in the army or in the diplomatic service or judicial service, or are or have been presidents of the learned societies, and have $1,500 a year. 3. Persons elected by municipal corporations and leading taxpayers in the manner hereafter to be provided. There is to be one deputy in the lower House for every 50,000 of population. Porto Rico is to be represented, and Cuba when pacified. The draft has to be voted on by the Cortes which will be shortly elected, but by what constituency has still to be determined.

The insurrection in Herzegovina is clearly on the wane, if it be not already extinct, and has followed very nearly the course we ventured to anticipate—that is, its proportions were from the beginning greatly magnified by the Christians on the surrounding border, and it seems to have accomplished nothing beyond shutting up the Turkish garrison in Trebigne for a few weeks while reinforcements were coming, and making raids on the Mussulman villages, and throwing the Servians into a state of considerable excitement. But this excitement has been sternly kept in check by Austria, which does not want any disturbance, and it has stimulated the military efforts of the Turks, who have thrown heavy bodies of troops into the disturbed districts, and now march up and down where they please, and have relieved Trebigne. The remonstrances of the foreign powers have also produced promises of reform at Constantinople. Tribunals are to be set up in Herzegovina for the hearing and redressal of grievances, and there will probably now be a few months of reformatory activity, to be followed before long by more restlessness and other risings. The accounts from Belgrade seem to indicate that the Servian politicians and military men are getting it into their heads that the Principality may yet play the part towards the Slavonic regions of Turkey and Eastern Europe generally which Sardinia played towards Italy, or in other words may become the principal heir of "the sick man," and the growth of these pretensions has produced the curious effect of inclining the Greeks favorably to the Turks, and causing a Turkish alliance to be talked of at Athens. There could hardly be a better illustration of the subsidence which has come over Greek ambition after fifty years of buncombe.

## THE ONE-MAN POWER IN FINANCE.

THE tragic close of the career of Mr. Ralston, and the revelations which have been made about his relations to that great "developing" agent, the Bank of California, are leading people to reflect and talk a good deal about the dangers and temptations of the monarchical system of bank management. It has been remarked, and very truly, that almost invariably, when any great calamity overtakes a financial institution nowadays, it is discovered that, although the machinery of its government is thoroughly democratic, and although it appears to the outside world to be managed in the democratic way through a representative assembly, it has really been managed by one man, who alone had an intimate knowledge of its condition and alone wielded its resources. It is of course, in cases of break-down, usually discovered that he has committed great errors of judgment and has technically transcended his powers. We say technically, not really. His technical powers are defined in the charter and by-laws and resolutions of the board of directors; and these he is almost sure to overstep, but his real powers, be they great or small, are whatever the directors allow him to have, and they allow him to have whatever he chooses to take. If under these circumstances the concern collapses, it of course proves that it was his errors and shortcomings which have caused it. Whose else could they be? Either he has made excessive loans, or loans on insufficient security, or has borrowed money on a large scale himself, or has made bad investments. Most probably he has done all these, and the directors then try to escape popular odium by pleading the total neglect of their duties, and then there is a savage burst of indignation against them for not having known what was going on.

The truth seems to be, however, that all this is the natural product of the existing condition of business and society. The process which gave the Bank of California into Ralston's hands as if it were his private property, to deal with it as he saw fit, is one which is to be witnessed in lively operation in nearly every field of activity—in politics, for instance, no less than in finance. Affairs have become so complicated, the details of every undertaking of any magnitude so numerous, the contingencies on which success depends so subtle and delicate and so composite—that is, made up of so many minor contingencies—that the mastery of a large enterprise, and the ability to conduct it successfully, require a peculiar kind of talent, which does not increase in proportion to the increase of capital. The result is a growing tendency to mass capital, for the sake of getting the benefit of peculiar skill in the management of it. Part of this skill, and a large part of it, consists in the power of getting hold of details, and keeping them in one's head, ready for use whenever needed. Another and larger part consists in the possession of the quality called "judgment," which is also rare, and almost indefinable. It is the faculty which tells a man promptly what to do in a given state of facts, and enables him to do it with the utmost courage and confidence, without prolonged deliberation, or any elaborate process of reasoning. Anybody who has these qualities naturally makes his way to the front in all moneyed concerns, and naturally becomes president or cashier; and the directors trust him because they know he is abler than they are, and because, in nine cases out of ten, they would be incompetent to criticise his course. If they were competent to criticise it, they would be his equals; but they are not, and they know it, and they know that no statement he could make to them of what he proposed to do, and of his reasons for doing it, would make them wise enough really to supervise him. We see just the same tendency to the concentration of power in politics. The "management" there, as in finance, has become so complicated and laborious an affair that the men with the exceptional ability required by this kind of work have taken, or are taking, it wholly into their hands, and carry it on with comparatively little check. A public meeting, for instance (which was originally a democratic body), coming together for deliberation, is now a curious sham. Its opinions and resolves are all prepared for it by two or three men, who get up its indignation and aspirations in a private room. When a bank or trust company fails, as we have said, and the departure from theory in its management is laid bare to the world, there is a great outcry. But then there is no complaint made of the thousands of financial concerns which are prospering, or have not failed, and which are well known to be managed in just the same way. The reason is that people know there is no help for it. Boards of directors feel they are not equal to the task of looking after their president, or of questioning his decisions. It would be, as far as they are concerned, very like asking a prophet to prove his assertions. The manager would, in most important matters, be unable to justify his conclusions in words, because they are reached largely through bits of unconscious induction, based on experiences long ago recorded, but not clearly recalled in each transaction. The natural result of this supremacy is apt to be that he often gets into the way of doing not only high-handed things but wrong things. This is a common effect of untrammelled power on human nature.

Curiously enough, just as we are here experiencing the effects of the monarchical system, and calling for a change, they are beginning in England to complain of the democratic system, and are calling for a change in the other direction. The last number of the *Economist* contains an article denouncing, apropos of the heavy losses of the London banks by the late failures, the bad working of bank management through committees, especially now that the mass of money to be handled has become so large. "A very strong, skilled, decisive judgment," it says, "has to be applied to the minutiæ" "if the business is to be well conducted," and this cannot be forthcoming if the Manager [or President as we call him] is controlled by one committee of the directors for one thing, and by another for another thing, and cannot act independently at critical moments. "A board," it adds, "or even a committee of directors, is but an imperfect body in business of great detail; it is easily lost in an immense number of bills and figures; it is easily distracted and easily mistaken; and when it has made a mistake it cannot be punished, the responsibility is too divided." The editor, therefore, recommends the very thing we here are now crying out against, after having tried it pretty thoroughly—"a conspicuous chairman," "who could be removed when things went wrong, and who was highly paid for seeing that things went right, who was capable of really guiding the concern, and whom the public would know to be capable of guiding it;" but he takes it for granted that the directors would "watch him closely" and "retain the supreme authority in all great matters." It is safe to say that in this country at least, and we have no doubt the same is true of England, the directors could do nothing of the kind in the case of a highly capable man; that his success would throw them off their guard; and that, finding he made money rapidly, their vigilance would soon go to sleep, and the claims of their private affairs assert themselves, and their indolence overcome their fears or sense of duty. There seems at present little chance of substituting any system for the one into which we have fallen, and to which the English will doubtless eventually come, and the remedy for the misbehavior of our financial Napoleons must evidently be sought in a different direction, and the one which experience and analogy plainly suggest is increased publicity and accountability. We give to-day an enormous power over liberty and property to the judges of the superior courts, and we exempt them from all legal responsibility or supervision, except in cases of plain corruption. We exact from them one guarantee of honesty and capacity, and one only, but that seems on the whole to work perfectly well, viz., the obligation to give the reasons publicly for their decisions. There is really no more effective and salutary check on a man in any sphere of activity than the knowledge that on a certain day he will have to explain and defend his acts before the world, or before a competent body of critics. There is a suggestion in this which might certainly be made the basis of very great improvement in the management of banks, railroads, insurance companies, and other corporations, without depriving them of the advantages they now get from individual skill and energy. It ought to be easier to make presidents and other

dictators report and explain. Even if it would be impossible to prevent their doing things, it ought not to be impossible to compel a report of them and account for them after they have been done, and many "a Napoleon" would be restrained on the edge of a piece of recklessness, or it may be of crime, by the knowledge that he might at any moment have to clear up or defend his action. It is not the directors of our corporations only who are too helpless, but the stockholders. The facilities managers enjoy for keeping them in the dark furnish of themselves an enormous temptation to fraud and abuse, and in the case of railroads, one of the most potent of these is the privilege they have and cherish of keeping accounts in their own way, and charging things to whatever account best suits them. If we are to have legislation at all in aid of the better government of our great financial institutions, it ought to provide better machinery for enabling parties in interest to get at the facts; and this machinery should consist largely in the supply of formulas into which the desired information should be thrown, and these should be so simple that the most ignorant could understand them, and yet so minute as to leave little or no room for evasion or equivocation. The next great step in industrial and moral progress will undoubtedly be made in some such way. When a man like Ralston gets into the dreadful mess which resulted in his ruin the other day, the law is really more to blame than he. The duty of government and of society with regard to all money matters consists far more in the removal of temptation than the punishment of theft or peculation.

## THE NEW GERMAN POLITICAL ECONOMY.

M. LAVELEYE, the well-known Belgian economist, has in a recent article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* given his countenance in a rather strong form to the doctrines of a new school of professional economists in Germany, called by themselves the "Historical School," and by their enemies the "Socialist School," and having Mr. Cliffe Leslie as their principal ally in England. This school, which is largely made up of professors in the universities, maintains that Adam Smith and his disciples, whom they contemptuously style "Manchesterthum," have made the mistake of trying to found a science deductively on a principle of human nature of their own invention, instead of inductively by the careful observation and registration of facts; and that, accordingly, their conclusions as to the operations of trade and industry are so inaccurate as to be worthless; that the only sound way of building up economical theories is by the investigation of the industrial history of each country; and that this work, in so far as it has been accomplished, shows that there is no universal political economy, with canons applicable to all countries and all races. Each country has, they say, on the contrary, and of right ought to have, a political economy of its own, provided, or at least regulated, by its Government, and suited to its history and necessities. The labors of the new school are producing, as might be expected from German habits, a considerable body of literature, and are throwing a good deal of light on obscure corners of social history, and so far cannot but prove useful as well as interesting. The value of such researches to the legislator can hardly be overestimated, not simply because they help to explain and often to justify many of the prejudices and idiosyncrasies with which he has to deal, but because they often furnish the results of experiments on some of the problems which this generation is called on to solve. A very useful illustration of the value of the historical method in political economy has in fact been recently furnished by the effect produced on English opinion with regard to the land question in Ireland and India by the labors of Sir Henry Maine and others. The Irish land legislation of Mr. Gladstone, just and beneficent as it has been, was undoubtedly largely the result of the light thus thrown on the origin of native Irish feeling and opinion with regard to land tenure, and we are likely to witness under the same influence a very valuable increase of tolerance and consideration in the dealings of the more civilized with the less civilized races all over the world. We are likely to see greater allowance made for prejudices, and more distinct recognition of the force of custom, and a diminished confidence in the possibility of providing the whole human race with governments on the same pattern.

The new German school is, however, by no means disposed to confine its pretensions within these modest bounds. It fancies it has made discoveries which must reduce Adam Smith and all his followers to comparative insignificance, and make worthless all economical interpretations and predictions based on the theory that the love of gain is the most powerful motive of human action. It flatters itself that it is about to bring about a revolution in our ideas on the leading economical subjects, and it has persuaded a good many people that we are hereafter going to give up the discussion of economical problems as problems common to all civilized countries, and approach each one from an English, or German, or French, or American point of view. That well-informed people may be influenced by it was illustrated by the fact that our *Financial and Commercial Chronicle*, for instance, was a few weeks ago reasoned into the belief by Dr. Roscher, one of the leading writers of the new school, that there is now going to be something new, peculiar, and distinctive in the economical development of France, Germany, and the United States respectively; that economical enquiries conducted on Whately's theory that man is an "exchanging animal," and that human society is largely influenced by pecuniary interest, are "barren and misguided as were the lucubrations of the schoolmen of the Middle Ages"; and that in this country, as in Germany, "the practical habits of the people demand a better method of investigating and reasoning upon economical facts"; and the *Chronicle* calls for "an investigation of man as he is, and not as he might be under some utopian economy of society, where he might be more free than we see him."

There are certain facts, however, which people, both here and elsewhere, who are impressed by the arguments of the German Historical School seem to overlook, but which, when reading Dr. Roscher and his colleagues, they would do well to bear in mind. The first, though not the principal one, is that one of the most marked features of German life down to the year 1866 was the complete separation of the intellectual class from politics, and indeed from all practical life, and the supreme indifference of the scholars and thinkers to governmental problems, and the scantiness of German speculation on questions of contemporary sociology. The result was that the outbreak of the war with Austria found some portions of Germany provided, it is true, with an extraordinarily effective system of administration, but under a system of government on the daily working of which public opinion, in our sense of the term, had little or no influence, and found its educated men looking on in childlike submission at the labors of a self-sufficient army and bureaucracy. Since the war, the professors have begun to turn their attention to politics with great vigor, but with very little of what we call "political sense," though with great faith in and reverence for the political machine which overcame the French. For useful and perspicacious comment on the existing social organization they are, however, as yet hardly qualified. For this some experience of public life as we understand it, or of the free working of social forces as seen in England or America, or even in France, is necessary, and this they have not had. Their ideal of the state has still a strong color of the camp about it, and acts of parliament and general orders are still too closely associated in their minds.

When, therefore, they began to turn their attention to political economy, it would have been safe to predict, *à priori*, that their speculations would be marked by extraordinary erudition—that is, that when they took a subject up they would explore it thoroughly through books, and that when they began to give opinions as to what ought to be done they would greatly magnify the responsibility of the Government and much underrate the capacity of the individual citizen; and this is exactly what has happened. They are furnishing us with exhaustive treatises, tracing the history of industry and property from the earliest ages down; and as they have nowhere found man industrially free or wholly governed by

selfishness, they smile scornfully at those who discuss him as if he *were* free, or who look forward to the time when he will be free. They have found him everywhere and in all ages tied up by one kind of restriction or another in the work of production or exchange, and they therefore assure us that we were foolish to suppose that he could ever produce or exchange without restriction, or that production or exchange could ever be profitably, in the highest sense of the word, carried on without a strong and constant state supervision.

Now, we are not going to defend all the positions taken by the non-interference school of political economists of the last fifty years, any more than we are going to defend all the positions of the physiologists or geologists or metaphysicians. Political economy, like other fields of enquiry, has had a good many doctrines pushed too far, a good many conclusions hastily drawn, and a good many disturbing agencies overlooked. But it is just as well to remember that the arguments used against the doctrine that man is a free agent, and that he is "an exchanging animal," or that gain is his ruling motive, might be used with considerable force against the existence of the first law of motion. The doctrine that a body once set in motion will move for ever in a straight line with uniform velocity is open to the objection that nobody has ever known a body to do anything of the kind. All bodies ever seen in motion by us move on crooked lines or stop after a short interval. It does not follow from this, however, that all speculation based on the theory that bodies would move in this way if let alone, is idle, or that in talking of the first law of motion we are talking of a "utopian state of things." To study mechanics is to study the various ways in which the law is counteracted; but it would be very foolish to argue from the multiplicity of the disturbing agencies that no such law existed.

Nor is it true to say that Adam Smith's political economy is a piece of pure deduction. On the contrary, the theory that man produced and exchanged best when let alone, and that the love of gain was the ruling motive of human conduct, was an induction, even in his day, from a vast mass of observed facts. Increased observation has strengthened and confirmed it. Those who are trying to persuade themselves of the contrary appear to forget that the history of civilization is in reality the history of the liberation of the race from a variety of arbitrary interferences with men's industrial activity. The acts of the savage, as the researches of the anthropologists have shown us, are regulated from morning till night by a mass of usages which have the force of law. As he rises in the scale, he becomes more and more free, and passes more and more under the dominion of his own sense of interest, as shaped by his reason and observation. The legislation of all modern countries runs steadily in this direction. We have not free trade as yet, but trade has been steadily growing freer. It is not in England only, but in France, in Germany, in Italy, and in the United States, in Russia, in India, that self-interest has been for the last hundred years gaining more and more control of the operations of industry. The notion of the German professors that they can arrest this tendency and remand merchants and manufacturers and journeymen to the tutelage of the state, is interesting as a psychological phenomenon, but it has no political importance.

There is one other question which students of Dr. Roscher and his colleagues would do well to ask themselves, and which, if candidly answered, will deprive their speculations, at least in this country, of most of their interest, and that is, What do they mean by "the State" when they are calling for more state regulation of trade and industry? If we may be allowed to apply the historical method to the professors themselves, we shall say that it is easy to see why *they* should suppose the Government is an omniscient and beneficent being, distinct and different from the community at large, and possessing stores of wisdom which the ordinary man cannot reach. That has been until now the theory of all good Germans. That the new school of political economists cannot as yet get it out of their heads is nothing wonderful. But that it will eventually get out of their heads, as well as out of the heads of all civilized men, is plain to be seen; and the more it disappears, the more fully Adam Smith will be justified. We know, as a matter of experience both here and in England, that the transfer of Mr. Boutwell, for instance, from storekeeping in Groton to the charge of the Treasury in Washington, did not in any way increase his insight, or render him better able to decide what business A. had better engage in, or in what way B. had better use his capital. We know, in short, by experience that a commercial people clamoring for a minute and constant supervision of trade and industry on the part of the state, would be clamoring for something which no training and experience would enable human nature as at present constituted to supply. There is not talent or capacity or knowledge enough in the world, and it is safe to say never will be, to furnish the kind of government which is necessary to keep Dr. Roscher's "political economy" in good working order. He must not suppose that, because we can get Bismarcks and Moltkes to make revolutions and win victories, the genius necessary to enable some people to manage other people's business better than they can manage it themselves, has been bestowed on man. As affairs grow more complicated, the commercial relations of nations and men more minute, and the workings of the machinery of business harder to follow, the sphere of individual discretion in the work of production and distribution must *necessarily* be enlarged; that of the state interference be restricted. It is not possible to draw a hard and fast line between them. The boundary has to be, and will always have to be, traced as the occasion arises by that invaluable quality called political sense, which is simply common sense mixed with a quick perception of what is or is not possible by legislation.

## FRENCH BIBLIOMANIA.

PARIS, Aug. 13, 1875.

A PHILOSOPHER once said that happiness consists in creating for yourself new manias as fast as you can satisfy them. One of the most expensive manias I know of is book-hunting; it is, however, the passion of some poor men, who contrive to do with art and knowledge what others do with capital. Book-hunting is practised to some extent in London, but I think it is nowhere as national a sport as in Paris. Go from the Pont Royal to the Pont Neuf, and from the Pont Neuf to the Pont Saint-Michel, and all along the banks of the river, on the stone walls of the quays, you will find a row of wooden boxes full of books and pamphlets. The *bouquinistes* are men without culture, dressed like workingmen, often in blouse (the blouse is the old national dress of the Gaul); they put marks on their boxes—50 centimes, 75 centimes, 80 centimes, one franc, one franc fifty; you seldom see any higher number.

Where do all these books come from? Every *bouquiniste*, besides his establishment on the quay, has in a back street some depot where books are kept; every day, almost, a "lot" is brought there; it is generally bought at auction, not at the great sales of books, but at the innumerable sales which take place in private houses forced sales, or sales after death. The bibliophile ignores these sales; he cannot wait till a lot of books is sold after beds, mattresses, furniture, etc., but the *bouquiniste* invariably buys the *lot* of books at these small sales; he hardly looks at the books; they are tied up in strings; he buys them by the weight, as it were, and brings them to his depot. In the depot the work of classification begins. Sometimes, in some small library of the *quartier* of Batignolles or of Belleville, or on the bookshelves of an old lady or a young spendthrift, a rare volume will get mixed with the trash of literature. A few choice volumes are picked out by the *bouquiniste* and reserved for the booksellers—he does not sell these directly to the public; the rest are taken to the quay, and as fast as the wooden boxes are emptied new books are thrown in. The book-hunter can only hope that the *bouquiniste*, who is a very ignorant man, has allowed something good to get mixed with the trash which covers the quay. You will see him start early in the morning (the early bird gets the worm) and peer eagerly into the boxes, which have just received their new cargo. And certainly some wonderful discoveries have been made in the despised boxes—original copies of Racine's, Molière's, or Corneille's plays. Each hunter has his own method; if he wishes to find the romantic poets of the modern age (this is quite the rage at present), the original editions of Musset, Victor Hugo, Lamartine, his eye will rest only on the unbound works, as these editions ought to be given to the binder with their margins quite uncut and virgin. If your taste should draw you to the original editions of the seventeenth century, you must pick up among all the books the very dirtiest, with

old calf bindings ; and if, on opening one of them, you should have the luck to see the name of Claude Barbin, make haste, throw your franc to the *bouquiniste*, and walk off without letting him know that you have found something valuable.

Book-hunting is an art. It requires patience, resignation, a mixture of instinct and knowledge. It is the resource of those lovers of literature who have small means. If you have a large balance at your banker's, you have nothing to do but to walk across the quay from the river side to the booksellers' shops. There you will find the game you are hunting, all cooked and ready ; the old calf binding has been replaced by a morocco binding of our great artists ; the old yellow leaves have been washed carefully, the missing page has been replaced, the torn frontispiece has been mended. There are, on the Quay Voltaire, some booksellers of the *vieille roche*, men of great knowledge, very honest, even if they like a good profit. They are a type : you can enter their shops, take a chair, converse with them ; they will show you all their treasures, and give you good advice about your researches, and will not be angry if you retire without having spent a franc. Of course, there are exceptions to the rule, but some of the Quay Voltaire booksellers are real gentlemen, owing perhaps to the atmosphere they perpetually breathe and to the quality of the men with whom they have to deal.

I could not say as much of a new class of men who have altered the character of the book-trade. They have abandoned the old headquarters of the bibliophiles, and opened gorgeous shops on the other side of the river, in the passages, and even on the boulevards. These splendid exhibitions of costly books have suddenly created a new public of book-hunters —rich bankers, club-men, even actresses of our great theatres, and, alas ! I am obliged to add that some of our extravagant Aspasias go into these places and buy at any price choice books with the arms of Madame de Pompadour, or Marie Antoinette, or the Comtesse de Verrue. An extraordinary inflation of prices has taken place for a certain kind of books, and an honest bibliophile is very much now in the position of an Englishman who sees his county hunted by a stranger while he can no longer give the price for a good hunter to carry him over the fences. Some great amateurs have been corrupted by the high price of books, and there is now a class of amateurs who in reality are nothing but speculators. They make, at a great expense, a fine collection, and then have a great sale, which attracts all the bibliophiles of the world. An old bibliophile, well known to all lovers of books in Paris—M. de Lignerolles—who is a *bonâ-fide* bibliophile, was offered some time ago a gigantic sum by an English bookseller for the whole of his library. He refused the offer ; and he was wise. An economist will tell you that everything must be subject to the law of supply and demand ; that books are a commodity like any other thing. The real bibliophile has a mystic affection for his books, especially those which he did not buy at some great sale or at some fashionable bookseller's. He loves the book which he has saved from destruction ; he found it poor, ragged, despised ; he washed and cleansed it, perhaps with his own hand, and confided it to one of those patient binders who spend one or two years in binding some great *chef-d'œuvre*. I once found the original copy in quarto of Corneille's 'Polyeucte,' bound in its first calf binding. I took it to my favorite binder, a man who does everything alone, in a third story of a small street behind the *Monnaie*. I showed him my jewel, and asked him how much time he would need. "Sir," said he, "give me at least a year ; this needs all my care." These binders are real types of artists ; they don't make fortunes ; they have as much conscience as their ancestors who made the famous Marguerite bindings, or the more modern Pasdeloup and others. But it is, perhaps, time to say : "Lugete, Veneres, Cupidinesque," now that our great booksellers have books bound by the hundred and the thousand. Fontaine, the great man of the Passage des Panoramas, publishes yearly catalogues which drive the old bibliophiles to despair ; there are in his last catalogue, for 1875, books of a value of a million francs. The binders are obliged to make great ateliers in their turn, and wholesale binding cannot be artistic.

One of the resources of the unfortunate bibliophile who now finds his old field invaded by so many Philistines, is the variableness of fashion, since the Philistine will follow the fashion, and does not know how to recognize the beautiful. Read, for instance, the three last yearly catalogues of Fontaine, which will be preserved as monuments of folly and extravagance ; you will find nothing but French books. Our Philistine does not know much Latin ; he cannot read Greek. You can buy now the old classics at an almost ridiculously low price ; the Latin Elzevirs are neglected, everybody will have the French Elzevirs. After a while, a classification is made even among these : your Philistine will have what he calls *amusing* books ; theology, morals, even history soon becomes distasteful to him. The number of desirable French Elzevirs becomes, consequently, more and more limited ; extravagant prices are given for a few volumes, while the quiet bibliophile buys the others cheap. But the furor of the day is the so-called *livres à figures*, the works of our *dessinateurs* and engravers of the second part of the eighteenth century. I will not disparage the merit of works which for a while have been too much despised, and which now are perhaps too much admired. I would not object to having in my library the 'Contes' of Lafontaine, the 'Baisers' and the 'Fables' of Dorat, the 'Chansons' of Laborde, Anacreon, Bion, Moschus, the 'Decamerone' of Gravelot, and a few others. Such a collection, especially if found in the old bindings, is a charming representation of the spirit of the dissolute and elegant eighteenth century. Nothing can exceed the *délicatesse* of some of the small works of Eisen, of Chaussard, of Marillier : "c'est peu de chose, mais c'est charmant," as we sometimes say in France. It is quite natural, it is even necessary, that such works should have a place in a French library ; the absurdity consists in excluding all the rest, in concentrating all literature and all art in this little microcosm. There is no reasoning with a maniac. I have known men who sold original pieces of Molière's in order to buy a stupid little Elzevir called the 'Pâtissier français' (worth 6,000 francs only on account of its great rarity). I have known others who got rid of their Bossuet and Fénelon, Rabelais or Montaigne, to buy the volumes in which the unreadable verses of Dorat are the ground on which lie the naked goddesses of Eisen.

The true bibliophile ought not to be a maniac : he must look everywhere, in every century, almost in every country, for what I call representative books—books which are the embodiment of the thoughts and, if possible, of the art of an age. I have in old Italian vellum the original edition of the 'Pastor fido' ; it would be an act of insanity if I should tear off the old respectable vellum, still white and pure, and cover the old leaves printed in Venice with a gorgeous red morocco Parisian binding. It is better to keep an old binding, if it has an artistic value, even if it is torn and defective, than to replace it with a new. Books ought not to be washed too much ; the glare of the pages whitened by chloride is not as pleasant to the eye as the yellowish tint of age.

The love of books is one which, once it has taken possession of a man, will never leave him : "un livre est un ami qui ne change jamais." The well-known books, which are, to a certain extent, your own creation, are mute friends, whom you can find at all times ; they advise you without scolding you ; they are teachers of patience, of resignation ; they take you out of the troubled current of life. America boasts of many magnificent public libraries ; he would be well inspired who should create, in one of her great cities, a choice library, a bibliophile's library, composed only of original works in historical bindings. Such a collection of jewels would serve as a model for your binders, for your printers, for your artists. The difficulty would probably not be in finding the large sum of money necessary for the creation of this philobiblion library, it would be in the choice of the works ; it could only be formed very slowly by a thorough amateur, well versed in all the secrets of bibliophilism, and with a sufficient amount of general knowledge to place him above the little manias of the day and to allow him to find in every literature the best *lettres de noblesse*.

# Correspondence.

## MR. ELLIOTT'S REPORT ON ALASKA.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : In your issue of the 2d inst. appears a fair and able review of my report upon Alaska, but the reviewer has made, while pointing out, very properly, my own errors, one or two himself.

Congress, instead of appropriating "$20,000" for my work, gave but $10,000. Of this amount, nearly $6,000 lies in the Treasury to-day unexpended.

The assertion is not correct that I have relied "almost exclusively upon employees of the Alaska Commercial Co. for my data in regard to the condition of affairs," inasmuch as I have in my journal the names of twelve men to whom I am indebted for personal knowledge of the territory all the way down from Kotzebue Sound to Fort Simpson, who each and all have never been associated with the company in question ; and, furthermore, the fact that I have not cruised on the principal fishing-banks of the Territory did not prevent me from meeting fishermen who have done so in the harbors of Victoria, Sitka, Port Townsend, and San Francisco.

I do not cast any reflection upon "clergymen and school-teachers" when I express the opinion that their labor up there would result in discord

and mischief; for if they were zealous and honest, it surely would. Certain natural surroundings, wanting there, are indispensable to the success of such labor.

I call the Aleuts and Kodiakers a decidedly distinct race, because they are the only natives of the Territory that have fixed abodes and live in a semi-civilized manner. I do not use the term with ethnological significance, for my report has nothing to do with that; only this distinction, so great, does exist, and hence, should any legislation ever be adopted for Alaska, it should be steadily kept in view.

The sales of Alaska raw seal-skins last year averaged $10 to $12 each, not "58–75s." The Shetland catch sales, however, bring this high figure, which my reviewer has charged to the skins of Alaska, the fur being superior. The market, however, fluctuates greatly; in 1868–69, these skins from the Prybilov Islands sold for $3 and $4 each, and during the last years of the Russian occupation they were selling in the best market of the world as low as $2 80 each, and only two years ago the Alaska Commercial Co. sold thousands of its skins at $5 per pelt.

The Icelanders who have just returned from a whole season's experience on the very best ground of the Territory refused to speak of the agricultural worth of that region, and when it is borne in mind that they stated that the soil could not be touched or broken until the 10th of last June, etc., etc., the reason for their silence becomes apparent, because the truth would seriously conflict with the report made so hastily by their comrade last fall. I myself think that the Icelanders could live better in Alaska than they do at home, but that does not imply that by so doing they will ever be able to add one iota to the sum of our national wealth and prosperity. I think it would be a great deal wiser if their attention was directed to Puget Sound, where the summers are cool and equable and the winters quite mild. Here they can fish, hunt, and cultivate the soil, ship as sailors or work in logging-camps, and, above all, find schools for their children—a future there which the rigorous climatic conditions of Alaska deny. Very truly yours, HENRY W. ELLIOTT.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON, Sept. 3, 1875.

## GUILIELMUS OR WILHELMUS?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your number 506 a critic, speaking of the Latin form of Mr. Gladstone's name, asks: "Is not his first name *Gulielmus?*" I was brought up to *Gulielmus*. Our college Williams always found themselves under that disguise in the triennial catalogue. But one of the Chaucer Society's publications which has just reached me is a copy of the court-roll in the case of a robbery of Chaucer—one of the late finds in the Record Office. It is in the best law Latin, and the name *William* occurs in it several times, always as *Wilhelmus*. Rummaging into the old Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the later chronicles, I find they also have *Wilhelmus*. Dipping into a German book or two, I find Steinthal addresses himself *ad Wilhelmum De Humboldt*, and I light on *Wilhelmus Grimmius* and other *Wilhelmi*, and an occasional *Guilhelmus*.

*Wilhelmus* we know about. It is *Wilhelm* (he whose *will* is for the *helmet*) with a Latin ending. It is an odd barbarism, for the Romans of the classic period had no such letter as *W*, but represented the sound of our *w* by their *v*. The later Romans had changed the sound of *v*, and when a character was wanted to represent the *w* of the Germans, *vv*, *w* was invented, and so we have *Wilhelmus* for *Vilhelmus*. The French found *w* hard to pronounce, and changed it to *gu—werra war* to *guerre*, *wile* to *guille guile*, *Wilhelm*, in old French sometimes *Villalme*, to *Guillaume*, and so we get *Guillelmus*, a barbarism of the second degree; and that has somehow, I suppose, given birth to *Gulielmus*, a barbarism of the third degree. But when, where, how did it come to be proper English Latin? Has it ever come to be authoritative outside of college catalogues? If Professor W. D. Whitney or Professor W. Everett were to spell his first name in Latin after Mr. Weller's famous direction to his son, would it be contempt of court? F. A. M.

[Just where to draw the line in Latinizing modern names has always been a matter of taste, and consequently a matter of some dispute. We smile at the combined simplicity and pedantry of the sixteenth century, when the main object seemed to be to disguise the original name as much as possible. Plain Davus may guess a Kämmerer under Camerarius, a Müller under Molitor, a Holtzmann under Xylander. But to know that Bucretius stands for Rindfleisch, Ladomus for Steinhäuser, and Oecolampadius for Hausschein, requires an Œdipus. The strongest instance of change is that of Reuchlin, who first altered Reuchlin into Räuchlein (little smoke), and then through καπνίον and καπνιῶν into Capnio. Modern Latinists are inclined to give family names and names of places in the real form, and without a Latin suffix. This is convenient and perhaps the only feasible way to do in lists of names like those in college catalogues. But such names in connected discourse appear sometimes very ludicrous. We remember reading on a tombstone an epitaph, otherwise unexceptionable, which said: "Natus est in oppido cui nomen est Kennebunk." As to the matter alluded to by our correspondent, in the caption "Augustus M. Toplady et W. E. Gladstone," we inferred, perhaps not unnaturally, that the W was an oversight for G. The difficulty would have been avoided if the name had been printed in full—Wilhelmus E. Gladstone. Certainly we should be far from saying that William or Wilhelm—of which name Förstemann in his 'Deutsches Namenbuch' gives over thirty different spellings—*might* not be Latinized Wilhelmus. But this brings in the letter W, a letter unavoidable, to be sure, in family names, but awkward even there; and while Guilielmus or Guilelmus (if we said or were made to say Gulielmus in No. 506 it was an oversight), may not boast of a very long or legitimate pedigree, it has the recommendation of looking somewhat more like Latin than Wilhelmus, and it is sanctioned "outside of college catalogues" by such authority as Ruhnken, Ritschl, and Fleckeisen.—ED. NATION.]

## LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of August 20 is an enquiry for the manuscript of President Lincoln's Address at Gettysburg.

Mr. Lincoln arrived in Gettysburg in the afternoon of the 18th of November, 1863, and was a guest of one of our citizens—Judge Wills. He was called out in the evening to reply to a serenade, and at a late hour went to his room. Sending for his host, he enquired the order of the exercises of the next day, and began to put in writing what he called some "stray thoughts" to utter on the morrow. When delivered, they were read from an official letter-sheet. It is uncertain whether *this* manuscript has been preserved.

But when Mr. Lincoln was asked, in April, 1864, to send to the Baltimore (Md.) Fair for the relief of soldiers and sailors an autograph manuscript, he sent a copy of his Gettysburg Address, which, lithographed, is to be found on pages 3, 4, and 5 of 'Autograph Leaves of our Country's Authors' (Baltimore: Cushings & Bailey. 1864). Every word is written with distinctness and care; and there is no room for mistaking even a letter or a punctuation-point. This is, undoubtedly, the final form he gave the Address, and is that by which he intended it should be judged. I enclose an exact copy. Very respectfully,

EDWARD MCPHERSON.

GETTYSBURG, PA., Aug. 31, 1875.

*"Address delivered at the dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg.*

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"NOVEMBER 19, 1863."

# Notes.

MACMILLAN & CO. have in press a work on 'The Russian Power,' by Ashton Dilke; a 'Life of Sir James (Rajah) Brocke,' compiled chiefly from his letters and journals from 1830 to 1868; a complete edition of Christina Rossetti's poems; and a revised and extended library edition, in three volumes, of Green's 'Short History of the English People.'——Charles Desilver & Sons, Philadelphia, announce Sanderson's 'Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence' (originally published in 1820), revised and edited by Judge Robert T. Conrad.——J. B. Lippincott & Co. will shortly publish 'The Amazon and Madeira Rivers,' by Franz Keller; a treatise on punctuation by Prof. Joseph A. Turner; and 'Florida, its Poetry and its Prose,' by Sidney Lanier.——Those of our readers who were interested in our late review of Pattison's 'Life of Isaac Casaubon' may like to hear of a tasteful reprint of this theologian's answer to Cardinal Perron, the old English translation of which bears date of 1612, and is so rare that the copy from which this reprint was made is thought to be the only one in the United States. We owe its publication to Messrs. W. R. Whittingham and Hall Harrison, who see in it "Anglican Catholicity defended against Roman innovations" with a force and authority which leave nothing to be desired. They have prefixed to it a short account of Casaubon, and King James's Confession of Faith. (Baltimore: Turnbull Bros.; New York: D. Appleton & Co.)——B. Westermann & Co. send us parts 27 and 28 of Stieler's Hand-Atlas, whose contents we have already noted. Maps 13 and 14 together show the whole of the Mediterranean basin. Subscribers who are about to bind this work may be thankful to Westermann & Co. for a hint to fold each map in the middle and back the fold with a linen guard. This reduces its size one-half, and makes the term "hand-atlas" seem less of a misnomer. The same suggestion applies to 'Spruner's Historical Atlas for Mediæval and Modern History,' of which we have received from Justus Perthes Part 12, containing: Germany from the Peace of Westphalia to 1742; France, 1461–1610; the British Colonial Possessions since 1783; and the Eastern Roman Empire from the immigration of the Hungarians into Pannonia (A.D. 895) to 1019, etc. Among the valuable side-maps are plans of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, etc., at different periods.——Mr. Charles Lanman, for his contribution to the Centennial, has prepared and will shortly issue a work entitled 'Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States during its First Century.' It is to contain about 7,000 biographical sketches, besides 8,000 names of persons who have been connected with the Government since the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The work can hardly fail to be valuable.——Robert Clarke & Co. now formally announce Chaplain T. B. Van Horne's 'History of the Army of the Cumberland' for publication in December next. It will consist of two volumes and an atlas, the campaign and battle maps being compiled by Edward Ruger, of the Topographical Engineer Office, Department of the Cumberland.

—Our recent remarks on the various versions of Lincoln's Gettysburg address have attracted some attention, and we print above an authoritative letter in regard to it from Mr. Edward McPherson, Clerk of the House of Representatives. The Boston *Advertiser* brings out the fact that Mr. Charles Hale, formerly the editor of that paper, made a long-hand report of the address as delivered, which was afterwards printed in a Massachusetts Senate document. Mr. Hale attended the dedication of the cemetery as one of three State commissioners, and sat on the platform within a few feet of the President. His report preserves the abstract term "government of the people," omits "poor" before "power," and in other respects generally agrees with the popular version. Mr. Lincoln's original manuscript, the *Advertiser* has been informed, was once seen in the possession of a Boston gentleman residing in Canada, but now deceased. We suppose this is open to doubt. The *Advertiser* also quotes from Bartlett, what we had overlooked, part of a speech of Theodore Parker's in 1850, in which the phrase "a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people" occurs as a definition of democracy. Mr. Lincoln was not unfamiliar with Mr. Parker's writings, and it is just possible that he met with and remembered this phrase.

—There is a passage in the 'Frogs' of Aristophanes which possesses some interest at this juncture, both for the Scholar in Politics, the Soft-Money Man, and the Ungrammatical Plain Man. The law of currency which prevents two kinds of money, one of greater intrinsic value than the other, from circulating together, is now so familiar that one has some difficulty in understanding how people should ever have been ignorant of it, and yet all through the Middle Ages, and down to the time of Queen Elizabeth, nobody seems to have been aware of its existence. When a government, therefore, issued a quantity of adulterated coin, they were constantly surprised and provoked to find that, as soon as it appeared, all money of greater value vanished. They used, however, to think, as some of us think now when our foolish legislation does not work well, that the reason it vanished was that "bad men" collected it and carried it away out of sheer wickedness, or, as the old indictments used to say, "being moved thereto by the instigation of the devil." In Elizabeth's reign, however, Sir Thomas Gresham discovered the seat of the trouble, and reported to the Queen that the *cause* of the disappearance of good money was the coining of bad money. The phenomenon had been perceived, though not accounted for, long before. Aristophanes, in the 'Frogs,' draws attention to the fact that the Athenians made no longer any use of their good old pure coin, but used the coin adulterated with brass, for the first time in Athenian history, in the archonship of Antigenes, and he makes use of an analogy which suggests a law of politics of which we hope we may not some day have to acknowledge the existence also, viz., that it is not possible to make the two moral and social extremes of society work together in politics—Charles Francis Adams, for instance, and John Morrissey. The passage is the following:

"Often, to us at least, the city seems to be in the same condition with respect to its best and most upright citizens as to its old money and new gold; for of the former, which is far from being adulterated, nay, the purest of all coinage, the only ones correctly stamped, and proved by ringing everywhere among Greeks and foreigners, we make no use whatever; but we do of the latter, bad and alloyed with brass as they are, struck but yesterday from the very worst of dies. And of the citizens, those whom we know to be respectable, prudent, and just men, and really good characters, and educated in gymnastics, choruses, and music, we treat with indignity; but the brazen mob, foreigners, slaves, rascals, and sons of rascals, we employ for every purpose, though the very newest comers, fellows whom the city before now would not, without scruple, have used as scapegoats."

We wish the Springfield *Republican* would write a smart, spicy, breezy, newsy article on this passage, giving us the Ungrammatical Plain Man's view of it.

—A reader of the *Nation* sends us the following extract from Fowle's *New Hampshire Gazette* for May 20, 1785. A correspondent, whose wisdom was only a little in advance of the inflationists' of May, 1875, after rehearsing the ills under which the people of the State were groaning—the heavy taxes, unprofitable trade, bad men in and seeking office, bloated bondholders, etc.—and stating that "petitions have been preferred for the issuing a bank of paper money," but without result, proceeds in this wise:

"Let manly and firm remonstrances be presented to the General Court representing the distresses of the country through want of a currency as a medium of trade, and that while other States are making paper money, whereby their inhabitants are relieved and their trade flourishing, we, who are (comparatively speaking) infinitely in greater want of money, have no chance of being indulged, while there are men suffered to remain in power who are basking themselves in the sunshine of lucrative places, and cannot feel for others, through a callosity of heart which makes them insensible to any one's interest but their own. Instruct your representatives to vote for the making a paper currency, and to pledge themselves in behalf of their constituents for the support of its credit; and let laws be made *enacting banishment* to those who shall dare to refuse or depreciate it, as unworthy the name of fellow-citizens. Let *censors* be appointed in every town to observe who are so daring as to counteract the wisdom of the legislature, and bring them to their condign punishment."

—We spoke in these columns some weeks since of Mr. Frank Duveneck and the portraits from his hand exhibited at the Boston Art Club. These have been followed by three more, visible during the last month at the rooms of Messrs. Doll & Richards. We expressed some doubts as to whether further acquaintance with what Mr. Duveneck had done would confirm the very high opinion we had formed of his talent, but these doubts have been wholly removed. Two, at least, of the three pictures in question are superior to any of the half-dozen exhibited in the spring. One of them is a head of an old man with a fur-cap, a large, bony, and sanguinary nose, and a mangy-looking scrap of beard—a forlorn, grotesque personage, very strikingly rendered. This picture is skilful and forcible, but it differs less appreciably in kind from ordinary clever work than its companions. These are extremely remarkable. One is a full face of a young man in a broad, black hat—an Italian, we believe, and fellow-student, in Munich, of the artist—painted with admirable richness and solidity. Mr. Duveneck is altogether masterly in his combination of breadth of handling with complete preservation of the essence of his subject. His painting gives us, so to speak, the excitement of adventure and the certitude of repose. The third picture is a half-length of a lady in a brown dress and

scarf, and a white cambric hat, holding a fan, with the body in profile and the face three-quarters full. This was the first female subject by Mr. Duveneck we had seen, and it is quite the finest of his portraits; this, too, in spite of the fact that only the face is finished. This face strikes us as a very considerable achievement. The consummate expressiveness of the eyes, the magnificent rendering of flush and bloom, warmth and relief, pulpy, blood-tinted, carnal substance in the cheeks and brow, are something of which a more famous master than Mr. Duveneck might be proud. The figure is, moreover, full of movement, spirit, and style; its lightest touches tell of a talent which has excellent reason for self-confidence. Mr. Duveneck is essentially a portraitist; it is hard to imagine a more discriminating realism, a more impressive rendering of the special, individual countenance. That analogy with Velasquez, proportions considered, of which we formerly spoke, strikes us afresh in the works to which we now allude. It is not too much to say that in the portrait of the lady it is, in a very noble sense, deceptive.

—We cannot forbear speaking on this same occasion of a very fine portrait by Copley, now also visible at the establishment of Messrs. Doll & Richards. Copley at his best is an admirable painter, and this picture of Mrs. Spinner, painted in Boston almost exactly a hundred years since, was certainly unsurpassable by the artist himself. The lady leans her elbows on a small polished mahogany tea-stand; one hand holds a blue flower, the other, with the fingers extended, supports one of her temples. She is in full dress, with a great deal of admirably painted lace at her bosom and on her sleeves, and her pale blond hair is rolled over an immense cushion. She is not beautiful, and one of the sources of interest of the picture is its intimation that the bloodless, nervous, attenuated type of American woman was not more exceptional among our great-grandmothers than among our wives and sisters. Copley's model in this case—her stately apparel apart—looks as if she might have stepped out of a Boston street-car. The color of the picture has turned somewhat sallow with time, but its essential characteristics as a first-class piece of portraiture have not been damaged. For direct, exact reality, Copley almost ranks with the very first, and such a portrait as this satisfies us in so many ways that we are almost puzzled to say what else we demand. When a head is so definite and solid and living as this, we are tempted to believe that it is all it can be. We finally perceive, however, that it can be a little more graceful and a little more suggestive. Even in so happy a performance as the portrait of Mrs. Spinner, Copley remains a trifle hard and rigid; here and there his surfaces are more like carving than painting. As for suggestiveness, he rendered perfectly and exhaustively all that he saw, and he saw nothing that he could not render. He was definite, as we say; but that adventurous vision of the indefinite which has brushed with its wing all the very greatest works of art is never reflected here. Copley was by no means a Holbein, but he holds a very honorable place in the ranks over which Holbein presided as supreme genius. We have called attention to the portrait of Mrs. Spinner because, in these days of complex aims and half-successes, there is something extremely refreshing in the spectacle of a simple aim begetting an absolute triumph.

—As Wyoming is the only spot on this continent where women are allowed to vote, the friends of woman suffrage have naturally made the most of the experiment, and have from time to time given us glowing reports of its success from very respectable local authorities. A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial* has lately been making a tour of observation in the Territory, and his account of what he saw there appears to be unprejudiced and truthful. He does good service at the outset by restoring the perspective which our Eastern suffragists have unconsciously distorted. Should the experience of Wyoming count for much either for or against woman suffrage? The Territory is twice as large as Pennsylvania, yet has a population only half that of an average county in Ohio, and no greater than that say of Springfield in the same State. Over such a thinly-settled area the forms and the force of law can prevail only in the immediate neighborhood of the leading towns and the Sweetwater Mining District. Moreover, the women eligible as voters do not exceed 1,500 in a population of 18,000, being as one to ten adult males. This disproportion shows how little influence the women who actually vote can be expected to have, either for good or for evil, at present; but it is also to be borne in mind that all the higher officers of the Territorial government are appointed at Washington; and, finally, it is susceptible of very exact calculation that the number of public prostitutes in the Territory is fully one-fifth of the whole number of legal female voters. The actual results may be briefly summed up. One woman has been elected superintendent of public instruction, another appointed justice of the peace, and that is all. "No woman has been chosen or nominated for delegate, councilman, representative, police judge, or to any clerical office." Even with the women, men are preferred as candidates. There is, however, better order at the polls than formerly, the ladies usually riding there in carriages and being very respectfully treated. Those of them who have to be urged to vote cost the candidate wishing their support a heavy outlay for carriage-hire, and as this has come to be regarded as an evil the ladies have recently resolved in convention to walk to the polls hereafter. The prostitutes do not vote in a body or with any organization, and are divided much like any other class. While soldiers and officers cannot vote, their wives and the regimental laundresses can, after a long enough residence. In the courts there was at first an important change, and much was hoped from the presence of women on grand and petit juries. But the practical working of this service speedily revealed such obstacles, peculiar to the sex of the new jurors, that women have quietly been dropped from the panels and are not likely to be enrolled again for a long time. Exemptions for moral, physical, and temporary domestic reasons left only the perfectly healthy unmarried women, or childless mothers, or the mothers of grown-up children. "There is not," says the *Commercial's* correspondent, "one unmarried woman in a hundred who would sit on a jury if she could help it, and in this country not more than one criminal case in ten is fit for an unmarried woman to hear. My informant says there are less than two hundred ladies in all Wyoming who are at once eligible and fit for jury duty." That the foregoing conditions could lead to no marked social revolution is obvious. The correspondent quotes as his own conclusion that of an old resident of Cheyenne: "Woman suffrage in Wyoming has resulted in making everything just as it was before, only a little more so."

—We print on the next page a review of 'Les Armées Françaises et Etrangères.' Since it was written much new light has been thrown on the subject by a writer in the August number of *Blackwood*, who has been enabled to collect his facts by means of personal enquiry. He represents the present state of the French army as far from satisfactory. He admits that the reforms indicated in our review are well imagined; that individually officers are working as they have never worked before, and that the majority of them keenly feel that they must labor long and patiently if they ever hope to wipe out the humiliation of defeat. He admits, too, that the new plan of fortifications is excellent, that the new rifle is a good one, and that the system of complete *corps d'armée* is wise and practical. But if his estimate is to be trusted—and, aside from the absence of contradiction and the strong confirmation given by the Paris correspondent of the London *Times*, we have every reason to believe that it should be—the old prejudices and abuses still exist at the War Office, and render any radical reform for the present utterly hopeless. The system of "*virements*" from one chapter of the budget to another is largely practised. All the men paid for are not in the service; the vital problem as to the Staff Corps and Intendance remains unsolved; the entire administration is wretched, and has caused France to "waver and bungle" over the work of military reform in the most astonishing manner. These criticisms remain unanswered, and they are doubtless just. The root of the evil is deemed to be the unfitness for his position of the Minister of War, General de Cissey. He is, as the late war proved, an excellent commander in the field, and the writer in *Blackwood* respects him as an "honest man" and a "straight and valiant soldier," who came to the War Office with a sincere desire to do away with the old errors, but soon became entangled in the meshes of red-tape, and at length was completely vanquished by his bureaux. Napoleon the Third said that the French army was like a beautiful and complicated machine, whose several parts were separated. This comparison is more striking now than ever before. The pieces of the machinery have doubtless been greatly improved, the strong and skilled hand that can put together and arrange the disunited parts is alone wanting. To the absence of strong initiating genius and high moral courage at the War Office the writer in *Blackwood* attributes the present weakness of the army. It would be madness for France to think of going to war before twenty years, and by that time it seems likely that the generals of the old school will have disappeared. Should a supreme head be given to the army while the work of individual improvement continues, we do not see that France need despair of her military future. Depending upon this contingency, the view taken in the article which appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* a few months ago, and was written, we think, by an officer lately of Sir Garnet Wolseley's staff, seems a not unreasonable one. We hope that the writer in *Blackwood* has made use of his rare opportunities on the 3d of September. On that day the whole of the passed reserve men of 1867, except such as are allotted to the 16th and 18th corps, for whom a later date is fixed, were summoned to report for one of the two annual trainings under the decree of 1872.

This will test the ability of the War Office to make the men on the rolls appear under the colors, and should throw light upon the worth or reality of the French system of reserve.

## THE NEW ARMY OF FRANCE.*

SIX years ago, and how many French officers were there who even thought of honestly comparing armies of other countries with their own; who were ready to confess that professional knowledge was to be obtained on the other side of the Rhine; or who looked upon the soldiers of Prussia other than as "well-organized militia totally inadequate for offensive purposes"? Surely they could easily have been counted on one's fingers. The patriotic efforts of the Duc d'Aumale and Changarnier were attributed to partisan and unworthy motives. The grave warning of Stoffel was not only disregarded, but that officer himself was viewed in the highest quarters with no little distrust; and, to quote an able critic, "De Failly feasted daily upon twelve courses served on gold plate, while Trochu languished on half-pay."

Success doubtless tends to close the eyes of the victor to imperfections of detail, tactical errors, and, above all, to individual faults. The traditions of France were glorious; and had she not been victorious in the Crimea and in Italy? Had not her army reached the pinnacle of perfection? To the military observer instigated by a purely scientific love for the truth, the shortcomings in those campaigns were most painfully apparent. The systems of administration and mobilization were particularly faulty, and the greatest sacrifices had to be made to keep the regiments up to anything like their proper numerical strength. And yet—aside from improved armament and the paper organization of the "Garde Mobile"—no improvement had been even attempted until the last war. Prussia, too, had conquered Austria. "We committed many errors during the campaign of 1866, and we felt the necessity of amelioration in many details," said more than one Prussian general officer. Wrote the author of the famous 'Tactical Restrospect': "If our cavalry should think that their powers in the campaign of 1866 were the highest that they are capable of, they may prepare to sing their own funeral dirge."† Prominent among the reforms which this war gave birth to is the now celebrated department of the "Etappen-Inspektion," which enabled the Prussian staff, with such marvellous facility, not only to transport the German army into France, but also the standing army of France into Germany, to keep open the regular mail and telegraphic communication with the most distant detachment, and—with the exception of a load of wounded French prisoners who had become frozen in some cattle-cars on their way to Germany, and had to be chopped out with hatchets on their arrival—reduced the sufferings of the wounded and sick to a minimum never before realized in warfare.

Twice—during the "Seven Years'" and the "Seven Weeks'" Wars—had the soldierly virtues and disciplined energy of Prussia amazed the world. Not until the third time, however, do the French insert in their text-book a leaf from Berlin. The younger officers of the army—aroused and purified by unheard-of disasters—examine themselves with a keen and impartial criticism. They were the first to insert the scalpel in the wound and bring to light abuses, errors, and time-honored failings. Unceasing study was deemed a powerful factor in the military and social reorganization. That the fruit of this industry might be enjoyed by all, a professional association became needful; and in the month of July, 1872, the "Reunion of Officers," already inaugurated by Major Fix, of the Staff Corps, was established officially by General de Cissey and Admiral de Pothuau, the Ministers of War and Marine. "The development among officers of habits of study and application in all forms and by every attainable method," is the chief object. The headquarters is at the Central Bureau in Paris, and there are forty-eight branch establishments throughout France, each provided with a suitable library, maps, and models. Upwards of two thousand officers of all grades are included in the list of active members. The management is conducted by a committee of thirty-five officers, chosen by ballot, who represent every arm of the service. Facilities for the instruction of officers of the "territorial army" are provided, and courses in the Russian and German language are prescribed. Already the members have published 128 essays, 98 pamphlets, and 32 volumes of from 160 to 800 pages, many of which have reached a third edition, and a bulletin is issued weekly by the society, in which the contributions of the members are published.

The volume before us is merely a summary of the principal articles which have appeared during the year in this bulletin. The chapters which most interest us are those treating of the renovation of the French army. France to-day is very ill-prepared for war. For offensive purposes, she has not more than 200,000 troops available. But her system is in process of transformation. The Prussian model has been followed so far as is consistent with the traditions and temperament of her people. Compulsory military service has been established, and enforced with such rigor as to yield an annual contingent of about 150,000 men. Each man is liable to serve for five years with the active army, but owing to financial reasons this term was reduced during the past year to little more than twelve months for the infantry. After this actual or constructive service of five years, they pass into the reserve for four years, and may at a moment's notice be recalled to the active army. After this they constitute the first division of the second reserve for another five years, when they pass into the second division of the second reserve, in which body they remain enrolled for six years longer. With a few trifling exceptions, every able-bodied Frenchman is thus, on attaining his twentieth year, held to a term of twenty years' military service. By the continuous operation of this law, the maximum military strength will be reached in the year 1895. In that year, due allowance being made for the decrease of population, death, and accidents, it has been estimated that France will have at her disposal the enormous total of 2,500,000 thoroughly disciplined and skilled soldiers—men whose physical or moral inferiority to the Prussians, for instance, will be atoned for by a longer term of military instruction.

Another important innovation is the creation of the nineteen permanent army corps. Each is a carefully-fashioned military unit, whose chief, in matters of administration as well as of the command of troops, is vested with almost absolute power, untrammelled by the former vicious system of centralization. General and staff officers will thus become identified with their commands, and brigades and regiments have confidence in their neighbors. This, moreover, will greatly aid in mobilizing the forces, for, as our readers are aware, the permanently organized Prussian army corps were not the least important element in conducing to the rapidity with which the army was placed upon the Rhine frontier in 1870, with no more waste than is required to put a chronometer in motion, and which more than half won the victory for Germany before a shot had been fired. It ought soon to be possible for printed time-tables of the order of march to be kept on hand by the French staff, which would only require the insertion of the day of the month and a signature to mobilize the entire army.

The French "non-local" plan of recruitment is deemed better in some respects than the German "local" system; for, while compatible with rapidity of mobilization, it saves the more impressionable French soldier harmless from the home and sectional political influence so prejudicial to military discipline. A French army corps will contain in the same regiment, or company, men taken at random from republican, royal, or imperial districts, whereas those German army corps which are composed almost entirely of Roman Catholics might, in certain quarrels, prove no mean test for even Prussian discipline.

Much has doubtless been done, yet much more remains to be accomplished. Reform of so radical a nature must be brought about slowly, and each day has its task. The above instances, however, would seem to evidence the seriousness with which the military reformation is undertaken. In view of this, the law now proposed in Germany, if enacted, will enable the Emperor to oppose to the 2,500,000 French soldiers of 1895 2,800,000 Germans; while Russia—so soon as her laws of compulsory service shall have attained their full vigor—will have at her disposal the unheard-of host of 3,000,000.

From among the shorter essays we would direct attention to the one upon "Cavalry." It is a mooted question at present whether or no this arm still has a rôle to play upon the battle-field. Cavalry is as important as ever in the warfare of the future, but its functions are different. During the last war there were scarcely more than two instances of the traditional use of cavalry upon the field of battle: the desperate and fatal assault made by Michel's Cuirassiers upon the Vth Army Corps at Woerth, and the superb charges of Bredow's brigade and the 1st and 2d Dragoons of the Prussian Guard at Mars-la-Tour—both cases where one arm of the service must be sacrificed to save one of the others; and this, in our opinion, is the sole excuse for the employment of cavalry upon the actual field of battle. The services rendered by the German cavalry away from the field of battle, on the other hand, have been with justice highly praised. It constituted an impenetrable veil, behind which the rapid combinations of the German armies were effected in perfect secresy. It was, in a great measure, owing to the German cavalry that Bazaine, kept in utter ignorance of the where-

* 'Publication de la Réunion des Officiers (quatrième année). Les Armées françaises et étrangères en 1874. Principaux Evénements militaires et maritimes, Notices et Documents statistiques, Renseignements divers, etc.' Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie.; New York: F. W. Christern.

† The writer of this treatise, which appeared anonymously and attracted so much attention at the time, was Captain May, late of the Prussian 44th Regiment, who was killed during Goeben's winter campaign in the north of France.

abouts of the enemy, delayed about Metz when he should have been far on his way westward. It was the manœuvring of the cavalry of the Prince of Saxony which led the French staff to report the main body of the German army to be at Montmédy when, in truth, not a foot-soldier had crossed the Meuse ; and cavalry, penetrating the French lines, brought information of the demoralized state of De Failly's corps, which led to the surprise at Beaumont. But, advancing into the interior of France, it became necessary to give more consistency to the cavalry by the addition of battalions of riflemen, who were transported in wagons obtained in the country. As events proved, but for this device the free movements of the cavalry divisions would have been neutralized by partisan infantry and *francs-tireurs*, who lay in wait behind every covert. The clearing of the country south of Paris and the success of Manteuffel in the north were largely due to this scheme, improvised to meet a stage in the war for which the Germans were not prepared. Had they possessed large bodies of mounted infantry, most effective service might have been rendered in preventing the formation, or at least intercepting the supplies, of the armies of Bourbaki, Faidherbe, and Chanzy. And there is very high authority for the statement that had the French, early in the war, devoted their energies to the creation of efficient bodies of horsemen like the so-called cavalry of Sheridan and Wilson, they might have so impaired the German lines of communication as to have rendered the continuous investment of Paris highly improbable if not impossible. The result is that the prediction of Marshal Marmont seems about to be realized : the future "cavalry" of Europe is to be armed with the short rifle, and become accustomed to fight when required on foot, as did the dragoons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the mounted infantry of the American civil war.

The papers relating to fortifications and artillery go to show that the improvements in this direction keep pace with those in the other branches of the service. Enormous appropriations have been made for the new defences of Paris, which are to enclose a very much larger extent of territory than heretofore. The batteries of field-artillery are to be provided with breech-loading pieces made of steel ; and the experiments and conflicting theories of foreign governments in regard to siege and garrison artillery are studied as carefully as possible, although little has been actually done, and a single battalion of Chasseurs only is armed with the new Gras rifle. The narrative of the struggles which have now for more than three years enabled Don Carlos to hold ground against the Spanish army of the North, commanded successively by no less than twelve generals-in-chief, merits the attention of those who desire more than a superficial knowledge of that war. There is also an account of the war in Sumatra, which includes the failure of the first expedition under General Kohler, which was forced to retreat with the loss of its commander, and the final establishment of the Dutch in Atchin by General Van Swieten with an army of 14,000 men.

The annual publication of the 'Reunion of Officers' provides a ready means of keeping one's self conversant with military progress in Europe, and will be particularly acceptable to those—like many of the officers of the army of the United States—who may not always be able to procure the numerous treatises and pamphlets which appear almost daily on the Continent. The volume before us, moreover, has interest as being the exponent of the spirit of the younger officers in France ; and it is impossible for us to close it without feeling that the blow for the lost province—deferred for a score of years perhaps—will certainly at some future day be struck.

## GERMAN DARWINISM.*

A FEW months ago, in answer to the enquiries of a correspondent about books on evolution, we took occasion to point out and emphasize a division, very fundamental and important in our view, in books on this subject, namely, between those which treat of it as a theorem of natural history from a Baconian or scientific point of view, either mainly or exclusively (confining themselves to scientific considerations of proof), and those which treat of evolution as a philosophical thesis deductively, and as a part of a system of metaphysics. Such a division separates the names of Darwin and Spencer (which are popularly so often pronounced together) as widely as any two names could be separated on real grounds of distinction.

Two little books have lately been published by Messrs. Appleton & Co. in their 'International Scientific Series,' which we may add to the short lists we gave of popular works on evolution—one to each list. Professor Oscar Schmidt's 'Descent and Darwinism' is essentially a scientific treatise, though of a type which could hardly have been produced originally in the English language or from a Baconian standpoint, and for English students of science. Of its peculiarities we propose to speak further on. The second book belongs to the speculative or metaphysical branch of the subject, and consists of two essays : one, translated from the French of Dr. Cazelles, is an account of Mr. Spencer's philosophy, and a comparison of it with M. Comte's ; the other essay is a lecture by Dr. Youmans, given in defence of Mr. Spencer's claims to the credit of establishing the doctrine of evolution. Dr. Cazelles's essay is an interesting account of Mr. Spencer's theories by a fair-minded disciple—by as fair-minded a disciple as one could well be who is at all disposed to yield not merely to claims on one's assent for the sake of argument or system, but on one's adhesion to undemonstrated beliefs asserted to be axiomatic and irresistible. But a *system* like Mr. Spencer's is obliged to stand on such positions. To us it is inconceivable (and therefore, according to one of Mr. Spencer's criteria, opposed to truth) that any one should not resent at every step the asserted demonstrations which Mr. Spencer parades. Neither Dr. Cazelles nor Dr. Youmans begins, however, far enough back in their accounts of the origin and progress of Mr. Spencer's thoughts. These were really theological in origin, and have never departed from the theological standpoint. For it is one thing to arrive at solutions of problems different from those commonly held, or from the orthodox, and quite another thing to outgrow or be drawn by legitimate studies aside from the problems themselves. Believers in philosophies of the unknowable are very much in the state of mind towards the theological problems of their earlier years in which the converted savage is towards the powers and attributes of the idols, which his reason has come to pronounce no other in fact than common blocks or stones. Presenting evidence to this effect does not really diminish the savage's practical belief that his idols are pre-eminently ugly or awful, and preternaturally, though unapparently, unphenomenally, great. To get rid of this belief he must destroy the really harmless blocks. To have believed strongly without due evidence is a state of mind not easily convertible, when due evidence is seen to be wanting, into a state of mind to which the object is absolutely without existence, but is more commonly changed into one in which the old interest remains and the object still affects the believer as an unconditioned, unproved, undemonstrable, but not less pragmatically real existence ; and this is the real starting-point of Mr. Spencer's philosophy.

Dr. Cazelles thinks that Mr. Spencer "freed his theory from all metaphysical attachments" when he came in the course of his thought to dismiss the moral or teleological implication of the word "progress," and substituted the word "evolution" as the more appropriate name for the abstraction which he sought to define as the fundamental idea of the universe ; and when he also substituted in his formula of definition the word "integration" for the "individuation" which he first thought to be the true form or idea of progress. The theory was doubtless thus freed from attachment to any received form of speculation on the nature of life and being, but not at all freed from the scope and method of metaphysics—this scope being systematic omniscience, including even the unknowable. The method of metaphysics is to treat of detached abstractions—that is, abstractions without check in definition and precision from the concrete examples and embodiments to which Plato, not less than Bacon, pointed as indispensable guides to clearness and truth. There is no profound difficulty in conceiving what progress means, if we qualify the question by the consideration of the concretes in which progress is made ; not even if we extend our enquiry to the vague ranking of organisms as higher and lower. The essential error of metaphysics, or "realism," is not merely in attributing to an abstraction a truly individual, thing-like existence, or making it a "realized abstraction," but in *treating it as if* it had such an existence—in other words, *as if* it had a meaning independently of the things which ought to determine the true limits and precision of its meaning. Thus, to apply the mechanical law of the conservation of force, which, as a scientific truth, has no meaning beyond the nature and conditions of material movements (whether these are within or outside of an organism)—to apply this law analogically to all sorts of changes—to the "movements" of society, for example—is, in effect, metaphysics, and strips the law of all the merits of truth it has in the minds and judgments of physical philosophers, or of those through whose experimental and mathematical researches it came to have the clear, distinct, precise, though technical meanings in science that constitute its only real merits. The daring ignorance which in this speculation undertook to change the name of the principle, to call it "persistence of force," supposing the word "force" to refer to an incognizable substratum of causation, and not, as it really does in science, to various measurably interchangeable forms of material movement and antecedent conditions of

* 'The Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism. By Oscar Schmidt, Professor in the University of Strassburg.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.
'Outline of the Evolution-Philosophy. By Dr. M. E. Cazelles. Translated from the French by the Rev. O. B. Frothingham. With an Appendix by E. L. Youmans, M.D.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

movement (wholly phenomenal), gave the author's use of the principle the character pre-eminently of metaphysics. We remember, as its most characteristic feature, this attempt in his 'First Principles' to eke out his barren "system" of abstractions by wresting and corrupting the very type of unmetaphysical scientific truth to the vagueness of a principle of the "unknowable." The principle of the "conservation of force" does refer, indeed, to what thus appeared to be hopelessly unknowable to such a mind—namely, to the experimental and mathematical measures which determine its real meaning and proof. The climax of the speculation was capped when this principle was declared to be an undemonstrable but irresistible axiom—what we cannot help believing when we have once conceived it!

In the same way, "evolution" is, with Mr. Spencer, not a theorem of inductive science, but a necessary truth deduced from axioms; and nothing can be more mistaken, therefore, than Dr. Youmans's defence of Spencer's claim to credit for substantiating a doctrine also, unfortunately, called "evolution"—the doctrine of the origin of species by "descent, with modification," which is wholly due to the labors of leading English and German naturalists—real workers in experimental science. Dr. Youmans, unfortunately for his defence, quotes (p. 125) Spencer's acknowledgment that, though in 1852, or earlier, he had conceived of the principle of "the survival of the fittest," he had not conceived of it as producing the *diversities* of living beings, or conceived of the co-operation of natural selection with indefinite variations to produce species. But this last is the whole gist of the matter, so far as mere conception is concerned; and the merit—though this is a small part of Darwin's merit in the matter—of this conception belongs so completely to him and to Mr. Wallace that the half-glimpses of the conception by earlier writers are of small account. Even Aristotle had conceived of the cause now called natural selection, in one of its modes of action; and two English writers—Dr. Wells and Mr. Patrick Matthew—in 1813 and 1831, set forth the agency of this cause in more extended but still limited forms, the latter coming very near to the views of Darwin and Wallace. So far as other elements of the doctrine of descent ought to go to any single thinker's credit, they undoubtedly belong to Lamarck, to whom, at the beginning of this century, and not to Mr. Spencer, the following introductory remark by Dr. Youmans is justly applicable—namely, that while the idea of evolution "was passing through what may be called its stage of execration, there was no hesitancy in according to him all the infamy of its paternity; but when infamy is to be changed to honor, by a kind of perverse consistency of injustice, there turns out to be a good deal less alacrity in making the revised award." In applying this remark to Mr. Spencer, as to a long-tried martyr, Dr. Youmans is himself guilty of the very injustice towards Lamarck of which he complains in behalf of Spencer; for there is nothing in Spencer's writing relating to what is really honored by men of science (namely, the scientific explanation of the origin of species) that is not to be credited either to Lamarck or to Darwin. This honor is really awarded to the scientific proofs and arguments on the subject, to which many other naturalists besides these more eminent ones, and especially those of Germany, have materially added by their contributions of observation and criticism; so that the theory as it now stands, which the sketch by Professor Schmidt sets forth very lucidly, is really a scientific theory only, and bears no necessary relation to any "system" of philosophy. It is worth noticing here that this sketch, though treating the subject historically, and canvassing the merits of various contributions to it in this century and the last, in Germany, France, and England, nowhere mentions the name or fame of Mr. Herbert Spencer.

But in Germany, where the theory first got the name of Darwinism, it is much more of an "ism," or connects itself much more intimately with general philosophical views, than in England or America, except where in these countries it has got confounded with Mr. Spencer's speculations. It is to the significance of this fact—the character of Darwinism in Germany—that we wished especially in this review to call attention, as an interesting phenomenon in the history of modern speculation, determining the true place and the essential influence of Bacon and the Baconian philosophy. German systematic historians of philosophy were never able to make out where to place Bacon's so-called philosophy, or indeed to discover that he had a philosophy, or, what has appeared to their minds as the same thing, a "system." And indeed he had no system: but by marshalling the forces of criticism known to his time, and reinforced by his own keen invention, against all systems, past and prospective, he aimed at establishing for science a position of neutrality, and at the same time of independent respectability, between the two hostile schools of the Dogmatics and the Empiricists, though leaning towards the tenets of theology just so far as these had practical force and value. He thus secured the true status for the advancement of experimental science, or of experimental philosophy, as it came to be called. He had less need of doing, and deserves less credit for what is more commonly credited to him—namely, laying down the rules of scientific pursuit, which the progress of science has itself much more fully determined. But what could be more fit as a criticism of such a "system" as Mr. Spencer's than these aphorisms from the first book of the 'Novum Organum'?

"Some men become attached to particular sciences and contemplations, either from supposing themselves the authors and inventors of them or from having bestowed the greatest pains upon such subjects, and thus become most habituated to them. If men of this description apply themselves to philosophy and contemplations of a universal nature, they wrest and corrupt them by their preconceived fancies, of which Aristotle affords us a signal instance, who made his natural philosophy completely subservient to his logic, and thus rendered it little more than useless and disputatious. The chemists, again [those of Bacon's time], have formed a fanciful philosophy from a few experiments of the furnace. Gilbert, too [a contemporary of Bacon's], having employed himself most assiduously in the consideration of the magnet, immediately established a system of philosophy to coincide with his favorite pursuit."

And again:

"In general, men take for the groundwork of their philosophy either too much from a few topics or too little from many; in either case, their philosophy is founded on too narrow a basis of experiment and natural history, and decides on too scanty grounds; for the theoretic philosopher seizes various common circumstances by experiment, without reducing them to certainty or examining and frequently considering them, and relies for the rest upon meditation and the activity of his wit."

Under the Baconian régime the physical sciences have flourished in Great Britain for more than two centuries; while "philosophy," as it is known in Germany, both orthodox and heterodox, has dwindled, except so far as it has had practical holds and bearings on one side through theology in religious teachings, or has been reinforced from time to time on both sides from the Continent. In Germany the position of the experimental sciences was far otherwise until near the beginning of this century. The sun of Baconism has not even yet shone fully on the German mind, or except as reflected from the position which the sciences have so long held in Great Britain and France, as compared to the claims of any systems of philosophy. That such a system as Oken's *Naturphilosophie*, with its vague and meaningless abstractions, was an influence at the beginning of the present century, is not however so surprising as perhaps it would be if Mr. Spencer's system (bearing a much greater resemblance to it than to any theories of Darwin), had not got such a footing with English-thinking readers as it appears to have. There is, however, at present in Germany an ascetic school of experimental and inductive science, which deprives itself of the aid and guidance of theoretical and deductive considerations, in order the more effectually to protect itself from their undue influence. These *Gelehrten* are not true Baconians; but their method might be appropriately named "experimentalism." Men of science in Germany have in general never considered themselves as in a respectable neutral position with reference to opposite systems of philosophy, and Professor Schmidt in his preface accordingly consents to the cry from both sides in philosophy, "Avow your colors"; and proceeds in his introduction to define his standpoint sharply on several subjects which cultivated English liberal thinkers would consider as irrelevant to the theme of his book—*e. g.*, against "dualism" in vital phenomena, against miracles and other metaphysical positions.

Nothing could be more in keeping, on the other hand, with the refinement of modern English Baconism than the manner in which Darwin presents the doctrine of descent in his 'Origin of Species'; and as his scientific enquiry did not touch upon the origin of life itself—but only on the origin of its various forms and their relations to one another and to their surroundings, he even took a pleasure—a poetical, not a dogmatic one, surely—in presenting in religious language his sense of the scientific mystery of life, speaking of "life with its several powers having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one," etc. Upon this often-quoted passage our author prosily remarks that "in this Darwin has certainly been untrue to himself, and it satisfies neither those who believe in the continuous work of creation by a personal God, nor the partisans of natural evolution." We doubt if Darwin cared to satisfy any but those who are willing to mark the boundary by a slight difference of style in speaking of the two; between what is evident or probable on experimental grounds, and what as yet baffles all approaches of experimental enquiry. It is a little incongruous that one so pre-eminently cautious and painstaking, so little speculative or metaphysical in the range of his researches, should be hailed as chief by so large a constituency of what really amounts to a philosophical school; albeit they are the brightest minds of Germany, and pre-eminently men of science. Professor Schmidt's book is in form, however, and in effect,

a thorough and learned scientific treatise, though it takes grounds, as the earlier French disciples of Newton did, on matters extraneous to his scientific subject.

## THE WARS OF THE ROSES.*

NO period is more dreary and few more worthy of attention than the epoch which is treated of by Mr. Gairdner. That the Wars of the Roses are marked by a peculiar impress of dreariness will be admitted by all students. A struggle which deluged England with blood was carried on by men who did not care to pretend that they had any public interest at heart. The actors in this savage and sterile contest were not marked by greatness or genius. Edward the Fourth was a man of ability, and Richard the Third has left a permanent impression on popular imagination, owing to the singular wickedness of his career; but amongst all the nobles who fought and intrigued, now for the House of Lancaster and now for that of York, there is not to be found a single leader of statesmanlike ability. A master of rhetorical fiction has attempted to make a hero out of the King-maker, but the attempt was a failure; and the Warwick of history appears to have been a less remarkable man than the Warwick who poses and declaims in the character of the Last of the Barons. Mr. Gairdner himself is painfully aware that the era of which he is the historian was wanting in greatness. "The XVth century," he writes, "was not in reality an age of great men. Amid schism in the church, wars, rebellions, and disputed successions in every kingdom of Europe, it seems to have been impossible for any mind to realize to itself one grand idea, to work out one grand work, or to set forth one great thought." This uninteresting epoch deserves, nevertheless, careful consideration, and the defect of Mr. Gairdner's succinct and clear narrative is that it does not bring into clear relief the points which make the Wars of the Roses, if not interesting, yet noteworthy. In the capacity for seizing on the really important features of an age, he falls infinitely below Mr. Seebohm and Mr. Samuel Gardiner, each of whom has handled the epochs which fell to their lot with masterly skill. No doubt the struggles of the Houses of Lancaster and York cannot compare for dramatic effect or intrinsic importance with the era of the Protestant Reformation or with the period of the Thirty Years' War; still, Mr. Gairdner might have taken example by his predecessors, and have directed the minds of students not so much to minute details not worth recollecting, and certain to be forgotten, as to the important features of the age which forms the link between mediæval and modern history. A few pages of Mr. Green's admirable 'History of the English People' throw more light on the Wars of the Roses than does the whole of Mr. Gairdner's meritorious manual.

To one most important question Mr. Gairdner gives no answer whatever. Did the long contest cause great suffering to the mass of the people? One's first impression is that the country must have been reduced to ruin. A glance at the map of the war provided by Mr. Gairdner shows that England was dotted all over with battle-fields, and a cursory perusal of the history of the times shows that from the death of Henry V. to the battle of Bosworth an almost unceasing series of wars, of conspiracies, of revolutions, and of battles must have deprived the nation of order, rest, and peace. Nor can any one doubt that both the French wars and the civil contests which preceded them must have wearied and exhausted the mass of the people. It may, however, be suspected that the Wars of the Roses caused less damage to the nation than most struggles of anything like their duration. There is no trace in Mr. Gairdner's account of the want and famine which, even more than the slaughter of battle, wore down the French peasantry during the hundred years' war with England. There is no mention of that terrible depopulation which the Thirty Years' War inflicted on parts of Germany. Nor do the social and political institutions of the country seem to have been deeply affected by the contests in which one noble family after another lost their lives and property. The judicial circuits, it is said, still went their course. No attempt was made by powerful noblemen to assert independence of the crown. Warwick made and unmade kings, but he did not attempt, like the nobles of France, to render himself independent of the crown. The battles were, especially towards the later period of the wars, scenes of savage carnage; but this carnage fell mainly on the combatants. The towns were able to protect themselves. No great city was sacked. Both parties were anxious for the favor of the city of London, and the growing influence of traders and merchants is a sufficient proof that their wealth was, in spite of tumults and battles, constantly on the increase.

The country districts no doubt suffered, yet it is difficult to be certain what was the extent of their suffering. In one respect, at any rate, the mass of the country people must have made progress. The rebellions of Wat Tyler and of Jack Cade are an evidence of their misery, but the cessation of such revolutionary movements must be taken as some proof that the evils which gave rise to them were abated. It is certainly curious that a period of disturbance did not lead to violent movements on the part of the peasantry, and it is certainly worth notice, in connection with this fact, that by the time of the accession of the Tudors villenage seems nearly to have come to an end. What were the causes which enabled the mass of the people to make considerable progress during an age of disorder, is an enquiry of great difficulty; but whoever will turn away his mind from the mere horrors of the battle-field, and the tragedies in which kings and nobles were actors, and consider how immediately, on the restoration of order, the people began to flourish, will be inclined to believe that the Wars of the Roses did not entail unbearable sufferings on the mass of the people. The administrative machinery constructed by the sagacity and vigor of the great Norman and Plantagenet kings was no doubt disarranged, but it was not broken to pieces. Even during the continuance of the civil wars citizens and peasants suffered less from misgovernment than did at the same period the peasants of France or Germany; and when the field of Bosworth closed the era of strife, the mass of the people must have found in the destruction of the nobility considerable compensation for the horrors of a war which had been caused by the reckless selfishness of the feudal nobles.

The rise of the mercantile classes is closely connected with the one permanent and important result of a sterile conflict which came to an end simply because the forces of the combatants were utterly exhausted. This result was the foundation of what Mr. Green happily termed the "new monarchy." Whoever lost by the civil war, the power of the crown gained by it. What the mass of the people desired above all things was peace and order, and this a stronger ruler alone was able to give. Edward IV. had the sagacity to perceive that the interest of the crown coincided with the interest of the trading classes, and, perceiving this fact, laid the foundation of that scheme of government which was carried to its highest point by his grandson, Henry VIII. Modern constitutional writers see in the growth of the royal power simply an encroachment upon the liberties of the people; but a people who have been oppressed by the vexatious lawlessness of a feudal aristocracy find in the increased power of the crown not a diminution of freedom, but the commencement of a rule of law. That at a later stage of progress royal power is inconsistent with the existence of freedom and legal order is true; but it is also true that you must establish the rule of law before you can base upon it free institutions or constitutional government, that when Henry VII. came to the throne the one crying want of the nation was orderly government, and that the middle classes showed both sagacity and patriotism in supporting the powers of the crown. Modern romance combined with ecclesiastical sentiment has thrown a halo around feudalism; but the most important lesson of the Wars of the Roses is that feudalism almost of necessity led to war and disorder, and that at the end of the fifteenth century the necessity of the day was to put an end to disorder, and enable the mass of the people to live and prosper under the rule of law. This fact explains the feeling of loyalty to the crown which prevailed during the whole reign of the Tudors, and was with difficulty destroyed by the folly and tyranny of the Stuarts. The strength of this sentiment lay in the fact that under the Tudors, and especially under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, to support the crown was to support the law, and hence, by an inevitable association of ideas, the feeling of personal loyalty to the king became associated and identified with the respect for the law. The overthrow of the monarchy or the diminution of the royal power opened to statesmen and people alike a vista not of rational liberty, but of renewed anarchy. As long as the memory of the Wars of the Roses survived, so long national sentiment supported the power of the crown. Much may be said with full justice of the defects of Mr. Froude's history. It has, however, the merit of calling attention to the fact that the statesmen of the sixteenth century were influenced by a constant fear lest any mischance should give rise to new wars of succession. To understand and appreciate this feeling, it is necessary to study the Wars of the Roses which gave it birth.

* 'The Houses of Lancaster and York, with the Conquest and Loss of France. By James Gairdner.' London: Longmans; New York: Scribner.

*Cobden Club Essays:* Local Government and Taxation. Edited by J. W. Probyn. (New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin. 1875. 8vo, pp. 454.)—Centralization is probably the most powerful tendency of the present day, both political and social. Our Federal Government overrides the authority of the States: Hanover and Hesse are annexed to Prussia; small farms are absorbed in great estates, and small workshops in great manufactories; farms are deserted for villages, villages for large towns, and large towns for great cities; the rich are becoming richer, and the poor poorer. There

is a favorable side to this tendency, or it would not exist; nevertheless, like all tendencies, if not balanced by counteracting tendencies, it threatens evil to society. Like all tendencies, again, it carries with itself the seeds of its own eventual defeat. Some time the pendulum will swing in the opposite direction; meanwhile, it behooves us to foster whatever healthy counteracting tendencies we possess. Chief among these, in a political point of view, is local self-government. Whether found in the so-called sovereign States of our Union, or in the vestry of an English parish, this is eminently a characteristic of Anglo-Saxon liberty. We inherited this inestimable possession, and with good reason cling to it as a chief corner-stone of our institutions. Other nations, however, have some vestiges or germs of it, and it is a praiseworthy enterprise of the Cobden Club to present in one volume a summary of these. It will serve at once as a study in comparative politics, and an aid in controlling or moderating the movements of society.

The communities treated of in this volume are England, Scotland, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand, Belgium and Holland, France, Russia, Spain, and Germany; other nations are omitted for want of space, but the hope is expressed—in which readers will surely concur—that there may be opportunities for them in a future volume. The most important essays are those upon England, by Mr. Brodrick, and Germany, by Mr. Morier—the same who wrote the essay on Germany in the Cobden Club essays upon land-tenure. Those upon Belgium and Holland, by M. de Laveleye, and upon Russia, by Mr. Wentworth Dilke, will also be found very instructive; every article, indeed, contains valuable information, well arranged for reference. Village government in Russia, closely connected with the village-community system, or *Mir*, presents some very interesting features. All heads of families, women included, take part in the village assembly, and questions are hardly ever decided by majorities: "If the parties disagree in a matter, it is talked over and over again, the meeting is adjourned, and the village in the meantime talks it over once more, quietly; and at the next meeting, when the question again arises, some compromise is generally arrived at, or the minority, seeing their position, withdraw. . . . The peasants would never think of voting one by one for the candidates for various positions; the names are talked over before the meeting begins, and when a name is mentioned the meeting shows its feeling by a few words, and he is chosen or not" (p. 317). Mr. Calhoun would have been delighted with "this hatred of the mere brute power of a majority." Unfortunately, the system of local government organized after the emancipation of the serfs has failed—not through the fault of the peasants, our author insists, but partly through injudicious regulations, and partly, it would seem, from the jealousy of the higher classes.

Mr. Morier's essay, like that in the former volume, contains an admirable historical sketch of local government in Germany; its fault, indeed, is that this is disproportioned to the rest of the essay. An historical sketch is certainly necessary for understanding the present state of things, but it hardly seems necessary to have entered so minutely into Frankish and mediæval institutions—giving, for example, a pretty full abstract of Sohm's work upon the early constitution. So well informed as Mr. Morier is, we are surprised to meet with the old statement of the 60,000 knights' fees of William the Conqueror—a statement completely exploded (see Stubbs's 'Const. Hist.,' Vol. I., p. 431). Apart from its disproportionateness, this essay is very serviceable. We do not know where else in the English language there is to be found so complete and succinct an account of the now prevailing views as to the early Germanic constitution.

Mr. Brodrick, too, has an excellent historical introduction, much briefer than Mr. Morier's—to be sure, it is more generally familiar ground. Here again we wish he had given his authority for considering (p. 4) 1,200 acres as the property entitling a person to "a *status* in the class of the landed aristocracy" of the Anglo-Saxons—that is, as a thegn. The amount stated is five hides, which may be reckoned as 600, 800, or 1,000 acres, or several other sums, but not, we think, 1,200. Probably the writer had in mind the term "twelve hynd-man," but this refers not to the property but to the wergild of the thegn, 1,200 shillings (not 600, as Mr. Brodrick says); see Stubbs, page 161.

The chief value of this essay, however, is in the remarkably clear and intelligible account which it contains of the present local organization of England—county, poor-law union, parish; sanitary district; borough and city; improvement commissions and local boards:

"The average size of a county . . . . would be represented by a square about thirty-three miles to a side, or a circle of eighteen miles radius. The superintendence of areas so extensive must often involve long and expensive railway journeys as well as familiarity with a great mass of details, and will naturally devolve either upon highly-paid officials, or upon gentlemen of ample means and leisure. The average size of the union would be represented by a square of nearly ten miles to a side, or by a circle of about five miles and a half radius. Such an area, wholly comprising a small town in its immediate neighborhood, may easily be traversed on horseback or in a carriage, without the aid of railways, and most of its administrative business can be arranged so as to suit the convenience of farmers and tradespeople resorting weekly to the same market. The average size of a parish would be represented by a square of two miles to a side, or by a circle of little more than one mile radius, so that every part of it can be visited on foot, and the parish officer, knowing every family within it, can discharge most of his duties with no great sacrifice of time or labor" (p. 31).

All these divisions, as well as the boroughs, possess genuine life, he says; "but there is no real life in the institutions of parliamentary or lieutenancy divisions of county, and very little real life in those of petty-sessional divisions or highway districts, which may be altered to suit the convenience of magistrates without much disturbance of other local arrangements" (p. 74). So in this country there is real life in State, county, town, but none whatever in Congressional or legislative districts, which, nevertheless, are usually taken for practical arrangements—no doubt because of their uniformity of size.

We will close with an instructive passage in relation to New England institutions:

"It is a curious and instructive fact that, while the primitive ideal of self-government had thus become obscured both in English counties and in English boroughs, it not only survived but acquired a fresh vitality in the colonies of New England. . . The New England 'towns' were nothing but a reproduction of Anglo-Saxon 'townships,' with a larger average area, and with a better-defined corporate identity. . . . Like the townships of Old England, the New England towns were held responsible for their own roads, bridges, and police; but, in accordance with more recent principles of English policy, they were also held responsible for their own poor-relief and education. The example of England doubtless suggested the delegation of jurisdiction to magistrates, instead of the popular assemblies; but a novel precedent of evil augury was set by making these magistracies elective [what does this refer to?]" (p. 25).

We will observe that Mr. Brodrick holds correctly, as we think, Stubbs's view (p. 82) of the political character of the English township, while Mr. Morier (p. 427) follows Sohm in denying all *public* character to the township.


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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1875.*

## The Week.

WITH the Maine and California elections, the Republican Convention in New York, and the Democratic in Pennsylvania, the politics of the autumn may be said to have fairly begun. The course of events thus far seems to show that the "tidal wave" of last year has not spent its force; at least the election of a Democratic ticket in California, in the face of a large independent vote, taken together with the small Republican majority in Maine (5,000 where 10,000 or 12,000 was expected), is difficult to explain in any other way. While the strength and volume of the movement thus seems to be again proved, its exact character—whether it is to be a tidal wave of peace, prosperity, and good-will, or of general devastation and destruction—is still involved in grave doubt. The Democrats in Pennsylvania have had a hard struggle over the currency question, and the closeness of the contest shows that the party, or at any rate the politicians of the party, in that State are pretty nearly evenly divided. The platform actually adopted is a close imitation of the Ohio resolutions on the subject, denouncing the "contraction" of the currency "made by the Republican party, and the further contraction proposed by it with a view to forced resumption of specie payment," which already "threatens general bankruptcy," and demanding that the volume of the currency be made and kept "equal to the wants of trade," "leaving the restoration of legal-tenders to par in gold to be brought about by promoting the industries of the people and not destroying them." Further than this, the Democrats want the Government to "cease to discredit its own money," make legal-tenders "receivable for all public dues except where respect for the obligation of contracts requires payment in coin," and collect "at least one-half of the customs" in greenbacks. This is going one step further than the Ohio reformers.

The remainder of the platform is of course strongly for the purification of government, denouncing the State Treasurer, demanding a thorough overhauling of the Treasury accounts, and, in the queer phraseology of political bodies, "pledging" the nominees of the convention to "apply all moneys in the sinking fund, as required by law, in the reduction of the public debt, and thereby save the interest on the same to the amount so reduced," and promising that if the State be turned over to them they will collect all public dues and pay them into the Treasury, and "not in any manner, directly or indirectly," "employ public moneys for their own profit or purposes." The nominee for Governor, Judge Pershing, is himself a reformer, who has been sentencing some county officials for "employing public moneys to their own profit," and he is also a hard-money man. A party which promises the people all the money it may want, and at the same time promises to steal none of it, makes a bold bid for popular support. We trust that the Ohio and Pennsylvania reform platforms of this year, together with biographies of the candidates, will be placed on exhibition at the Centennial. Europe has nothing to show at all like them.

The Republican Convention at Saratoga was well managed, and adopted a platform advising "a just, generous, and forbearing policy in the Southern States," and a refusal to use troops "except for purposes clearly defined in the Constitution"; demanding honesty and reform everywhere, and commending the action of all officers, State or national, who are reformers; insisting on a legislature pledged to reform, as well as more Canal reform; congratulating the Republican party on its practical extinction of the State debt; denouncing further inflation as a "public calamity," and insisting on "the speediest possible return to specie payments"; asking for a "careful and wise review" of the "whole subject of taxation"; recognizing as "conclusive" General Grant's withdrawal; declaring with the "sincerest gratitude" their "unalterable opposition" to any third term for anybody; denouncing all sectarian assaults upon the public-school system; and thanking the Administration and the "distinguished soldier and patriot who stands at its head" for their various good qualities and acts. Mr. G. W. Curtis was chairman of the convention, and, considering the anti-third-term resolution, and the fact that Mr. Curtis is a representative of the better class of Republican supporters who were thrown overboard by Grant when he abandoned civil-service reform and put himself in the hands of Morton, Shepherd, and Casey, this action of the Convention is an indication of that "reform within the lines" which we used to hear so much about, but which did not really begin until the overwhelming Democratic victories of last year made the combined Log and Stork kind of government which had been going on no longer possible. But the reform in this State probably comes too late. The Custom-House was present in full force, but, instead of carrying things with a high hand, Marshal Sharpe and his friends seem to have made up their minds early in the day that the only way to keep the party together and make a good show was to put forward its best men, so that the Convention was marked by an amount of self-sacrifice on the part of the "bad men" such as is rarely seen in political bodies.

Mr. Henry Wilson has written a letter to the Republicans of Massachusetts which has received a good deal of attention, though it does not contain a single definite statement about any person or thing, or any advice more specific than the expression of a sort of prayerful hope that the minds of his party may be filled with justice, mercy, and charitableness, and a desire to do right in the sight of a good majority. He says that the hour has come to "forgive, forget, and unite," but does not say with whom; that there ought to be a "full and frank comparison of views," but he does not mention what views; that the Republican party can take "no step backward" from its position on "human rights," from which we are forced to infer that there are some backsliders who wish the Republicans of Massachusetts to come out for the reintroduction of slavery at least, but no information is given as to who they are; declares that "mistakes have been corrected, and are being corrected," but does not tell us what the mistakes were, or who made them; declares that the party should be put right on the "living issues that divide the country," but does not say what these issues are; advises it to "open wide its doors," but does not mention to whom; says that its "tried and trained leaders should be brought to the front again," but does not say how; that, when brought to the front, "their wisdom should be sought for counsel and guidance"; and Republicans as a body should "look peril in the face" and "act in a spirit of self-abnegation." The "living issues" now before the country are beyond a doubt one or more of the following things—revenue reform, the third term, the use of troops in the South, the currency, repudiation, the school question, and "cheap transportation." What stand Mr. Wilson would have the party take on them is a matter, so far as this letter goes, of pure conjecture. Meanwhile, an independent movement has been started in Boston, looking to the nomination of a third candidate. Its strength is at present difficult to estimate.

A call has been issued by a number of gentlemen in New York for a hard-money convention, to be held in Cincinnati on the 25th of next month. This call has grown out of a public meeting held at Richmond on the 4th of May, when a resolution was adopted calling a convention to "confer about measures to restore specie payments and to correct the evils of our national revenue system." The Municipal Reform Association took up the matter in this city, and a committee of twenty-six has been appointed to go to Cincinnati. The importance of the movement will depend almost entirely on the character of delegates and the amount of interest in it manifested throughout the country. There can be little doubt that what

is now chiefly needed is a discovery of the amount and extent of the popular demand for more paper. We have very little doubt ourselves that it is in reality small even in the West and South, but unfortunately the discontent caused by the general financial depression is so mixed up and confused with the disgust caused by Republican misgovernment, that it is easy enough for demagogues to persuade each other, if no one else, that by making the Republicans appear as a party of "contraction" and the Democrats as the party of relief through inflation, more votes will be got. Under the present state of affairs, an overwhelming Democratic victory in Ohio will be taken by the inflationists as a triumph of inflation, while there is no saying that the majority would not have been obtained in any case by other causes. We may say the same thing of Pennsylvania. In New York there is no question of the currency between the parties, so that the result will throw no light on it. Besides this, in Ohio and Pennsylvania even an overwhelming Republican victory would not prove so much about the currency as we could wish; for the platforms in both States are somewhat double-faced on the question, and the speakers in Ohio, or many of them, have taken very good care not to commit themselves either for or against "rag-money." Under these circumstances, any really popular expression of opinion in favor of contraction—not "gradual steps," but plain contraction in so many words—would (particularly after the futile attempt of the inflationists to bring out any popular expression on their side) do a great deal to bring conviction to the hearts of the politicians.

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The price of gold advanced during the week to 117⅛, and sterling exchange fell to nearly the point at which gold can be imported. The rise in gold was due to a combination of causes. In the first place, the amount of gold in the New York market has been so reduced that it is within the power of speculators to control it, and this power they have acquired. Their original purpose was undoubtedly to hold the market and dictate to borrowers such terms as they would pay, or to sell them what was wanted, if they got tired of paying high rates each day for use, at an advance on the cost of the gold. Such a purpose was generally understood by bankers, and, before it was developed, foreign exchange became weak, as bankers naturally pressed their bills for gold, and buyers, rather than buy bills, held their gold to lend. While this was the condition of the market, news came that the Democratic State Convention of Pennsylvania had, following the footsteps of the same party in Ohio, declared in favor of the continued use of irredeemable paper-money. Naturally, this attack on the public credit created alarm, and there were free buyers of gold among people who had no interest in or sympathy with the original speculation. Should the States of Pennsylvania and Ohio be carried by the Democrats with such declarations on the currency question, an irreparable injury will be dealt the public credit, and, indirectly, corporate and private credit all through the country. Europe fortunately has not yet taken the alarm, probably regarding the action of these two State conventions as exceptional, and not reflecting the sentiments of a majority of the people of this country. It requires no prophet to foresee the result of Democratic victories in these two States next month, particularly in view of the influence they may have on the National Convention which will make Presidential nominations. Outside the gold and foreign-exchange markets there has been little of interest. The Stock Exchange has been in a feverish condition because of continued rumors of the embarrassments of banks and bankers. All of these have proved unfounded, the suspension on Saturday of the old banking-house of F. Schuchardt & Sons not having been expected nor rumored. This was an old firm, and highly respected, but did little or no deposit business. Its troubles came from advances, before the panic of 1873, on securities which have since proved almost worthless; and since 1873 it has been "rusting out." There is nothing new of an official character in regard to the Bank of California; it is understood that it will soon be reopened for business with an enlarged capital. General trade during the week has been fairly good, and mercantile interests have suffered less than might have been expected from the Wall-Street disturbances; the export trade of course was injured by the demoralization of the foreign-exchange market. The New York banks have begun sending currency to the West, and shipments are composed almost entirely of legal-tender notes, so that they diminish each week the bank reserve; bankers expect a 6 to 7 per cent. money market before November.

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An immense mass-meeting has been held in San Francisco in vindication of Mr. Ralston's memory, and resolutions have been adopted strongly condemnatory of all attacks on him. Two newspapers, the *Bulletin* and *Call*, were specially singled out for reprobation, and the attack on them and the Associated Press has brought out Mr. J. W. Simonton, the Associated Press manager, in their defence. He says that the newspapers in question in which he has an interest, as well as the Associated Press Agency, have been managed throughout with no other desire than to represent the facts fairly and to report the news. The truth of the matter seems to be that the extreme violence of the attacks on Mr. Ralston, as well as the extreme warmth of the vindication of his memory, have come from a general popular deficiency of what may be called moral perspective. Mr. Ralston was an able, energetic, pushing man, almost without education, very fond of money, or what money would bring, as he was of ostentation and all material pleasures. He obtained a great deal of money and power, which he used to get more money and power. In doing this, he naturally was obliged to "develop the struggling industries" of the Pacific coast, or, in other words, to put his money into mines, factories, and hotels, and so became a great employer and general benefactor. Being known to invest his money well, other people came to him to invest their money too, and thus he became what is known as a "banker"—that is, a flourishing money-lender and speculator in all directions. Besides this, he was a kind-hearted man, ready to oblige people, and, like most self-made men, ready to help on other self-making men. Every one knew, however, that he had little or no education and few old-fashioned legal notions about trusts, so that it was more than probable that, if he went "to smash," a great many people whom he had benefited would go to smash too. Of course, the Pacific Slope had the right to look upon him as a hero and to rejoice in his mines and his hotels and his relays of horses; but, if it did so, it ought not to go into a fury over the confusion that ensued at his failure. *Vice versâ*, if "the Slope" was going to be shocked by speculative banking, it should not have made Ralston a popular hero, but selected some quiet, conservative, conscientious old gentleman, without extravagant tastes or a hearty, magnetic way of making things "spin." Certainly, everybody who put money into Ralston's hands to help on "the Slope" is under bonds now to vindicate his memory.

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The Chicago *Tribune* contrasts very strongly the municipal debts of New York and Brooklyn, contracted under the old-fashioned unlimited-sovereignty plan, with that of Chicago, which is restricted by the new constitution of Illinois to five per cent. of the assessed value of the property within the city. The debt of New York is, in round numbers, a hundred and thirty-two millions, and it has increased four millions within a year; but the exact amount, as our readers know, is always in dispute, and in fact, though the credit of the city is very good, the debt is a kind of mystery which the Comptroller always seems to be doing his best, without any success, to clear up. The debt of Brooklyn is variously calculated by "arithmetic men" as their temperaments happen to be sanguine or despondent. It is at least twenty-two millions, and there are ten millions more made up of what are called in the beginning "temporary" loans, but which, like all temporary things, become with lapse of time chronic. The city of Chicago has passed through two severe crises within the last few years, one of which was entirely local, and of a nature to make absolutely necessary the expenditure of enormous amounts of money. In Boston, where a calamity of

the same kind occurred, but much slighter, the Legislature at once authorized a loan of $20,000,000, which (had it not been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court) would now be saddled on the city of Boston as a permanent addition to her debt, though no doubt well enough secured. Yet Chicago, strange to say, has contracted no excessive obligation, and, notwithstanding the fire and the panic, is to-day, with a debt of only $9,000,000, probably better off than any city of its size in the United States. These facts show certainly more clearly than any argument could the strength and value of constitutional limitations on municipal indebtedness.

The investigation of the Indian frauds seems, as far as can be made out from the scattered telegrams which describe the evidence, to be substantiating the charges brought by Professor Marsh. Meanwhile, Mr. Delano has been making another revelation of the character of the men whom Grant retains while "under fire." Meeting Mr. Marsh at breakfast in a Washington hotel, Mr. Delano asked the latter when he "was going to cease attacking him," and upon Mr. Marsh's replying, "Probably when you cease attacking me," poured out a flood of abuse upon Mr. Marsh, calling him a "liar" and a "poltroon," and heaping upon him every sort of insulting epithet which he had at his command. During all this, Mr. Marsh, fortunately for himself, was able to keep his temper, and finally Delano, after exhausting his somewhat extensive vocabulary, left the room. The scene is described as a strange one "even in Washington." There has been one place, and only one, in the country, and that some years ago, where such a scene would not have seemed strange or anything out of the usual course of politics—and that was in New York when the city was governed by Boss Tweed.

The Beecher case has come up again in a new form by the publication of a correspondence between the Brooklyn District-Attorney, Mr. Winchester Britton, and Mr. Moulton and Mr. Beecher, on the subject of the indictment against Moulton. This case has been dragging on for a year, the prosecution being unwilling to go to a jury with it, though the defendant has been pressing for a trial. Last month Mr. Britton wrote to Mr. Beecher calling his attention to the case, and suggesting that inasmuch as substantially the same facts had been tried in the civil suit, and as in a criminal proceeding the defendant would be entitled to the benefit of any reasonable doubt, there would not be much chance of getting a verdict, and that on this account, as well as in the interest of public morality and of the county treasury, it might be better to drop it. To this Mr. Beecher wrote a reply, which has not been published, agreeing with the suggestion, and Mr. Britton at once informed Moulton. Moulton, however, took, as might have been expected, a radically different view of the situation, and wrote a long letter, calling Mr. Britton's attention to the fact that while it might be for the interest of the prosecutor to drop the suit, it might not be for his own to have it dropped; that though a jury might not be able to convict, there was such a thing as an acquittal, which is exactly what he—Moulton—wants; and that he therefore demands a trial for his own vindication. Of course, the case will not be tried unless the Tilton men manage in some way to capture the District-Attorney's office and put one of their side in Mr. Britton's place; but it must be confessed that, as the matter stands, the correspondence does not do Mr. Beecher any good, for it is clear to demonstration that a jury could find no evidence in Moulton's case to support anything but a verdict of acquittal.

The proofs of the soundness of Bismarck's policy towards the Church are beginning to show themselves, and we have no doubt will now rapidly accumulate. The bishops are one by one signifying their willingness to obey the Falk laws in the matter of church property—that is, to submit to share its administration with a representative board elected by the laity. It may be said, it is true, that their acquiescence in a matter so secular in its character does not necessarily indicate any readiness to submit in other matters more distinctively ecclesiastical, such as the education of the clergy and the infliction of ecclesiastical pains and penalties; but the answer to this is that when the clergy first refused obedience they made no distinction between the different portions of the obnoxious legislation. Submission to any portion of it was declared utterly impossible, and all of it was pronounced damnable. Their course in Prussia is, however, strictly in accordance with the time-honored policy of the Church everywhere—which has always been that of good politicians—viz., to get all it can, but if it cannot get all it wants, to be content with what it does get. Therefore, the state in dealing with the Catholic clergy can hardly go wrong, within the bounds of secular reason and justice, in forcing them to submit to such legislation as the interest of the state, from the secular point of view, seems to require. Such legislation is sure to be followed by a year or two of great bluster and much damnation, and a large crop of "martyrs," but as soon as it is clearly seen that the Government is not frightened and will not recede, the order or permission to adapt themselves to circumstances is sure to come from Rome, either openly or privately.

A case in point is just occurring in Canada, where a gentleman was excommunicated by the bishop because a literary institute in Montreal of which he was a member had refused to remove certain books from their library condemned by the bishop. Under this decree interment was refused at the death of the person in question, M. Guibord—although he owned a burial lot—except in the portion of the graveyard assigned to criminals, suicides, unbaptized children, and the like. The Canadian courts decided for the Church, but on appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council the decision was reversed. When under this final judgment the body was carried to the cemetery, it was repulsed by an armed mob, and pending a new attempt at burial the body has had to be guarded by an armed force in the Protestant cemetery. The mob will no doubt eventually be dispersed with bloodshed, and Guibord be buried after a riot. Under the Prussian law, the bishop as soon as he signed his decree would have been quietly arrested by the police and lodged in jail; the priest would have shared the same fate; and the whole affair would have passed off quietly, without loss of life, and we should have heard no more of this form of ecclesiastical punishment. The Prussian law allows the clergy to do what they please in hell, purgatory, and such places, but does not allow Prussian subjects to be inconvenienced or annoyed by ecclesiastical censures while in the flesh and on earth.

Recent official statistics show that the government of Italy, a country which had nearly 27,000,000 inhabitants at the close of 1871, rests on an electoral basis of less than 600,000 (571,939 in 1874). For more than a dozen years the proportion of electors has been about two per cent. of the total population. It was 1.92 per cent. in 1861, and 2.08 per cent. in 1865–66, after which it declined to 1.98 in 1870, and last year became 2.13 per cent. There are 508 electoral colleges, in which a steady increase in numbers has taken place; four-fifths of them reckon from 700 to 2,000 electors each, and only in a single case are there more than 3,000. Small as these figures seem to us, they are still further diminished by abstinence from the polls—a vice of the Italian voter which corresponds with his representatives' slackness in maintaining a quorum in the Chambers. On the first ballot for a national Parliament in 1861, only 57 per cent. of the legal voters turned out, and even this proportion has never since been equalled; in 1870, it was as low as 45. What is perhaps still more discouraging, the cities fall behind the average, and have shown a growing apathy on the part of the electors. In 1861, none of the five colleges of Milan voted less than 51 per cent.; in 1874, while one voted 42, the rest voted from 38 to 33 per cent. In 1870, Palermo, which in 1861 came out strong with 72 to 75 per cent., fell off to 32 to 15. Finally, the smallness of the governing body of the kingdom is still more clearly perceived from the fact that from 1861 to 1874, inclusive, the successful candidates have had the support of but 36 to 40 per cent. of the whole number of electors.

## PRIESTS AND MINISTERS.

ONE of the semi-religious papers has suggested during the week—and the suggestion has been re-echoed by a portion of the daily press—that the interference of the Catholic clergy in politics, such as has been recently witnessed in New Jersey, was fair and unobjectionable, because the Protestant clergy did the same thing. If ministers uphold the common-school system in the pulpit, and urge their maintenance as one of the duties of their flocks, why, it is asked, should not priests urge their flocks to overturn it, and even distribute ballots to such Catholics as are willing to do their bidding? The Protestant clergy discuss nearly all the prominent topics of the day in their churches now and again, and do instigate their congregations to take a particular line of action at the polls. They have done so with regard to slavery, with regard to the late war, with regard to temperance, with regard to marriage and divorce, with regard to donations of public money to Catholic institutions, and there is no sort of doubt that if our common-school system should be seriously threatened in the interest of any party or denomination, they would make their churches resound with exhortations to vigorous opposition. The conclusion is, therefore, that the interference of the bishops and priests in the decisions of questions of contemporary politics is but part of a legitimate game of church against church, in which all ecclesiastics have a right to participate as long as they violate no positive law.

This has so much the look of being "a broad view" that it will doubtless find favor with a great many Sentimentalists, as well as with some hard-headed people who plume themselves on their love of fair play, and think everybody is entitled to a hearing, and that as long as a priest or anybody else refrains from physical coercion, his efforts to persuade people on any subject ought not to be resented. In reality it is, however, a very narrow and one-sided and misleading view, and furnishes a good illustration of the way people are imposed on by names. It is a deduction from an assumption which has no foundation in fact, viz.: that a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister are both pastors of the same sort, and stand in the same relation to their flocks. We have no doubt that for the purpose of political agitation the Catholic clergy would be very glad to have this notion of their character and functions gain currency, but it would be a very unfortunate thing for this community if it were allowed to do so. The Protestant minister addressing his congregation does so as an American citizen, whose highest allegiance is avowedly due to the American Government, and who acknowledges that his highest political duty is to obey the law of the land. He addresses them, too, as a fellow-citizen, and as in all respects a man like themselves, whose duty it is to lead them in certain religious exercises, in which, however, they take part, or may take part, as fully as he does. Some of his functions, such as the administration of the sacraments, are peculiar to him, but they do not clothe him with supernatural authority for other and different purposes. The ecclesiastical tribunals, too, to which he is amenable, are composed of American citizens, and are only in part clerical—the laity are fully represented in them. Though last, not least, the sermon or other address of the minister to the people always has been in the Protestant Church, and is now more than ever, a discussion of some topic by a man of exceptional qualifications, in the presence of the congregation, and by no means an utterance of the divine oracles. If the audience do not like his methods or do not agree with his conclusions, they dismiss him, and provide themselves with another orator, and the attention they give him is the attention of indulgent critics rather than that of disciples. They are guarded by tradition, by education, and by temperament from ascribing to his words any authority beyond what the force of his arguments and their general estimate of his character and ability give them. His preaching a political sermon, or his offering political advice in the pulpit, therefore, has never been seriously objected to on the ground that it was likely to exert an unhealthy or unlawful influence on his flock, or force upon them considerations which were likely to separate them in thought or feeling from the rest of the community, or to weaken their allegiance to the state. What has been said against it is that it has a tendency, by presenting the minister to the world as a partisan debating subjects on which his authority was not specially weighty, to lessen his influence, and diminish popular respect for his office, when he came to speak of things purely spiritual.

The position of a Catholic bishop or priest is widely different. He is in the first place appointed, or removable at pleasure, by a foreign prince who claims paramount jurisdiction, by divine appointment, over all the governments in the world, in all matters which he chooses to pronounce spiritual or pertaining to the spiritual, and who holds himself able, when speaking under certain conditions—to the absence or presence of which nobody can testify but himself—to decide absolutely on the right or wrong of every question of human interest. In the second place, the bishop or priest, though nominally an American citizen, is in his ecclesiastical character clothed with an authority so tremendous and supernatural, and belongs to an organization so vastly transcending the state in power, importance, and duration, that his citizenship inevitably seems a trifling and insignificant thing. He has no fixed domicile, and cannot have. Neither his will, his reason, nor his interest has anything to do with determining the place of his abode. He is in New York to-day, but he may to-morrow be transferred to Patagonia or China by a power which in his eyes bears about the same proportion to the State or the United States as God Almighty to a black beetle. Nor is he bound to the political community, as the Protestant minister is, by those ties of family to which patriotism owes so much, if not all, of its force. He has neither wife nor children nor home, and the great object of denying them to him is to prevent any distraction of his devotion from the interests of the Church, or any strong sympathy with the purely secular hopes or ideals or repugnances of the community in which he is quartered.

Moreover, he does not *discuss* in the presence of his congregation; he does not debate with them or balance arguments, or seek to persuade or convince them. He hardly even instructs them; he promulgates the law in the name of the Church, and the law armed with sanctions of the most terrible and imposing character. He has no doubts on any of the problems of the universe. If he refrains from speaking on any knotty question of the day, it is not because he has nothing to say, or no solution to offer, but because he considers the matter indifferent, or one around which the feeble reason of his flock may be safely allowed to play freely. It is true that when he speaks, he does not always speak or profess to speak the mind of the Church; but then, even the *obiter dicta* of persons who are the daily and exclusive exponents of the mind of the Judge Eternal are hints which a worshipper, even if strong-minded and educated, will not feel it safe to disregard. They are hints which the ignorant worshipper is sure to take as the utterances of Supreme wisdom. The conduct of a good Catholic in the discharge of his public duties must make either for or against the interests of the visible Church. If it makes against them, he is hindering the sole means provided by Almighty God for the salvation of mankind from everlasting damnation; and of these interests, who knows so much as the clergy? Who else, indeed, knows anything? Whenever, therefore, a priest advises a Catholic how to vote, or tells him what the welfare of the Church requires, even if it be in the street, it is absurd to suppose that the layman treats it as the advice of a fellow-citizen, to be taken or left in his discretion. Common prudence, if no other consideration were present, would require him to regard it as a voice from the other world, which might save or ruin him.

It will be, in short, a sore day for the United States when the people of this country allow themselves to be seduced into the belief that the Church of Rome has become reconciled to republicanism or to liberty of thought, or to anything else which recognizes the existence of any rule of conduct, in small things or in great, not furnished by herself, or that the Catholic clergy have the least

intention of putting themselves on the same level with or using the same weapons as the Protestant clergy on the school question, or any other question which is likely to affect their own power, either nearly or remotely, directly or indirectly. It must not be forgotten that the Protestant Church is a body of sects, without fixity of organization or discipline or purpose or doctrine—part of the state, and blended with the state in a thousand ways, and changing in beliefs and composition from generation to generation; while the Catholic Church is a vast machine, belonging to no country, submitting itself to no authority, asserting itself against all authority, and served by a body of ecclesiastics who have severed all earthly ties in order to serve it more effectually, and who are governed by orders more completely than any army; and that its policy, and designs, and motives are veiled in the strictest secresy, and that no pledge or promise of any of its agents can bind or conclude it in any manner. The duty of the state towards these agents is therefore plain, and settled by much experience, and that is, to legislate exactly as the secular interests may seem to require, but to make no agreements or treaties with them, and to be affected by no concessions or compromises they may offer, and not to be frightened by any use they may make of such phrases as "religious liberty" or "equal rights." The policy to which they have adhered for ages is to ask for everything, including the government of the country by an archbishop, but to take what they can get, and always after a rebuff to play the martyr, and, when further gains are hopeless, to settle down cheerfully until the public irritation has subsided, and then try again. The bishops and priests die, and come and go, but whoever they are, and whatever they may say, we know that they do and must believe the whole of our political and social fabric, our government, our marriage, our education, our religion and manners, to be a monstrous and beastly revolt against God and his ministers. Any priest who professes he does not so regard them may be doing his duty, but any American voter who is led into carelessness or indulgence by these professions is not doing *his* duty. No church occupies or can occupy the same relation to the state as the Roman Church, and it may therefore be properly made the object of extraordinary vigilance and distrust.

## THE LAWYERS AND THE PUBLIC.

THE controversy over the late decision of the Court of Appeals is not yet ended, and will probably not be ended for some time. It is conducted in the main by lawyers, and by lawyers, too, of prominence in their profession, and they all appeal to the public—one set against the Court of Appeals, and the other set against Judge Davis, or the Court below. Those who had no hesitation in accusing Judge Davis of corrupt bias are, however, shocked that any imputation should be cast on the Court of Appeals, while those who assail the Court of Appeals are shocked by the imputations on Judge Davis. As well as we can make out, the bar on the whole sides with the Court of Appeals, and thinks that body unjustly treated, in spite of Mr. O'Conor's high authority. The public does not well know what to think, and listens to the debate on "cumulative punishment" with more or less bewilderment, knowing well that, though the arguments on both sides are addressed to it, neither side would be disposed to attach much weight to its decision on the disputed questions of law. But that it has formed an opinion, and a very strong one, about the whole affair is quite certain; and this opinion is one which, though of no great legal importance, may some day come to have considerable importance to the legal profession, and as such we would commend it earnestly to the consideration of both the bench and the bar.

The preparation of rules of procedure, as well as the legislation relating to the organization of the courts and to the definition and punishment of crimes and offences, has been for a long period—in fact, ever since the foundation of the Government—left in the hands of lawyers. There is not now, and never has been, in this State, or indeed in the Union, any body of amateur lay "jurists" who have either the will or the way to take this work out of their hands. As a general rule, the people, except in the matter of electing judges, has followed the lead of lawyers in anything relating to the administration of justice, and has left the bar free to form its own code of morals and discipline, or to have neither morals nor discipline, just as it pleased. Indeed, even in the matter of electing judges, it is confidently affirmed that the firmest opponents of all change in the system in those constitutional conventions in which change has been proposed, have been lawyers from the country districts, who like to have a chance of being judges themselves. Now, that the result has not been very satisfactory to private litigants, either as regards speed or certainty, is well known; but then private litigants have always been grumblers. There is a good deal of truth and pertinence in the saying that courts are after all intended for the use of those who do not go to law rather than for that of those who do, and that "cheap and speedy justice," however attractive it may seem to the ardent reformer, is apt to be poor justice. People are, therefore, content to put up with a good deal of delay and expense in getting their private quarrels settled, and have never showed any captious disposition to look curiously into the causes of the law's tardiness or costliness.

When, however, it was found possible for a man like Fisk to raise himself, with the aid of the courts, practically above the law, and to have the aid of able counsel in all the tricks and dodges by which he did so, and to set justice at defiance for a series of years while committing the most flagrant outrages on morality and decency; and when the public was told, when it got angry, that the helping of such scoundrels to seize and bring home their plunder was, under certain circumstances, a part, and an honorable and useful part, of a barrister's duty, there passed over the popular mind a wave of disgust, the traces of which have by no means disappeared. The discussion which followed on "professional ethics" did not mend matters; in fact, it made them worse. The more it was proved that Messrs. David Dudley Field and Thomas G. Shearman were only earning an honest penny in doing Fisk's work, the stronger grew the doubts of decent layman whether a profession of which these two gentlemen were conspicuous and successful members was anything but a political and social nuisance, which had better be in some manner abated.

These doubts were held in check, or for the time suppressed, by the efforts of the Bar Association to purify itself, and by the trial and punishment of Judge Barnard and the resignation of Judge Cardozo, but they were by no means entirely removed, and Tweed's trial has certainly revived them. Here was a man who got possession of the city treasury as trustee, and then, with a few confederates, did exactly what a party of burglars who had broken into a bank would do—divided the greater part of the money between them. When he was detected, the community made the startling discovery that it was very doubtful whether the lawyers had provided any but the most trifling punishment for this kind of offence. When, too, it was proposed to sue him in order to recover the money, not only was it found that there was no other way of getting it back, but the lawyers were divided in opinion, and spent a year in discussing who was the proper person to bring the suit. Some said the State, and others the county. The objection to the latter was that the county officials were in league with the robbers; and for this contingency, also, the lawyers had made no provision. Moreover, when Tweed was at last arraigned, and by marvellous exertion a jury was obtained to try him, it was found to be possible and regular for some of the most prominent members of the bar to employ in his behalf every device known to the art of chicane, however mean or minute. They challenged everybody, beginning with the judge, excepted to everything, argued everything, and wrestled and tugged and sweated in defence of a notorious and undoubted criminal who had no defence on the merits, with a zeal and a sacrifice of self and of the more respectable appurtenances of self which, it ought to be said plainly, the better,

more moral, and more intelligent part of this community found very repulsive. It began to say that it was a mockery to talk of a profession in which these things were possible as an "honorable profession," and that it was very difficult to believe that a profession which could provide no better means than this of trying criminals, or recovering stolen property, was a useful profession.

The Court of Appeals scandal, for such it may properly be termed, has of course done much to strengthen these unfavorable impressions. People do not know, or profess to know, who is right or who is wrong about the law of the matter; but they know that there is a most extraordinary difference of opinion among lawyers on a point of great public importance, which has been again and again decided. They see the Court of last resort going against its own previous decisions, with, on the part of some of its members, an air of flippant indifference, for the benefit of a dangerous and powerful criminal; and they are asked not only to give the Court credit under these extraordinary circumstances for perfect integrity, but to accept this mode of administering justice as so satisfactory that nothing ought to be said about it, and that the people ought to thank God for their bench and bar and go about their business.

There has never been a time in modern history when the growth of a feeling of hostility to or contempt for the legal profession would be more unfortunate than this in which we now live. With all its faults, the profession does more at this moment to hold our political fabric together than almost any other visible agency. It is the one organized body which is engaged in making practical applications of morality, and in recording and preserving the experience of the race on the weightiest matters of social and political progress. It supplies the bone and gristle without which a great deal of our legislative action would be mere blubber, soluble in the sun or by the rain. Its loss, or the loss of its hold on popular confidence, would therefore be a great loss; but the prevalent sentimental dislike of precedent constantly threatens it, under the most favorable circumstances, with a serious curtailment of its authority. It is not, therefore, on account of the profession simply, but in a far larger degree on account of the community, that it is to be hoped that lawyers and judges will consider seriously the effect of their recent performances in this State on public opinion. If they are to retain their present honorable and influential place in our political system, they really must mend their ways. They must not flatter themselves, because laymen do not understand what they are quarrelling about in such cases as this of Tweed's, that they therefore consider their quarrels edifying or endurable. There is a very levelling spirit abroad, a strong disposition to judge both men and callings, not by their claims or pretensions but by their work; and enormous interests, moral and material, depend for their safety on the continuance of popular respect for the lawyers. Any marked diminution of it would seriously affect both the public credit and the security of property. It has diminished enough already to make the present crisis a grave one, and to satisfy most thinking men that there must be a considerable increase in the public spirit, the self-respect, the sense of decorum and of professional honor, on the part of both bench and bar, if we are to escape great loss and suffering.

## THE RECENT GOETHE CELEBRATION.

THE twenty-eighth of August last merits more than a passing notice, for on that day was celebrated the anniversary of Goethe's birth. The proceedings were conducted under the auspices of the Goethe Club, and culminated in Mr. Bryant's address and Bayard Taylor's ode. Serious exceptions must be taken to some of Mr. Bryant's judgments. While occasional slips in dealing with second-rate characters are venial, any decided error, whether of fact or judgment, in the discussion of a master-mind calls for prompt correction. Whoever undertakes to speak of a Shakspere, a Dante, or a Goethe, must be held to the strictest account.

In Mr. Bryant's address occurs the following passage:

"In this country of free institutions we cannot make Goethe our model in politics. It is urged against him, with too much show of reason, that, possessing a power over public opinion which would have given effect to his slightest remonstrance against absolute government, he yet acquiesced in its wrongs and consented to become one of those who profited by them. Those who take an unfriendly view of his character, complain that he did not care to make men happier, so long as his own condition was fortunate and agreeable; nor better, so long as their moral condition, whatever it might be, ministered to his convenience. He did not admit the truth of this accusation, but claimed that he had labored during a long life in overcoming pernicious prejudices and narrow views among his countrymen, in elevating and purifying the taste of the community, and that his real offence was that he would have nothing to do with party politics. I do not care on this occasion to discuss the question whether this was a satisfactory answer, and willingly draw a veil over the circumstances which might lead to an unfavorable conclusion."

We quote the passage *in extenso*, because it bears upon a sore point in German literary history. With all due respect to Mr. Bryant, it must be said that such views are *saugrenu*, and have little foundation. They were exploded long ago; they are now to be found only in school-books written by men who continue to look upon Gervinus as the model of an historian and literary critic. They sprang from a radical misunderstanding of the course of German history, and were perpetuated by the so-called German democrats, who could find no good in anything that did not fall in directly with their own narrow views. They have been belied by the recent sudden rise of Prussia to power and by the unification of Germany under a monarchical government. It is to be observed, in the first place, that Goethe *never* possessed that supreme influence over public opinion which has been ascribed to him by those whom Mr. Bryant has followed. He was merely the personal friend and privy councillor of the ruler of an insignificant duchy. His endeavors to influence merely the personal conduct of Carl August were not always successful. The duke, as the student of German history knows, had a decided will of his own. As to influencing him in political measures, Goethe felt that such was not his vocation. His field was plainly marked out for him: it was that of art, science, and letters. All that he could hope to accomplish outside of this was to keep alive in the mind of Carl August a love of humanity, a desire to be the beneficent ruler of his subjects. Herein he succeeded admirably. Many of the reforms introduced by the duke were suggested by Goethe, and especially the humane spirit which marked the Weimar government was due to the example and the silent, indirect teachings of Goethe and his associates. If we go beyond the limits of the duchy, we shall find that Goethe's influence upon the political action of Germany at large was null. It would have been null whatever course he might have adopted. Will it be necessary to remind the student that in those days there was no press in Germany, no organ of public opinion, no people even? If we turn to Treitschke's Leipzig oration of 1863, we may read: "When Scharnhorst (Goethe's contemporary) was young, a German king had to forbid his peasants kneeling and kissing the coat-sleeves of the officials." One may see almost as much, even at the present day, in the rural districts of Austria. The sober-minded historian shows us the German peasantry of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century as a degraded, servile, ignorant herd. Yet the democratic doctrinaire of '48 would have us pronounce Goethe's life a failure, because he could not bring himself to look upon popular sovereignty as rightful, or even expedient. Goethe has left on record his opinion in the second part of 'Wilhelm Meister': "We need in our tongue a word which, like the correlative terms *Kindheit* and *Kind*, shall express the relation between *Volkheit* and *Volk*. The educator must listen to the *Kindheit*, not to the *Kind*. The lawgiver and ruler must listen to the *Volkheit*, not the *Volk*. For the former, the *Volkheit*, is always the same—is reasonable, constant, pure, and true. The latter, the *Volk*, for sheer wishing, knows not what it wishes. And in this sense the law can and should be the general expression of the will of the *Volkheit*, a will which the crowd never expresses, but which the sensible man perceives, which the reasonable man knows how to gratify, and the good man takes pleasure in gratifying." Does the entire body of German political literature contain a passage more applicable to the state of affairs prior to 1866 and 1871? All Germany—that is, the *Volkheit*—desired unity at home and dignity abroad; but the German *Volk*, to give Goethe's words in the original, *wusste nicht vor lauter Wollen, was es wollte*, until its great political teacher arose and gave it a bitter but wholesome lesson.

In estimating Goethe, we must bear in mind that we have to do with a German and with German affairs, and that there is no analogy between the American Revolution and the German revival. The former was the natural process whereby an insect shakes off its effete shell, the latter has been the tardy resuscitation of a patient dragged from the depths of the waters of bitterness. On the one hand, we have the uprising of a hardy, self-reliant, shrewd, and enlightened set of communi-

ties long accustomed to self-government; on the other, the regeneration of a people from above downwards. The lower classes in Germany are now possessed of freedom and security, and have a direct voice in the government; but the impulse to the change did not come from themselves, it came from the upper or the educated classes. In Goethe's day, at least until he had passed his prime, the change would have been a chimera. It was first necessary to create a certain community of interest and sentiment among the various German states, a something around which the Bavarians, Swabians, Hessians, Saxons, and Prussians might rally as their common property, and in so doing recognize one another as brethren. This bond of union was German culture, German literature and science. Goethe was not to blame that culture had to come first and unity and freedom afterwards. This order of national development resulted from causes which had operated long before Goethe's birth: we mean, of course, the Reformation, and especially the Thirty Years' War. Mr. Bryant, it is true, cites Goethe's reply to the unjust attacks of his contemporaries, but does not commit himself to an opinion. The best thinkers in Germany are, however, now ready to admit that Goethe's course in political matters was not only right, but the only possible one for him under the circumstances. Once for all, we repeat it, politics was not his vocation, and had he entered upon it, he would have wasted his time. The life of Stein elucidates this point. Stein was a born statesman, endowed by nature with every gift for administering the affairs of a great nation. Yet Stein failed, although he had an influence over political opinion such as Goethe never possessed; he failed signally, because circumstances were against him. Some of his legislative reforms still subsist as the basis of municipal organization in Prussia to this day, but his brightest dreams, his most ardent hopes, were scattered to the winds. Would Goethe, without Stein's talents, have succeeded better? Would he have made any head at all against such men as Metternich, Nesselrode, Talleyrand, and Wellington? It is puerile to speculate upon the rôle that a poet-philosopher must have played amid the international jugglery of the Napoleonic era.

## DEER-HUNTING IN SCOTLAND.

SCOTLAND, August 28, 1875.

TRADITION tells us that George the Second's Queen threatened, on a notable occasion, to turn the northern part of her dominions, namely, Scotland, into a hunting-ground. What Queen Caroline in a momentary fit of temper thus arrogantly threatened, the descendants of her English subjects, in a calm, cold-blooded manner, may be said to have effectually accomplished. The Highlands of Scotland have now become a summer playground for rich Englishmen. The old Highland chiefs, with their wild hordes of ragged retainers, who dressed themselves in tartan kilts and eagle feathers on great occasions for barbaric display, have disappeared almost as completely as the eagles from which the chieftains plucked their plumes. The world has become too rich for the chieftains and too civilized for the eagles. The wealth of England has bought out the one, and the whistle of the locomotive, awakening shrill echoes in the wild glens and corries of Sutherland and Ross, has scared the other. Wherever the fetters and restrictions of the law of entail (which till quite recently was much more stringent in Scotland than in England) have not prevented the old proprietors of the brown mountains and the salmon rivers of Scotland from alienating their lands, wealthy Southerners have stepped in and bought the Scotchmen out; and even where the Scotchmen were prevented by their entails from selling they have not the less deserted their old domains. They have let them for the shooting season to rich ironmasters or contractors or brewers from the midland counties of England, and disappeared, like the woodcocks, to some unknown region until the equinoctial gales and the first October snows drive the Englishmen to their hunting-boxes in the south. Then, again, like the woodcocks, the chieftains return to the ancestral fastnesses with some English cash to carry them through the winter, and an uneasy feeling that the hold which their fathers and their forefathers had upon their clansmen is somehow slackened, and that they are looked on even by the family henchman and the hereditary piper with something like contempt. The devotion of a Caleb Balderstone to the old family stock, and the contrivances of his inventive genius to keep up a show of splendor with an attenuated family purse, are plants of Lowland not of Highland growth. The Celt soon takes to his new Saxon and forgets his old Gaelic master. The summer lord is more open-handed than the winter one. He kept open house. He spent his money royally among the people. He did not enquire too strictly into little things. He wore as good a Highland costume, even if it was manufactured in London, as the real chief, and he was as good a sportsman. He knew no Gaelic, perhaps, and could not converse with the gillies in their native tongue. But what of that? He knew many things of which the ignorant Highlanders knew nothing, and he gave them clothes, and tea and tobacco, and whiskey and other good things, which the straitened means of their Celtic chieftain could hardly furnish for his own use. The feeling with which these Saxon invaders used to be regarded in the Highlands has materially altered. Twenty years ago, there was a wailing and a lamentation throughout the land as one Highland property after another changed hands from the old Gaelic stock to the new breed of rich Englishmen. "All the old Highland families are disappearing," it used to be said; "the country is going to the dogs." No one was regarded with less favor than the "English shentleman," who used to come with an unknown tongue and strange fantastic ways every summer to the moors. He despised the Highlanders, and treated them, not as friendly dependents, but as a degraded race, who spoke a tongue he did not know and did not know the tongue he spoke. Familiarity with each other's ways and customs has softened this feeling. The Highlanders, like most Celtic races, have a natural instinct by which they recognize their masters. They clung to the old race with a loyal tenacity so long as they clung to their land. But when their connection with the land was severed either by sale or lease, and a new race of landlords or shooting tenants took the place of the old one, such of the dependents as remained on the estate transferred their affections to their new masters, and became as faithful in their allegiance to the new as they and their ancestors had in times gone by been to the old.

And it is difficult to say that either the country or the people has suffered by the change. There is less poetry and less romance in the new relations, but it is only the result of natural processes which have been going on in the Highlands for nearly a century and a half. After the Rebellion of 1745, and the abolition of what was known as "hereditary jurisdictions," or the power of life and death possessed by each Highland chief in his own territory, the face of society north of the river Forth began to change. At that time the Highlands were thickly populated. A single chieftain, who now could not muster a couple of hundred retainers over his whole estate, could, even in the Rebellion of 1745, bring several thousands into the field. Every glen and every strath, almost every acre of cultivated land on the mountain-side, contained inhabitants—men, women, and children—who existed on the little croft around their hovels. They were people who did nothing from one year's end to another, when there was no fighting or thieving to be done, but cultivate rudely a patch of oats or barley to supply them with their oat-cakes, their oatmeal porridge, and their whiskey. They had cattle to drive from the Lowlands, sheep to steal, and deer to shoot, and fish to catch, and no one to find fault with them, and they reared up a race of young barbarians to follow faithfully in their fathers' footsteps. At the end of last and the beginning of this century, sheep-farmers from the south of Scotland began to take possession of the Highland hills. They hired them on long leases, of thirty and forty years' duration, from the owners of the soil, and with their landlords' consent they induced or forced the cotters to leave their homesteads in the mountains and migrate to the coast and to the towns. This was called "eviction" by the enemies of the farmers, and much ill-feeling—partly political, partly sentimental—was engendered by these proceedings. But nowadays it is generally admitted that the country has gained by these evictions, and the evicted have not lost. Many of the evicted were comfortably housed by the seaside, and taught the arts of honest living by fishing and other seafaring pursuits. Some found their way to Glasgow and Edinburgh, and the other towns of Scotland, and others crossed the border into England. Many emigrated to Canada, to the States, and to Australia and New Zealand, and, in not a few instances, their descendants have risen to eminence in these countries.

The sheep-farmers, however, have not had it all their own way in these latter days. Sir Walter Scott tells of an old Highland chief who used to say that owners of land at one time were valued for the number of men on their estates, and then it was for the number of cattle and sheep, and soon it would be for the number of rats. We have not got to the rat stage yet. We are passing through an intermediate cycle of game before we come to vermin. The rich Englishmen to whom I have referred have come down like locusts on the land. It is almost sad to run your eye down the columns of the Scotch Doomsday Book, published a year ago, and see the havoc made by the Southerners on the old Gaelic names. Macleans, and Mackenzies, and Camerons, and Mackays, and Campbells, and Macleods are giving place to Guests, and Bairds, and Fowlers, and Basses, and Malcolms, and Smiths, and Morrisons, and Ramsdens. These wealthy Saxons have bought up property after property as they came into the market, and at the expiration of the sheep-farmers' leases they have removed them and

their sheep to make room for red-deer, just as the farmers removed the cotters and their hovels to make room for sheep. The king of the forest—of the Scotch forest at least—is now supreme in his native hills and corries. He cannot brook the company of sheep or shepherd. They disturb his peacefulness and his sense of security and ease. "No beast of any consequence," a gamekeeper said to me the other day, "will remain on the ground if he is constantly to be annoyed by seeing shepherds and their dogs about the hill." If the ground is cleared of such annoyances to his comfort, he will remain, and he will afford most excellent sport during six weeks of each year—from the 20th of August till the 1st or 2d of October—to the owners of the mountains and the corries which he frequents. It has been estimated that upwards of 400,000 sheep have been displaced from the mountains of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Inverness, Perth, Aberdeen, and Argyll during the last twenty years, to make room for red-deer. Allowing five acres to each sheep, which is about the average calculation in farm-letting in those counties, it will appear that some two millions of acres are entirely given up to deer. You can walk the whole way across Scotland from Braemar in Aberdeenshire to the west coast of Ross-shire, a distance of perhaps 150 miles—a considerable distance in a small country like Scotland—without seeing a living quadruped except an occasional stag or hind or mountain hare. Forty years ago this was all under sheep or cattle. Now it is under deer, and it is kept under deer to provide six weeks' recreation for a couple of hundred wealthy Englishmen and their friends.

It is a question how far these vast clearances of men and sheep are censurable. Sensational newspaper writers in this country make a piece of work about them from time to time when there is nothing else to write about. Minor poets also profess to see material for poetic moaning in the ruined hovels and deserted crofts of the useless men and women who of old inhabited them. Occasional stump-orators make democratic capital over these transactions. But there is something to be said on the other side. The Highland climate, and especially the climate of the Western Highlands, is not adapted to the cultivation of corn, and the high mountains, which may be safely tenanted by red-deer, will not keep any stock of sheep. They pine and rot and die from exposure in places where deer are healthy. Black cattle and "West Highlanders" will exist and even thrive wherever red-deer live. But black cattle do not pay so well as deer. The rise during the last twenty years in the price of Highland properties which are suitable for deer is something unprecedented. The estate of Applecross in the west of Ross-shire was sold about twenty years ago by the old Highland family which had possessed it for generations for £135,000. A few years afterwards it was divided into three lots, and sold after the death of the purchaser, the Duke of Leeds, for £210,000; and one of these three lots was resold within seven years of the purchase for £120,000. It was sold again last year to Sir Ivor Guest, a rich iron-master, at a higher figure than the late Duke of Leeds gave for the whole estate only twenty years ago. The island of Harris, one of the remoter Hebrides, containing an excellent deer-forest, was sold in 1831 for £60,000, and five years ago the deer-forest half of it fetched £155,000. Another property, which I know myself, was bought for £30,000, and in seven years it was sold for £70,000, in consequence of the sheep having been removed and the ground converted into forest. These are but casual instances of the rise in value of these properties. It is no exaggeration to state that every Highland estate which is suitable for deer has doubled or trebled its selling value within the last five-and-thirty years.

When prices such as these are going, can any one wonder that the impoverished Highlanders should make hay when the sun shines, and sell their land, or turn it into deer-forests, and let it at gigantic rents? It is not in human nature to resist such temptations. How long the taste for the excitement of deer-stalking may continue it would be vain to attempt a guess. It is in full flow this season, and shows no signs of abatement. It has many drawbacks, but withal it is a manly and a healthy taste; and whatever may be urged against it on economic or on moral grounds, and no doubt a good deal can be urged, no one who has had experience of it will deny that it is the noblest sport that the British Islands afford.

## Notes.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS will publish this fall 'The Abode of Snow,' being observations on a tour from Chinese Tibet to the Indian Caucasus, by Andrew Wilson; 'Notes of Travel in Africa,' by C. J. Andersen; 'Travels in Portugal,' by "John Latouche"; in their series of 'Brief Biographies' the following: 'English Radical Leaders,' by R. J. Hinton; 'French Leaders,' by Edward King; and 'German Political Leaders,' by Herbert Tuttle; a new novel, 'Wych-Hazel,' by Miss Warner; 'The True Order of Studies,' by Thomas Hill; additional parts of Mrs. Greatorex's 'Old New York'; and other illustrated works, chiefly juveniles.——*Nature* for August 26 (a double number) presents its readers with a steel portrait of Sir Charles Lyell—one of that inspired series, as we may almost call it, which has been illustrated by heads of Faraday, Darwin, Tyndall, and Huxley.

—As we go to press, we learn with very keen regret of the sudden death of Mr. Chauncey Wright, at Cambridge, on Sunday last. Mr. Wright was one of the most valued contributors to the *Nation*, and one of the ablest writers on scientific and metaphysical subjects that this country has ever produced. His learning was only equalled by his modesty and gentleness, and one must go far to seek a more perfect exemplification of "sweetness and light." But of his characteristics as a thinker and critic, as well as of his personal and private qualities, we must defer speaking fully till our next issue.

—We have been favored with a copy of Mr. John F. Marthens's unpretentious 'Typographical Bibliography,' of which only a limited edition has been printed, and but fifty copies been put on sale (Pittsburgh). It aims to show those who are in any way connected with the manufacture of books "the resources there are in our own language towards a more general knowledge of the history and practice of the art of printing." In its actual scope it agrees nearly enough with Munsell's 'Catalogue of Books on Printing and the Kindred Arts,' which includes works on copyright, liberty of the press, literary property, bibliography, etc. Mr. Marthens admits not only Dibdin and Lowndes, but Allibone and Disraeli, and ranges from the magazine article to the most elegant or most ancient bound volume. Thus we find entered 'The Harper Establishment,' by Jacob Abbott; Edward H. (misprinted K.) Knight's Centennial paper on Printing in the March *Harper;* Wilson on Punctuation; Frederick Hudson's 'Journalism in the United States'; James Grant's 'Newspaper Press'; Sampson's 'History of Advertising'; H. T. Brown's 'Manufacture of Paper from Wood in the United States'; Woolnough's 'Art of Marbling'; Sotheby's 'Facsimiles of Water-marks used by the Early Paper-makers'; Nicholson's 'Manual of the Art of Bookbinding'; Hugo's 'Bewick Collector'; Ruskin's 'Ariadne Florentina'; and, to bring our selections to an end, Chatto's 'Facts and Speculations on the Origin and History of Playing-Cards.' The oldest work mentioned in this catalogue is Thomas Churchyard's 'Descriptive and Playne Discourse of Paper' (1558). We observe but one book descriptive of a type-setting machine, viz., Owen L. Brown's, 1870, and suspect that there have been some omissions in this department. Johnson's 'Introduction to] Logography; or, The Art of Arranging and Composing for Printing with Words Entire, their Radices and Terminations, instead of Single Letters,' dates back to 1783, though ever since that time fruitless efforts have been made to bring such a system into use. Milton's 'Areopagitica' finds a place with an anonymous 'Dissertation upon the Constitutional Freedom of the Press in the United States of America,' by an Impartial Citizen; and Franklin's Autobiography paves the way for the 'Autobiography of a Journeyman Printer,' and for Brenton's 'Voices from the Press: a Collection of Sketches, Essays, and Poems by Practical Printers.' Mr. Marthens's bibliography, imperfect as it probably is, is a useful compilation, and ought to incite not only "practical printers" but amateurs with taste and money to the highest efforts of which the typographic art is capable.

—Since the panic the financial articles of the newspapers have contained a great deal of statistical information with regard to the exports, imports, and internal trade of the country, affording comparisons as to the prosperity of the country for a series of years. There is no doubt that when these statistics are intelligently given they are of value; but they are given in all sorts of ways. To take one or two examples, the statistics given of the progress of railroad-building, by the number of miles constructed from year to year, showing a steady falling-off from the year of the panic to the present time, in so far as they go are valuable, because we have a common standard of measure, the mile. But when we come to the comparison of the number of dollars' worth of manufactures produced or sold in a particular trade, we are met by two difficulties—first, the fluctuation of the currency (which has been no less than ten per cent. since the panic), and, second, the fluctuation of general prices. For instance, if we know that so many millions of yards of cloth were sold during 1873, 1874, and 1875, we can easily see whether production is reduced or not; but if we only know that so many million dollars' worth of cloth was sold, we have to reduce all the values to gold, and have even then to take into account the general depres-

sion of all values owing to moral causes. That is to say, an identically equal number of exchanges in 1875 and 1873 may be represented by totally different pecuniary sums. Of course, in most cases statistics are so little looked after that it is impossible to get the real number of exchanges or transactions in any common measure, and we must be contented with what we can get; but it should not be forgotten that the comparisons made every day in the newspapers are subject to these deductions from their accuracy, and that if we could get at the real business of the country we should probably find, as is indicated by the steadiness of the railroad traffic in most quarters, that it is not so very different from what it was two or three years ago as the depression in speculative kinds of property—as, for instance, real estate—would lead us to imagine.

—The two versions of Jules Verne's well-known extravaganza, the 'Tour of the World in Eighty Days,' which have been put on the stage at the Grand Opera-House and the Academy of Music, are radically different performances. The latter is a Porte St. Martin spectacle, pieces of the play being sandwiched in between ballets and astounding Oriental processions, until the spectator begins to forget whether it is a spectacle with dramatic interludes or a play with spectacular accompaniment that he is witnessing. This is a drawback in the case of a play which, being fundamentally preposterous, requires, if any does, rapid acting to make it seem worth doing at all. On this account, the Opera-House version was preferable, and it was made not less so by the introduction of an extraordinary American character (we do not recollect whether he makes his appearance in the book or not), a sort of idealized rough, who, having received an imagined affront from Phileas Fogg, in not being allowed to become a member of the Eccentric Club, pursues the latter round the world, intent at first on taking his life, and, with that object, fighting a duel with him at every convenient stopping-place, but afterwards swearing an eternal friendship, and helping the Englishman to rescue the unfortunate Indian princess, as well as a sister of hers, conveniently introduced in order to provide a wife for the American. The somewhat international character of the burlesque gives room for some of the most novel and startling adaptations or "conveyances" of current theatrical sentiments that we have ever had the pleasure of hearing. In the crisis of the story we have the American counteracting the gloom of his English brother, who declares that something "can't be done," by lifting his hand on high and protesting, with a slight modification of Bulwer's phraseology, "In the bright lexicon of *our* race, there's no such word as can't be done." On another occasion, the Briton forbids something or other—the suttee, if we remember right—by exclaiming, "In the name of the Queen, I forbid this to go on"—which the American immediately improves upon in this semi-political fashion, "In the name of Liberty, Humanity, and Progress, I put my veto upon these proceedings." It is curious, by the way, to notice the utter impossibility which seems to attend all attempts, even in burlesque, to put an English gentleman on the stage with us. Both at the Academy and the Opera-House, the Frenchman, the African, the American, and even the Brahmin were better than Phileas Fogg, who was, indeed, no more like an Englishman than he was like a Hottentot.

—A sensible writer in the *Weser-Zeitung* opposes the new-born zeal which animates some of his countrymen in their *Fremdwörterjagd*, or crusade against words of foreign origin discovered or discoverable in the German language of to-day. He reminds these purists that they assume, in both cases erroneously, that the Germans are the only people who take in words from abroad, and that the German tongue is rich enough to dispense with such borrowing, or, in other words, is able to translate every foreign word with an equally good German one. Under the first head he points out the vast indebtedness of French and English to foreign sources. A single page of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* furnishes a list like this: *la diocèse, dogmatique, hypocrisie, problème, économie, physiologique, philosophique, la métaphysique, apologie, éphémère, phraséologie, stoïcien, caractères, idées, critique; le postulat, sidéral, scientifique, critique, puéril, virilité.* The last five might appear to be genuine French, inasmuch as the French language is derived from the Latin; but in fact they do not (as do *père, mère, fils, maître, mourir*, etc.) have their root in the Latin, or the Latin patois which made its way into Gaul, but were bodily "lifted" from the dead Latin long after the French language had been established. This transfer was not a popular or national development of speech, but (as in the case of the recent glorification of Arminius, a forgotten popular hero) was the work of literary and learned men, as is proved by their classic form, and the absence of all the marks (except in terminations) of unconscious word-formation, like that which educed *père* from *pater*, etc.; by the isolated position of the borrowed words in the vocabulary, so that, *e.g.*, to the native French understanding *virilité* connects itself with no explanatory *vir;* and by such examples as the adoption of *érudition* to supply an abstract for the concrete term *savant*—a native product. The English language of course swarms with examples of the same thing, and being able to measure itself in richness with the German or with any other speech, refutes the plea that it is all very well for the French to borrow because it is a poor language. That the German contains a great number of home-made expressions for abstract ideas is due to the necessity of making intelligible to barbarians the doctrines of Scripture. If we could suppose Christianity to have been introduced at the time of Frederic the Great, it is certain that the Germans would have adopted without hesitation the Latin terminology of conversion, justification, resurrection, mediator, etc., etc. The precision of meaning which attaches to the foreign interloper, and the consequent gain in rapidity of thought, greatly favor it in the struggle for the survival of the fittest, and in Germany it very seldom entirely gives way to the home-made equivalent.

—The Library of the German Reichstag (a scientifically-formed "Library of Congress") is reported to be making fine progress under the skilful direction of Dr. Potthast, and to take rank already among the foremost libraries of Berlin. It now numbers some 40,000 volumes, and is steadily increasing. Dr. Potthast has divided it into twenty-three sections, and many of these make a near approach to completeness. That allotted to the Civil Process contains the collected statutes of all the German states, and even the American and Turkish. Under Political Science one may consult the most important German public documents, the proceedings of the several German Landtags, the protocols of the Bund, the proceedings of the Swedish Assembly, Hansard in full, and, thanks to the active interest of Dr. Kapp, a complete set of the Congressional Globe, together with Force's Archives, etc., etc. With lexicons and the leading periodicals of the day, not excepting the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the library is also well provided, while its internal appointments satisfy every requirement of comfort and convenience on the part of the deputies who resort to it.

—The last number of the *Rivista di Filologia Romanza* (Vol. II., Fasc. II.) contains an article of especial interest to students of old Italian literature and palæography. One of the oldest monuments of the language, it will be remembered, is what is called the 'Ritmo Cassinese,' a poetical composition, preserved in the library of the famous monastery of Monte Cassino. It has been published a number of times, but never with the care and thoroughness of the present attempt, which is accompanied by a chromo-lithograph fac-simile of the entire document, and a full investigation of its palæography, grammar, metre, and lexicography. Although the handwriting is that of the eleventh century, the editors do not hesitate to pronounce the composition of later date, and place it in the twelfth or possibly in the early part of the thirteenth. The contents of the poem are very obscure, and it seems doubtful whether it is a satire on or an apology for the Order of St. Benedict. The metre is the same as that of the 'Dies Irae,' with the addition of a *cauda*, or three half lines of eight syllables rhyming together. Other valuable articles are: A canzone of the fourteenth century from a MS. in the Barberino Library, edited by Mussafia, and forming a sort of continuation to his previous studies of the Italian dialects of the fourteenth century; general alterations (assimilation, dissimilation, gemination, etc.) in the Italian language, by N. Caix; and some fragments of a free translation of the Book of Maccabees into old French decasyllabic verse, published by E. Stengel for the first time from a MS. of the Berne Library. In addition to these interesting articles, there are reviews of books, bibliographical notices, etc. We are glad to see that this excellent periodical is to be published henceforth by Loescher & Co., and is to appear more regularly than heretofore.

—Some recent numbers of the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* have furnished the *Pall Mall Gazette* with reports from missionaries in Western China which present their labors in any but an encouraging light. A long list of disasters, provoked by the successes obtained by the missionaries, is observable in the last report of Monsignor Pinchon, Vicar-Apostolic of Western Sze-chuen, the province adjoining Yunnan. The fact that seven or eight thousand neophytes had embraced Christianity in the northern part of the province "roused the fury of the literati, the officials, and the mayors of the market-towns, who, having collected together a number of lewd followers of the baser sort, attacked the convents of the city of Chuen-kin-foo, sacked and destroyed the oratory and pharmacy, and robbed, beat, and seriously wounded several hundred Christians." At Pa-chow the national guards broke into and burned the Christian stations, drove the converts shelterless out of the city, and set a price on the head of the parish priest. In the district of Su-lin-hien, a band of mountaineers, instigated by the prefect, suddenly fell upon three of the stations and burned the

buildings, and three of the neophytes, preferring death to apostasy, were murdered. At Lin-shwuy, where the converts had increased to nearly 4,000, owing to the official toleration, the national guards rose against them, killing some, wounding others, and destroying the property, both corporate and individual, of the converts. From another part of the province, news has been received of the martyrdom of five converts, while more than 1,500 neophytes were everywhere pursued, and dragged on a miserable existence, concealed in the mountains or wandering in unknown lands. In Hoo-pih, however, owing to the influence of the mandarins, a cross which, with doubtful expediency, had been erected on the site of a ruined temple, and "which was some time ago razed to the ground by the natives, has recently been replaced with considerable ceremony in the presence of the mandarins of the district and of 140 soldiers accoutred in the European fashion." The Pro-Vicar, too, on his arrival at Pa-tum, exults that the neophytes, on his arrival, with the sound of fifes and drums and the explosion of fireworks, conducted him on horseback "in triumph to the church." In the province of Kwei-chow, the storm of persecution which swept the districts in 1869 is much abated, and the Vicar-Apostolic reports that in a recent tour through his diocese he repeatedly received similar honors to those paid to the high mandarins. Native public buildings, both secular and religious, have also been converted into churches and schools. But these are signs rather of indifference to popular prejudices and to the jealousy of the native dignitaries than of a solid if modest progress.

—No series of rulers in history has come down with so evil a reputation for wanton cruelty and tyranny as the four successors of Augustus, but of late this has been extenuated or explained as being really insanity, heightened by and taking its special shape from the possession of irresponsible power—a view which is well presented by De Quincey. A German physician, Dr. Wiedemeister, has undertaken to analyze this family insanity in a work entitled 'Der Caesarenwahnsinn der Julisch-Claudischen Imperatorenfamilie.' The special point made by him is in tracing this predisposition to a succession of intermarriages between near kin, while it took its special character from the varying circumstances of the several individuals. With Tiberius, "the unfortunate offspring of a double consanguineous marriage," it assumed the form of melancholy and suspicion. Caligula—a Julius as well as a Claudius—was epileptic, and his mental weakness was developed by sickness (in the eighth month of his reign) into monomania and complete insanity. Claudius was idiotic. The peculiarity of Nero's mental disease was its periodicity; his times of madness were three in number, each continuing two years and a half, commencing in April, 59, autumn, 62, and autumn, 65. They began and ended in melancholy, culminating in frenzy. These are the principal points of Dr. Wiedemeister's theory; it is new, and unquestionably has some truth in it, although he appears to have been not sufficiently critical in the authorities he has followed.

## BANCROFT'S NATIVE RACES OF THE PACIFIC STATES.*

### I.

WHEN a work is so extensive and elaborate that it must be published at intervals, in separate and nearly independent volumes, it is the privilege of the periodical press, in distinction from the daily newspaper, to review it at leisure, and perhaps to defer a careful notice of it until its issue is somewhat advanced. We have pursued this course in reference to Mr. H. H. Bancroft's work on the aboriginal peoples of the Pacific slope. If carried out as designed, it will fill between three and four thousand large octavo pages, constituting an extended and in some respects an exhaustive treatise upon the native races of Western America. Two bulky volumes of the projected series of five are now before us; and it is quite time that some account of Mr. Bancroft's ethnological labors should appear in our columns, with an impartial estimate of the quality of his book so far as published.

Until the announcement of the present work, Mr. Bancroft was known to the literary public only as a San Francisco bookseller. As early as 1859, however, he had formed the design of producing "a series of works on the Western half of North America," and, making use of his special facilities as a dealer in books, had begun to collect a library relating to this special field. In 1869, he had succeeded in bringing together some sixteen thousand books, maps, and manuscripts; and, being thus fully equipped for his gigantic undertaking, and reinforced by several capable assistants, he began in good earnest the composition of this first book of the projected "series." The account given in the preface of the inception and progress of the work reveals in a very pleasant way the truly Californian enterprise, courage, and local patriotism of the author and his co-laborers. The field traversed by Mr. Bancroft—the "Pacific States of North America"—is one that would scarcely have been selected by any other than a Californian author. From an ethnographical point of view the selection seems quite arbitrary, and the territory lacks that homogeneousness which encourages a complete and artistic treatment of a subject. The author seems to feel this, but he recognizes a tendency to unity throughout this wide field, and satisfies himself by this subjective view of it. He says:

"Although hitherto its several parts have been held somewhat asunder by the force of circumstances, yet are its occupants drawn by nature into nearness of relationship, and [they] will be brought yet nearer by advancing civilization; the common oceanic highway on the one side, and the great mountain ramparts on the other, both tending [*sic*] to this result. . . . Although there may be apparent heterogeneity in the subject thus territorially treated, there is an apparent tendency toward ultimate unity (pp. vii., viii)"

By the term "Pacific States" is designated the entire territory bordering on the Western ocean, from Alaska to Darien. The object of the work before us is to give a full and impartial account of the native inhabitants of this vast region as they were found at the time of its discovery by Europeans. As "three hundred and thirty-six years were occupied in the discovery of the western border of North America" (p. 26), it is obvious that the accounts of the various tribes and nations embodied in the work must bear quite different dates—some of the native races being portrayed as they appear to-day, others having actually become extinct one or two centuries ago, and existing now only in the quaint description of some old voyager or missionary. But such information as our author has he gives us without stint, culling his facts alike from the oldest and the latest authorities, from Spanish priests and Californian adventurers, from British fur-traders and German savants, from historians, from ethnologists, and from travellers. Never was a large library more thoroughly ransacked or more completely laid under tribute by a writer, than was Mr. Bancroft's collection of "Americana" in the preparation of this work. Although partly historical, the book could not properly be called a history; it is rather an ethnological treatise. But ethnology is a broad and complex science, and the author's plan involves several distinct surveys of the entire field. He traverses it first ethnographically; that is, he describes the various races in their characteristic features, just as they appeared to Europeans when first visited. He goes over it a second time, to give an account of the religions of these races; his third survey of the field has reference to their various languages; and the fourth to their antiquities, especially their architectural remains. This is followed by another exploration, in which he gathers together whatever is known of their migrations and their primitive history. We have, therefore, within the five volumes as many distinct treatises in ethnography, mythology, linguistics, archæology, and historical ethnology. To win success in any one of these departments would be no slight achievement; but Mr. Bancroft—if we may judge from his first two volumes—has performed a great deal of thorough work, and secured valuable results in all of them.

The more strictly ethnographical portion of the work occupies the two volumes now under review. The mythology and languages of these nations are considered in the third volume, their antiquities in the fourth, and their aboriginal history and migrations in the fifth. The races described are grouped in two great divisions—the "wild tribes" and the "civilized nations." The first volume, which is occupied with the wild tribes, traverses the whole field territorially; the second, which is confined to the civilized nations, is limited territorially to Mexico and Central America; for it was only within these countries, of all on the Pacific slope, that a native American "civilization" was at any time developed. Confining our attention for the moment to the first volume, we find that it consists of an ethnological introduction and six very full chapters, devoted respectively to the following groups of peoples: 1. Hyperboreans—the nations whose territory lies north of the fifty-fifth parallel; 2. Columbians, who dwell between the fifty-fifth and forty-second parallels, and whose lands, to some extent, are drained by the Columbia River and its tributaries; 3. Californians and the inhabitants of the Great Basin; 4. New Mexicans, including the nations of the Colorado River and Northern Mexico; 5. Wild Tribes of Mexico; and, 6. Wild Tribes of Central America. In Chapter II., the author takes up the Hyperboreans, and an account of his method here will give us a correct idea of his method throughout the volume. The chapter occupies a hundred and fifteen pages, and describes (1) the Eskimos, (2) the Koniagas, (3) the Aleuts, (4) the Thlinkeets, and (5) the Tinneh. After a brief but vivid sketch of the physical features of the broad domain occupied by these nations, a detailed account is given of the Eskimos in their geo-

* 'The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America. By Hubert Howe Bancroft.' Vol. I.: Wild Tribes: pp. xlix.-797. Vol. II.: Civilized Nations; pp. x.-805. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

graphical position, their tribal divisions, their physical characteristics, their dress, dwellings, food, employments, property, family relations, customs, amusements, diseases, etc., etc. Then follows a similar account of the Koniagas, in which the same points, as nearly as possible, are gone over, the topics this time being as follows: Tribal subdivisions, location, territory and climate, physique, dress, houses, food, employments, war customs, implements, government, domestic manners and morals, superstitions, and burial customs. The Aleuts are next described—the same ground being traversed again—and then the two remaining peoples, the Thlinkeets and the Tinneh. All this is followed at the end of the chapter by twelve pages of fine print, devoted to a more definite account of "tribal boundaries." The names of the various tribes composing each "nation" are given in full, together with the most minute geographical descriptions, supported by profuse references to the various authors who have described these peoples, or referred to them in the slightest way. In Chapter III., the same routine is followed in describing the second great group of races, the Columbians. In the thirty pages at the end devoted to an account of tribal boundaries, there must be several hundred tribal names enumerated, and as many references to travellers, philologists, and other authors. These geographical sections of the first volume have all the minuteness and completeness of a gazetteer, and possess about the same degree of interest for the general reader.

This method of treatment, carried through all the eight hundred pages of the volume, certainly produces a strong impression of sameness. The hasty reader, having glanced through one or two chapters, will be likely to say to himself, "Ex uno disce omnes," and to lay aside the portly volume for something lighter and more diverting. The author seems to have feared such a verdict, for he says in his preface: "There may be an appearance of repetition [in the first volume], but I trust this may be found more apparent than real. Although there are many similar customs, there are also many minor differences, and no delineation has been repeated where a necessity did not appear to exist" (p. xi.) In this as in every other respect he has been loyal to his design—namely, not to theorize, but to collect and report facts, and to do this in the fullest and most accurate way. He would have found it far easier to attract the attention of the multitude by proclaiming on his title-page some new-fangled hypothesis in relation to the origin of the American races, and constructing his book so as to support it by facts picked out here and there from the mass of recorded information; but instead of this he has confined himself to the less popular but more useful task of "gathering and arranging in systematic, compact form all that is known of these people." And for this he deserves great credit; for the course pursued is one which, on the one hand, requires no little self-denial, and, on the other, produces in the long run the most valuable results. What is most wanted to-day in the domain of ethnology, and especially in the American field, is diligent work, with this as a dominant purpose: to convert the study of the human race (as some one has expressed it) from a branch of speculative philosophy into a branch of positive science. As the German ethnologist, Dr. A. Bastian, so constantly insists, one of the vices of modern science is the proneness to build imposing theories on imperfectly ascertained data. It is a mistake which students of American ethnology have very persistently committed, from the days of Grotius, or, in fact, of Columbus, until now; and, if we may judge from the wild vagaries of some of the latest writers, it is an almost incurable vice. It is a comfort to find that Mr. Bancroft recognizes, what ought to be obvious to all, that the accumulation of materials should precede the building-up of a theory. He expresses a very humble estimate of his labors, or rather of his function, saying that his "is the labor of the artisan rather than the artist, a forging of weapons for abler hands to wield, a producing of raw materials for skilled mechanics to weave and color at will." But he knows as well as any man that such work as this, at the present stage of ethnological research, is the highest, because the most timely and useful. What he has done for the Pacific slope is what just now requires doing on the largest scale for the entire continent. Let us first have all the ascertainable facts, and let the solvent theories be brought forward with due modesty afterwards.

Such being our author's aim, all that can be fairly asked of him is thoroughness in his report of accessible facts, and if possible a broad but simple scheme of classification. If he had chosen for his "public" the very limited class of scientists who are likely to make use of his facts and work them up, and had composed his book accordingly, no one could have blamed him. But, instead of this, he has written for the people, and produced a highly interesting work. He not only opens to the reader a mine of materials, he raises before his eyes a shapely fabric. Partly because of its literary and æsthetic qualities, but chiefly because of the novelty and freshness of the facts, this account of the wild tribes of Western America is readable throughout, and in some places fascinating. The tribes of the Atlantic coast and the Mississippi Valley have been so fully described in popular compilations that their history and customs are tolerably well known to the average American school-boy. But here the reader enters a new field, and is surprised and interested at each step by some physical or mental trait, some curious social custom, some startling virtue or vice, of a people of whose very existence, perhaps, he was previously unaware. How interesting, for example, is the detailed account (pp. 227–8) of the strange custom of flattening the head, which prevails among the Chinooks and other nations further north. "Failure properly to mould the cranium of her offspring gives to the Chinook matron the reputation of a lazy and undutiful mother, and subjects the neglected children to the ridicule of their young companions; so despotic is fashion." How strange, again, in the account of the Mosquito Indians (p. 744) is the practice attributed to widows, and how uncivilized the devotion thus exemplified: "Widows, according to some old writers, after supplying the grave with food for a year, take up the bones and carry them on the back in the daytime and sleep with them at night for another year, after which they are placed at the door or upon the house-top," which last is probably equivalent to the civilized custom of stowing away the portrait of a "deceased partner" in the garret. How unique, again, are the regulations which prevailed in ancient Nicaragua for the government of the markets (II. p. 737): "*Men* could not visit the market-place of their own town, either to buy or sell, or for any other purpose; they even incurred the risk of receiving a sound beating if they so much as peeped in to see what was going on. All the business was transacted by the women." Again, how useful it would be to an able lawyer, if making a dissertation, for instance, upon the word "cuckold," to know that "in some parts of the [Aztec] empire the husband who cohabited with his wife after it had been proved that she had violated her fidelity, was severely punished" (p. 466); and, on the other hand, how convenient for quotation by the opposing counsel would be this statement relating to the ancient Mayas (p. 673): "It sometimes happened that the husband did not report the matter to the authorities, but gave his unfaithful wife a bird of a kind which was used in sacrifices, and told her to offer it to the gods, and, with her companion in crime, to confess and be forgiven. Such a husband was regarded as a most virtuous and humane man." And finally—not to cull too many items—what a godsend it must be to the humorists of the provincial press to learn (I. p. 351) "that a Modoc may kill his mother-in-law with impunity" "Of late years," your humorist will exclaim, "these Modocs have been looked upon as a hard set; but let us bear in mind that there is no race or tribe, however low, but has its redeeming traits!"

Mr. Bancroft's first volume, while possessing, as we have remarked, not a few popular characteristics, is nevertheless somewhat too heavily freighted with geographical and other details, with comparatively trivial items in the text, and multiplied references in foot-notes, to become a really popular work. Not less than a hundred and twenty pages in small type are devoted to a description of tribal boundaries; and the body of each chapter is frequently too much like these supplementary portions, in the dryness of the details, to be very attractive to ordinary readers. But when we pass to the second volume of the work we enter a quite different realm, and find ourselves in a different literary atmosphere. To this second volume we propose to do justice in our next issue.

## ASSYRIAN HISTORY.*

THE series to which this little volume belongs seems destined to prove that the qualities requisite for original research are not often combined with the ability to communicate the results of research. A few weeks since we noticed Dr. Birch's 'History of Egypt,' finding in it much to condemn, but little to praise; we regret to say that Mr. Smith's 'Assyria,' though not marred by some of the more glaring faults of its predecessor, has little to merit positive approbation.

Mr. Smith is known as one of the most ardent and successful of a band of scholars who have opened a new chapter in human history. It is scarcely thirty years since Sir Henry Rawlinson, by publishing to the world his copy and translation of the great Behistun inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes, gave the key to the strange cuneiform characters used of old in the basin of the Euphrates. The success with which his labors have been followed up is one of the creditable triumphs of modern scholarship, and through it we are rapidly obtaining an intimate knowledge not only of the annals

* 'Ancient History from the Monuments. Assyria, from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Nineveh. By George Smith.' 1 vol. 12mo. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1876.

but also of the literature and institutions of one of the primitive civilizations of the world, affording material of incalculable interest to complete our records in many departments of human progress. The inseparable relations, moreover, of Chaldea and Assyria with the origin and history of the Jews lend unsurpassed interest to the fragmentary tablets and inscriptions so strangely disinterred and deciphered after an oblivion of three or four thousand years; and the public at large was quite ready to share the enthusiasm of the learned when, two or three years ago, Mr. Smith discovered in the British Museum, and completed by excavations at Kuyunzhik, the Deluge Tablets, or Legends of Izdubar, which so remarkably confirmed the accuracy of Berosus in recording the traditions of his race, and presented such startling points of difference and concord with the Mosaic history.

A book which, within a moderate compass, should give a clear and connected view of what has been won to historical knowledge from the cuneiform inscriptions, elucidated by what is known from other sources, would be a boon for which the public might reasonably be grateful; but this Mr. Smith has not given us. Construing his task in the strictest sense, he has written "the History of Assyria from the monuments," and nothing else, and thus has presented us with a bald and lifeless collection of details, from which all that is most interesting is carefully eliminated. The history of Babylon is so closely connected with that of Assyria by the identity of the dominant Semitic race, by the community of language, religion, and institutions, and by the alternate supremacy of one region over the other, that separation between the two is incompatible with satisfactory treatment of the history of either. In fact, they are so generally classed together that we naturally expected Mr. Smith's volume to contain a condensed view of Mesopotamian history as a whole. In this we are disappointed, and the fragment here presented is a mistake in a double sense—in its conception and in the order of its appearance.

The absurdity of endeavoring to treat the countries separately is manifested at the very start, where Mr. Smith states (p. 22), as the first positive fact known of Assyria, that it was governed in the XIXth century B.C. "by a ruler named Ismi-dagan." Now Ismi-dagan, as shown by an inscription published elsewhere by Mr. Smith himself, was a Chaldean potentate, "supreme over Ur and Eridu, king of Sumir and Accad." Yet in the text before us nothing is said to show that under him both countries constituted a single empire. But if Nineveh is to be treated thus separately from Babylon, the history of the elder sister should precede that of the younger. That Mr. Smith proposes to write a work on Babylonia is to be inferred from a remark on p. 52, and, if he does so, we trust he will give us what is needed to the proper understanding of the present volume—a résumé of what is known as to the origin, the arts, the literature, and the institutions of the various races, Turanian, Semitic, and Aryan, who so strangely came together in the land of Sumir and Accad, and whose wonderful civilization has so powerfully influenced the world from the dawn of history down to the present time. Of all this we have nothing here save a brief introductory chapter, which is unsatisfactory in the extreme, and another near the end on the buildings and library of Assurbanipal.

In fact, the work consists of little more than a dry paraphrase of the inscriptions in which the Assyrian conquerors were wont boastfully to record their successive campaigns. A literal translation of these documents has an interest from the wild, poetical strain in which they are conceived and the insight they afford us into the habits and modes of thought of the period; but, when stripped of these attractions and reduced to a catalogue of the rude tribes and ruder chiefs, for the most part impossible of identification, whom Sargon or Esarhaddon or Sennacherib overthrew and stripped of their herds and treasures in forays which were often scarcely more than cattle-lifting raids, they are of little interest to the general reader, and possess little value for the historical student.

Yet of such material is a large part of the volume composed, and so strictly does Mr. Smith construe his duty to adhere to the "monuments" that, except an occasional reference to parallel passages in Scripture and a few paragraphs relative to Assurbanipal's campaigns in Egypt and the conquest of Nineveh by Cyaxares and Nabopolassar, he seems to reject on principle all information from other sources that would throw light upon the subject in hand. Thus the Egyptian domination over Babylon and Nineveh is naturally not a subject that would be chronicled in Assyrian inscriptions, and yet ought not to be passed over in silence in a history of Assyria. That Assyria was tributary to Egypt, with occasional intervals, at least from the time of Thotmes III. to that of Rameses II., or from the XVIIth to the XIIth century B.C., is a fact as well ascertained as any other in the annals of those distant times; but it is recorded by the Egyptians and not by the Assyrians. Mr. Smith accordingly passes it over virtually in silence, giving no intimation that Assyria ever felt the yoke of an Egyptian invader, beyond the remark that "the armies of the Pharaohs . . . sometimes advanced to Nineveh," though the subsequent triumphs of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon are duly blazoned forth. Indeed, as though to show his contempt for Egyptian archæology, Mr. Smith more than once (pp. 104, 109) speaks in true Scriptural style of "Pharaoh, king of Egypt," as though "Pharaoh" was a proper name.

In the same way, he positively asserts that "we know nothing" of the events which led to the downfall of Assur-nirari II. (Sardanapalus) and the accession of the new dynasty of Tiglath-Pileser II., making no allusion to the generally received account of the attack on Nineveh by Cyaxeres the Mede and Phul of Babylon, nor giving any reason for discrediting it.

The book being thus little more than a classified arrangement of the purely historical inscriptions and tablets deciphered to the present time, has its value for students who desire to possess, in a compendious form, the absolute results of contemporary investigation into the names and deeds of the Assyrian monarchs, but this value is seriously impaired by the absence of all explanation as to the uncertainty of Assyrian nomenclature. The phonetic values of the cuneiform symbols are still but imperfectly understood, and it is only about six months since that Mr. Smith himself announced that it would be proper in some cases to read the name of the Moon-god as "Agu" in place of the received form "Sin," and that this syllable would accordingly have to be changed in the composition of proper names, which, among the Assyrians, were so frequently compounded from the names of deities. This uncertainty as to the form of Assyrian names is a serious stumbling-block to the student, and Mr. Smith would have done well to devote a page or two to explanations whereby the reader could identify persons and places as rendered by different authorities. Mr. H. Fox Talbot, for instance, gives as *Khaluli* the name of the battle-field where Sennacherib routed the Babylonians and Elamites, while Mr. Smith renders it *Hulule*. The Rev. A. H. Sayce, in his translation of the inscription of Rimmon-nirari gives Bel-sumili-capi as the name of the founder of the Assyrian monarchy, while Mr. Smith uses the form Bel-kapkapu. M. F. Lenormant writes as Samas-bin, Binlikhous, and Assouredilili the monarchs whom Mr. Smith transliterates as Samsi-vul, Vul-nirari, and Assur-dan—forms which are not easy of reciprocal identification. These are difficulties in the path of the student which Mr. Smith is thoroughly qualified to remove, and to which he would do well to pay attention in a second edition.

It is perhaps too much to expect the graces of style from a scholar whose days and nights are passed in solving the abstruse problems presented by thousands of fragments of clay tablets and cylinders inscribed with the enigmatic and almost illegible cuneiform characters, and yet, when the reader is asked to pick his way through such sentences as—"Yavan now set to work to raise a confederacy against Assyria, and led the Philistines to revolt, and joined with Judah, then ruled by Hezekiah, Moab, and Edom" (p. 109); or this: "Muttallu, King of Kummuha, who had revolted against Assyria, and trusted to Argisti, King of Ararat, but when the Assyrians advanced against him, Argisti did not help him, and he fled and left his country, which was reduced to the condition of an Assyrian province, and peopled by the prisoners from Bit-yakin" (p. 112)—he may reasonably suggest that when such scholars are requested to work for the public at large some ordinary critic of English could be profitably employed to revise the MS. and reduce to order the struggling mob of vocables.

In the interest of the reader, we would also protest against such books being issued without any of the usual facilities for reference. If an index or even a table of contents is too expensive a luxury, at all events the "running head" at the top of the pages might be economically used to give some indication of the contents, and aid the student in finding his way. Two hundred and two repetitions of the words "History of Assyria" is a poor compensation for the absence of every means of referring to the mass of details crowded together within the covers of the volume. It is, moreover, an injustice to the author of a work on a subject so rapidly growing, for the publishers to anticipate by nearly six months the date of 1876 on the title-page, especially when there is no date to the preface.

Mr. Smith, we believe, has just started on another expedition to the ruined cities of Mesopotamia. Grateful for what he has accomplished in the past, we wish him abundant success, and trust that his next appearance will be in announcing fresh and important accessions to our knowledge of Assyrian history, rather than in repeating efforts like the present, which he can well afford to leave to more skilful workmen and less patient scholars.

*The Bric-à-brac Hunter;* or, Chapters on Chinamania. By Major H. Byng Hall. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.)—The frontispiece to this volume represents the bric-à-brac hunter, who, as we may fairly suppose, is none other than the author, seated in a room filled to overflowing with the glorious spoils of his campaigns, which, as he tells us at page 14, "are to him as are his scalps to the Indian warrior," trophies of victory. His air of indifference indicates, if we may hazard the conjecture, that, like most collectors, he is so fully convinced of the genuineness and great value of the Oriental porcelain, pictures, clocks, tabourets, carved cabinets, etc., etc., with which he is surrounded, as to be careless of the world's opinion. That they are the choicest of the choice, and that consequently if by some untoward chance they should be thrown into the market, amateurs of bric-à-brac would pay fabulous sums for them, we do not permit ourselves to doubt; but, if this be the case, we could wish that the book in which the Major tells us about some of his journeyings in quest of them were a little more of their quality, as it would have been had it contained less sketchy gossip, not quite so many stories without point (such as that in Chapter VI. about the Palissy dish, which fills seven pages and has no dénouement), and none of certain jokes which, like the fish in the negro story related at page 230, have been out of the sea so long that they have grown somewhat stale.

The several chapters headed Stamboul, Berlin, Dresden, St. Petersburg, Paris, London, etc., etc., contain some of the author's experiences as a bric-à brac hunter in these cities; histories of such famous porcelain manufactories as those of Meissen, Capo di Monte, Doccia, etc., etc, and of their founders; and dissertations upon travelling as it was and as it is, with other digressions not always intimately connected with the subject-matter. We find nowhere any such graphic picture of an old curiosity-shop as we had hoped for, and miss the familiar names of such renowned dealers—the aristocracy of their craft—as Alessandro Castellani, Baslini, Feuardent, and others whom we might mention. These omissions are hardly made up for by the names and addresses of a few sellers of bric à-brac at Marseilles, St. Petersburg, and other cities, or by the long story of the grocer at Rome (p. 203) who sold the articles of his trade in the lower story, and Wedgwood cups above-stairs. We are tempted to believe that Major Byng Hall, staying at Rome but a few days, never found his way to the doors of Depoletti or Basseggio, and that he left the city before it had begun to bewitch him as it does all who tarry long enough within its gates. In recognition of its cumulative power of attraction, it is said that Pius IX. is wont to shape his words at parting with a foreigner according to his answer to this question: How long have you been at Rome? Should the response be, "A week, Santità," the Pope says, "Adieu"; but should it be "A year," he says, "Au revoir." Certain it is that either because he travelled too rapidly, or for some unknown cause of grievance, not only Rome and Naples and Florence, but Italy generally, found small favor in the author's sight. He finds "its natural beauties and climate overrated by the holiday traveller" (see page 185), although he grudgingly allows that "a few months of a man's life may be passed there with considerable gratification."

Heartily agreeing with him in his protestation against fashion as determining the purchase at high prices of such specimens of pottery and porcelain as are only of value when serving as historical links in large collections, and being entirely of his opinion that fashion is one of the most odious words in the English language, we do not sympathize with our author in his appreciation of majolica, or in his extravagant estimate of Chelsea, Buen Retiro, Capo di Monte, Meissen, and Wedgwood, as the greatest triumphs of ceramic art. All these have their excellences, it is true, but none of them are above criticism. The three qualities which give value to a piece of porcelain are form, design, and color. If these are united in it, it is perfect; if but two, then, though precious, it is imperfect; if it can boast but one, it is still more so; and if none of the three, then it is worthless, save perhaps from a historical point of view. Now, we humbly submit that nothing can be more meretricious than the taste shown in many Dresden groups of the best period; nothing worse in form and color than many pieces of Chelsea, Worcester, and Berlin; and nothing more incorrect in treatment than those Saxon, Prussian, Russian, and Sèvres plates, cups, and dishes which are decorated with landscapes and figures, painted in a naturalistic spirit. Compared with a Greco-Etruscan *tazza*, a tile from Damascus, or any object correctly decorated, their inferiority is apparent.

The book before us does not, for the reasons which we have given, seem to us to come up to the ideal standard of a treatise upon a very rich subject. If that book be ever written, its author will, we fancy, be a man who, besides having the enthusiasm of Major Byng Hall, can write with all the terseness and point of a Martial, or with the picturesque feeling, the power of imagination, and the minuteness of detail of a Balzac. Both the Latin epigrammatist and the French novelist have dealt with bric-à-brac hunting and hunters in a manner which leaves little to be desired.

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*The Skull and Brain: Their Indications of Character and Anatomical Relations.* By Nicholas Morgan. (London: Longmans, Green & Co.)—This little book is a short defence and exposition of phrenology, with a very fair and exact account of the topography of the brain's surface and its relations to the topography of the skull. Unlike many of his brethren at the present day, Mr. Morgan seems to be an educated man, conscious of the provisional nature of formulas in general and of the formulas of his own art in particular. "Phrenology," he says, "has at the present time no legitimate claim to be a complete system of mental science. . . . Gall and his disciples have possibly fallen into the common error of partisan propagandists, and hoisted their colors too high, and so they may have to lower them a little; but the time for pooh-poohing phrenology is past, and that for investigation is present." Had Gall "only spoken positively of cranial *indications* of special talents, emotions, aptitudes, and tendencies, and omitted for the time being treating of *organ* and *faculty*, a deal of adverse criticism would have been avoided. . . . Even now this course is advisable, for it would appear that we are on the eve of a revolution in cerebral physiology. . . . "

If more phrenologists would talk in this way, fewer "scientific" men would quarrel with them; for we suppose few would feel themselves entitled to deny that the configuration of the skull is symptomatic of the mental character in at least equal measure with the shape of the features, or the hands, or the nature of the "temperament." Viewed in this way, interpretation of the head might lead to a very fairly solid and even useful art, without in the least imitating a science of character. That could only be based on the discovery of the elementary psychic factors of character, on the one hand, and of the elementary organs and processes upon which each of these is conditioned, on the other. Now, from the psychical point of view, the analysis which phrenology makes of the "faculties" is in many points almost grotesque; whilst the ascription of some of them, like concentrativeness, weight, comparison, firmness, energy, according to Mr. Morgan, etc., to localized centres in the brain is wholly so. Mr. Bain's admirable book "on the study of character" has thrown a flood of light over this whole matter, and it is a great pity that the present author evades what, as an apologist, should be his main duty, when he says that the work of Bain is "too exclusively psychological" to come within the province of his present defence. The appreciation of *weight*, for example, is due to the sensitiveness of the muscular innervation, and must be a general property of all the motor centres of the brain, not a small patch above the orbit. "Concentrativeness," or "continuitiveness," as our author calls it, firmness, energy, and so on, are general modes affecting all the tendencies to action of an individual. It is much more plausible to consider them as due to a quality of his cerebral tissue, giving it a peculiar aptitude for a certain *form* of movement, than to imagine them separately located faculties. The only "faculties" it is easy to conceive of as distinctly localized are those of particular sensations and of particular propensities or tendencies to act. These are elements properly so-called. The character of the combinations they incline to enter into in the individual (constituting his comparison, causality, etc.) and the form of his mental movement (his firmness, etc.) would seem due to the *relations* in the brain between the centres for these elements. How to conceive the physical basis of such "sentiments" as "inhabitiveness" or even "self-esteem" is a much harder matter; but most of these sentiments are very complex things. We observe that Mr. Morgan has made a complex thing of alimentiveness by yoking a "bibativeness" (*sic*) to it. This to account for the vice of drunkenness, we suppose, though there never was a clearer case than this of a "faculty" being due not to an organ but to a *condition* of the nervous system. We have heard a phrenologist gravely contend that the relative strength of the gluttonous or the bibulous bump in the opium debauchee will determine whether he eats opium pills or drinks laudanum drops!

"Language" is a complex faculty which the phrenologists have conglomerated. If any one wishes a foretaste of what a really scientific phrenology may some day become—anatomy, pathology, experimental physiology, and psychology, all lending each other a helping hand—let him read a little pamphlet by Dr. Wernicke, of Breslau, called 'Der aphasische Symptomencomplex,' of which a good abstract appeared in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* for May 20, 1875. The difference between a crude empiric art like phrenology as it now is and real scientific method could not be better shown.

*Whip and Spur.* By Geo. E. Waring, jr. (Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1875.)—Colonel Waring has collected into this little volume a series of sketches almost all of which had before appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*. They have to do mainly with horses and riding, and one or two contain interesting biographies of animals that were particular favorites of the author. He has the art of inspiring in the reader some of his own interest in a horse, and has remarkable facility in describing everything relating to the noble art of horsemanship. During the war he had command of a force of cavalry in the Southwest, and from his account the campaigning must have been very agreeable—at least, at times when it consisted of galloping over a pretty country, mounted on a fine horse, and having an inexhaustible number of opportunities of leaping over every sort of obstacle, surmountable and insurmountable. Unquestionably, the life of a cavalry officer is the poetry of war. Colonel Waring gives also an account of an English fox-hunt, which is more comprehensible than most accounts of the sport, because it does not take for granted that you know all about it beforehand.

*The Law of Literature.* By J. Appleton Morgan. Vol. I. (New York: J. Cockcroft & Co.)—By the "law of literature," any one might suppose that Mr. Morgan meant the law of copyright, but he has made this term very comprehensive, and as used by him it covers not merely that, but the law of libel and slander, the law of contempt of court, and also the law of the restrictions on publication arising out of the regard the courts pay to public morality. Mr. Morgan puts an imaginary production of a literary nature through a sort of judicial examination, the first question propounded being as to the "innocence" of the thing, the second as to its "originality," the third as to whether it is libellous, the fourth whether it is in contempt of court. Now, this is all very well as a series of imaginary tests, but it shows a good deal of confusion in Mr. Morgan's mind to bring together all the cases touching upon these various divisions of the law and call it the law of literature. Merely because it is possible to commit a contempt of court in writing, or by posting up a notice on a wall to the effect that such-and-such a judge is in the habit of taking bribes, we have a whole chapter of cases relating to contempt of court. But the connection between contempts and literature is purely accidental, and it merely obscures the whole matter to treat the two as if they were closely related. So, too, an action for defamation of character has its origin in the damage supposed to be done the character, and is only connected with literature by treating a libel or published slander as necessarily in writing, and therefore literary in character. But a group of statuary might easily be libellous quite as well as a book; yet it would be a curious proceeding on that account to write a book on the "Law of Statuary" or the "Law of Art," and make slander and libels one of its subdivisions. Mr. Morgan has, however, no doubt collected in his volume a large number of important and some quite recent cases, and it will therefore be found of value to practising lawyers.

*Butler's Pictorial History of the United States.* With maps and illustrations. By John A. Stewart, principal of the Reading, Pa., High School. (Philadelphia: J. H. Butler & Co. 12mo, pp. 300.)—It is hard to see why this is called a *pictorial* history, for its illustrations do not differ essentially either in number or character from what we are familiar with in school histories of the United States. They are, to be sure, rather better engraved than is usual, but we do not see that they show any better appreciation of the part that illustrations may properly take in education. Pictures have no business in a school-book unless they either convey knowledge to the pupil's mind or stimulate his imagination. Some of the illustrations in this book are excellent and appropriate; such are "The First Railroad" (p. 202), "Western Emigration" (p. 237), and "Fight of the *Merrimac* and *Monitor*" (p. 261). But the majority are simply agreeable pictures, and some of them not even that. It is an outrage to the child to put such a picture before him as the "Murder of Miss McCrea" (p. 130). The maps are very good, the portraits so-so. We have said so much about illustrations because this is the side by which the book chooses to place itself before us, and because it is a department of the school-book of which our American publishers—of histories, at least—have scarcely shown the glimmering of an idea. In other respects, the book stands fairly enough among its fellows, better than some, not so good as some. The arrangement of the Colonial History—geographical, beginning with the New England colonies—we consider decidedly faulty; and we trust that the practice of marking words for pronunciation has here reached its highest point—Ghil'-bert, Rŏb'-in-son, Charlz'-town, and Yoo'-rōpe.

*Almanach des Spectacles.* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles; New York: F. W. Christern. 1875. Pp. 181.)—This is the first volume of a promised annual issue, in continuation of the series bearing the same name, forty-eight volumes of which were published at yearly intervals, with occasional intermissions, between 1752 and 1815. The five hundred copies to which the edition is limited have been beautifully printed by M. Jouast. A delicate etching of M. Mounet-Sully, by M. Léon Gaucherel, is prefixed. Like its predecessors, this dainty little volume has nothing of the almanac but the name. It is a carefully-compiled theatrical record and dramatic bibliography of the French stage for the year 1874. It contains a complete list of the staff and company of the twenty-seven theatres of Paris, with the pieces played therein; particulars, less full, of the seventeen suburban theatres and of the twenty other places of amusement in Paris; a list of the plays originally produced in the eighteen principal provincial theatres; the roll of the members of the Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs Dramatiques; a list of all the theatrical and musical critics of the Parisian press; a record of official decrees and of competitions and awards; a bibliography and the necrology of the year.

After the Opéra, the place of honor belongs of right to the Comédie-Française, at which there were performed, during 1874, eighty-five plays by forty-nine authors. Seven tragedies were played. Only two pieces were entirely new, one of which was the "Sphinx" of M. Octave Feuillet; two other plays were produced for the first time at this theatre, including the "Demi-Monde" of the younger Dumas. Molière is the author most often represented; fifteen of his plays were performed in all one hundred times. Next came M. Feuillet with five pieces and one hundred and twenty-five performances, and M. Emile Augier with six pieces and eighty-two performances. The statistics of the other theatres are given with less fulness. It is perhaps interesting to note that over one hundred operas, French and Italian, grand, comic, and bouffe, were produced in Paris during 1874, nearly half of them for the first time. This 'Almanach des Spectacles' is a valuable little volume; the editors, MM. P. Milliet and Soubies, have done excellently what was well worth doing.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adams (C. F.), Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. VII.....(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Allen and Greenough, Preparatory Course of Latin Prose.....(Ginn Bros.)
Caldwell (Prof. G. C.) and Breneman (Prof. A. A.), Introductory Chemical Practice ... (Ithaca)
Campbell (R.), Austin's Lectures on Jurisprudence, abridged.....(Henry Holt & Co.) 2 50

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*LECTURES ON JURISPRUDENCE.* The Philosophy of Positive Law. By John Austin. Abridged, for the use of students, by Robert Campbell. 8vo, cloth, $3.

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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE Democrats have done a good piece of work at Syracuse. The platform has again the remarkable merit of being plain, unadorned English. It quotes the Baltimore planks of 1872 calling for the maintenance of the public credit and a speedy return to specie payments, ascribes the existing depression in business to "the reaction from the excessive stimulus of an unhealthy, excessive, depreciated, and irredeemable currency, to enormous ill-adjusted municipal, State, and Federal taxation, and to extravagance, waste, and peculation in the administration of public affairs"; draws a dark, but not over-dark, picture of the evils that would result from further inflation; and then reproduces the terse summary of Democratic doctrine, as understood in New York, contained in the State platform of last year; and after a loud blast of the party horn in honor of Governor Tilden, presents a ticket, all things considered, of unusual excellence. It proposes Mr. John Bigelow for Secretary of State, who is well-known as former editor of the *Evening Post*, more recently Minister to France, and now Chairman of the Commission investigating the State canals; Mr. Lucius Robinson for Comptroller, who won so much honor by his paying the State interest in coin, in the teeth of much obloquy, when Comptroller in 1862. In 1863 he was again elected Comptroller on the Republican ticket, and has since lived in retirement. The candidate for the Attorney-Generalship is a young lawyer who is earning a good deal of credit in the prosecution of the Canal Ring; and the others are, if not equally well-known, thoroughly respectable. Mr. Van Buren, who is proposed for State Engineer, is now a member of the Investigating Commission.

The difficulties of the Republican press in dealing with both the platform and the ticket are very interesting, and are only equalled by its difficulty in dealing with Governor Tilden's pursuit of the Canal Ring. The position it has taken with regard to the latter is that all detection and prosecution of Canal thieves is mere vanity, if not wickedness, unless accompanied by the promulgation of a striking plan for the administration of the canals hereafter, and it deduces the covert immorality in the whole movement *à priori* from the inherent badness of Tilden's nature. Of the platform and ticket it can only say that the very goodness of both is simply a cover for a renewed assault on human rights and the Constitutional Amendments. The unwillingness of the Republicans to have the Democrats get good, in fact, reminds one of the old Connecticut deacon who told the young scamp who wanted to reform and join the church that there "wasn't any vacancy in his church just then, but that when there was he'd let him know."

What makes the position of the Democrats in this State so trying to Republicans is that they are doing what the Republicans have wholly failed to do—viz., producing a candidate for the Presidency whose pretensions are really formidable, and grow more formidable every month. Mr. Tilden had already fixed attention on himself in the fight against the Ring in this city by his wonderful adroitness and energy in accumulating proof of Tweed's guilt; and in his assault on the Canal thieves, he is overthrowing a combination which has really for years governed the State—or, in other words, doing what none of his predecessors ever showed the slightest sign of doing or capacity for doing. In addition to this, or perhaps through this, he has, all accounts agree, obtained almost despotic control of the party, and is using it to purify the nominations. The present ticket is emphatically his, and the appearance of Mr. Bigelow on it, after having decidedly refused a similar offer from the Republicans, is a sign of the times which no good Republican can contemplate without anguish. The explanation of this rise of Tilden is not far to seek. He has few of the external elements of popularity, but he has most of the others. His bodily presence is weak. The female Washington correspondents of the semi-religious press used to speak with great admiration of the effect of Mr. Conkling's "magnificent torso" in the Senate. Mr. Tilden has no "torso" worth mention, but he has a subtle, strong brain and immense capacity for business, and a shrewd, homely eloquence, which does its work without mixed metaphors, and he has prodigious experience as "a manager." In this art he could probably give all the Custom-house men daily lessons without neglecting his own duties. During the anti-slavery struggle or the sentimental period of politics, his incapacity to estimate the force of sentiment—or, in fact, the force of any purely moral ideas—kept him in the background and in pretty constant error and miscalculation. But with the advent of the business period he has rapidly and irresistibly come to the front, for, as a business man, he has probably few equals. In the kind of storms with which we are now threatened he will probably march over the mountain waves, which is rather mortifying for his rival, Mr. Conkling, who finds his "torso" and his rhetoric put away, even by his own party, in the lumber-room.

The call of Mr. Schurz, immediately after his arrival in this country, by the Ohio Republican Committee, to stump the State against Allen, is a curious sign of the times. Three years ago, when he began to draw attention to the abuses and tendencies which were then preparing the ruin of the party, part of the regular morning work of an "organ" was to vilify and deride him, and the Mortons and Logans and Conklings used to wag their heads in a wise, knowing way at the notion that "the great party" could be hurt by such puny assaults, and used to talk as if it was a good thing for men like Schurz to leave it. He had last winter, too, to bear the main brunt of the attacks made on the public credit by Republican senators, whose speeches are now being used as campaign documents by the inflationists in Pennsylvania and Ohio. One cannot help thinking now, however, that the bungling of the Republican chiefs with the currency, and the efforts of some of them to play fast and loose with it, are likely to prove blessings in disguise, by enabling it to get rid of them.

Massachusetts has always had a good, and at times a brilliant, reputation for the ability and statesmanship of the politicians she has produced. It cannot be said, however, that a continuance of this reputation is to be inferred from the list of her eminent men of the last ten years. Governor Andrew was the last public leader of enlightened and comprehensive views she has produced; his successors, though respectable in character, were in no way fitted to make the State take her proper place. The two prominent candidates for Governor, meanwhile, have been General Butler and Dr. George B. Loring; while at Washington the State has been represented most prominently by Messrs. Boutwell and Richardson, who, between them, managed to get the currency into such a condition that Mr. Boutwell is forced into the position of denouncing in the Ohio canvass the very policy which he himself introduced into the Treasury; by Mr. Dawes, the "watch-dog" of Mr. Boutwell's department, who owes his seat in great measure to the favor of General Butler, obtained while the General was fastening his leech, Sanborn, upon the public purse; by Oakes Ames, who employed his talents in bribing Congressmen to help him get money of the Government for the Pacific railroads; and by the Messrs. Hoar, who have defended a policy toward the South which the Administration has been forced by public opinion to abandon. Meanwhile, the men who have really done the State honor, whether in the war or in the public service, have been steadily thrust into the background, and it has been left to the "papers" to recall their forgotten

claims to the people whom they have faithfully and modestly served. Much as has been said, and justly, of the lowness of New York politics, we doubt if any party in this State would dare to put forward as a candidate such a man as Dr. Loring.

Governor Ames, of Mississippi, is experiencing great difficulties, on which we have commented elsewhere, in his efforts to procure "more troops." He first tried to get them under the President's old proclamation of nine months ago, and failing this asked for them because the legislature could not be convened "in time" to meet the emergency. Mr. Pierrepont then asked him by telegraph on the 10th some disagreeable questions about the nature of "the emergency," but could get no satisfactory answer, and finally on the 14th inst. wrote him a letter, which to an old carpet-bagger must have been very distracting. He quotes the President as saying that "the whole public was tired out with these annual autumnal outbreaks at the South, and that the majority was ready to condemn any interference on the part of the Government," and suggesting "that Governor Ames should exhaust his own resources before receiving Government aid." Mr. Pierrepont then calls the Governor's attention to the fact that he (Pierrepont) has no proof, and no allegation even, that the legislature cannot be called together, and that, if called together, it would not support any measures Ames might propose to preserve public order; and he promises him troops when he has complied with the requirements of the Constitution, by either summoning the legislature or doing his best to suppress his "domestic violence" with the State forces. Ames, however, begs for the troops, and declares his willingness to have "the odium in all its magnitude descend on him," which must be satisfactory to the Administration.

The friends of Mr. Henry Ward Beecher in Brooklyn had determined, with that extraordinary fatuity which has all along marked their treatment of the Scandal, to hire the Academy of Music and give him a big reception when he came home from the Mountains, as an expression of "their just pride in the reputation he had deservedly won in his own and foreign lands, as far as Christian civilization extends." He has, however, very judiciously declined the proffered honor, for reasons which are none the less sensible or forcible for being enveloped in the peculiar rhetoric which the late trial has made famous. He thinks it would "tend to keep alive feelings that ought to subside, to renew discussions of painful public transactions which should never have had an existence, and which it were well, both for public and for private good, to have removed, if not to forgetfulness, at least to obscurity." We must say we think this argument tells with equal force against Mr. Beecher's mode of passing his summer. The notion that anything worthy of the name of religion could be spread abroad under the conditions attendant on the exercises at the Twin Mountain House is simply another result of the moral and mental miasma which produced the Scandal itself. The first sign of sanitary improvement in and about Plymouth Church will be the retirement of pastor and congregation as far as may be from the public gaze, and the general subsidence of vindicatory zeal and activity.

The trial of Harrington for the Safe robbery disclosed a very corrupt state of things in the District of Columbia, but the retirement of District-Attorney Fisher, which has just taken effect, shows how much more the District resembled this city under the Ring than any one imagined. Fisher's son and late assistant has been arrested on the charge of abstracting from the office important papers, including warrants, informations, and appeal-bonds, mostly in prosecutions for selling liquor without license and other finable offences, but also in some criminal cases. Apparently, his object was to extort money. It is also alleged that in the case of a burglar he first released him by getting up a counterfeit responsible bail and then divided his plunder with him. There seems to be no doubt about his guilt. He made little concealment of his operations, and many of the missing papers have been traced to him and recovered.

The gold market continues to command unusual attention, not simply from Wall Street but from the mercantile community. Early in the year intelligent observers expressed the opinion that there might be serious trouble before the year was out on account of a reduction in the supply of gold in the market and in the Treasury. The reasons which supported this opinion were: (1) that the specie shipments to settle trade-indebtedness would be unusually large unless Europe took an extraordinary amount of our securities during the summer; (2) that if the Secretary held to the opinion that the 5-20 bonds bought in excess of sinking-fund requirements from the time Mr. Boutwell was secretary until now could not be entered to the account of the Sinking Fund, and that accordingly $30,000,000 additional bonds must be redeemed each year, the calling and redemption of these bonds would compel us to send to Europe, where a good part of the called bonds were held, a still further large amount of specie; and (3) that if Mr. Bristow attempted to carry out that section of the Sherman bill which authorized him to part with gold to secure silver to be coined and substituted for fractional currency, it would inevitably follow that in the specie shipments gold would take the place of silver to the amount which represented the silver held by the Government for coinage purposes. Unfortunately, Europe during the past six months has not taken from us as many of our securities as have been returned to us from there by reason of the Treasury redemptions of 5-20 bonds; and we have been compelled to ship as large an amount of specie as it was feared we might be. The Treasury, too, has bought $15,000,000 of silver, which might have been exported without any more inconvenience to the country than the export of the same amount of merchandise, and the gold sent in its place saved. The result has been that the stock of gold in the Treasury has been brought down, while that in the market is probably now not over $7,000,000.

The smallness of the stock of gold in the market furnishes abundant explanation of the high premium on gold, and of what is of still greater importance to mercantile interests—the distressing rates which obtain for its use; and these rates explain the unsettled condition of the foreign-exchange market, which has already become sufficiently bad to block practically the export trade. Looking about for relief, it is seen that none can be obtained from the Treasury, even if were desirable that it should come from that source, and that gold must be imported in order to furnish a sufficient supply of the money of the world to facilitate transactions in foreign exchange—that is, to permit of the sale of bills against shipments, which cannot otherwise be made, of grain, cotton, etc., which Europe is ready to buy, and wants. Accordingly, the rates of exchange have fallen during the week to the point which permits gold imports. Bankers estimate the amount of gold thus far sent from London at about $1,500,000, but more is expected—in fact, more is necessary to enable us to move such staple crops as cotton. With these commercial reasons for the price of gold, it will be seen that political considerations have not had much chance to make themselves felt. At the Stock Exchange speculation has been restricted. The tendency was to lower prices until the latter part of the week, when it was reversed. The money market is becoming firmer, and with the steady reduction in the bank reserve now going on, a 6 to 7 per cent. market is expected in a few weeks. The only thing that can prevent it will be stagnation in trade, and from present appearances trade will be good unless upset by the disturbances growing out of the gold market.

The Guibord case in Canada still excites discussion, and the more it is discussed, the worse figure the Church cuts in it. It appears that a literary society—the Institut Canadien—got into a quarrel with the Bishop over their library, which he said contained infidel or immoral books, one of them thus objected to being something of Horace Greeley's on religious liberty. They appealed to Rome against him; but the Papal Court took no notice of the matter until the Bishop went over himself, and he was then allowed to

send home a decision in favor of himself and against the Institut in a pastoral letter; and he ordered his priests to refuse the members the sacraments, even in the article of death, for having such a library, and for publishing or reading an 'Annuaire' of 1863. The Society, therefore, gave up the 'Annuaire,' and declared by resolution that "they were a purely literary and scientific body and taught no doctrine of any kind, and carefully excluded all teaching of pernicious doctrine." This, instead of pacifying the Bishop, enraged him; for this resolution, he declared, "established the principle of religious toleration, which had been the principal ground of the condemnation of the Institut." Guibord died in 1869 without the sacraments; his wife sought to have him buried in the cemetery, which was not then consecrated, but was refused, and after much vexation she became insane, and died also; but the Institut carried the case up to the Privy Council, which decided that under the old French ecclesiastical law, to which the Bishop had appealed, and which had been reserved by the Treaty of Cession to Great Britain, Guibord, if not excommunicated, was entitled to burial in the Catholic burying-ground; and they decided that under the canon law he had not been excommunicated, as in order to deprive a person of his ecclesiastical rights excommunication must be formal and personal, and cannot reach a man as a member of a category. While the case was before the Privy Council the church consecrated the cemetery, hoping thus to make its case stronger, and since the decision the Bishop has tried to escape its effects by declaring his intention to curse that portion of the cemetery in which Guibord may be interred. In the meantime, it has been discovered that only twenty-three men of the Montreal police can be relied on to put down a religious riot. It is worthy of note that the Bishop assumes in this controversy that a Catholic has no right to belong to a club whose library may contain books of which he (the Bishop) pleases to disapprove, even though he does not read them, or to a society which agrees to exclude the teaching or recognition of religious doctrine.

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The Papal Nuncio at Madrid, who is, strictly speaking, the ambassador of a foreign prince, has just addressed a circular to the bishops within the kingdom which furnishes an excellent illustration of the way in which the Church adapts its pretensions to its surroundings. We have as yet, it is true, only a telegraphic summary of it, but there can hardly be room for much error in stating its leading points. It claims the fulfilment of the concordat with the Spanish Government which forbids the worship of any non-Catholic denomination, and demands the transfer of the superintendence of popular education to the clergy, and the aid of the secular power in suppressing heretical teaching and literature, and declares that one of the causes of the civil war is the way in which religious unity has been misunderstood by previous governments. The address of the Nuncio directly to the Bishops, without the intervention of the Government to which he is accredited, is perhaps as daring an assertion of the Pope's claim to *imperium in imperio* as has been witnessed for a long while. Consequently, the only way to stop such things, and to bring the clergy in countries like Spain, where they have long enjoyed a sort of superiority to the law, to a realizing sense of their subjection to it, and to prevent their attempting to exercise an influence on politics hostile to the law, is the Bismarckian way. It undoubtedly seems hard to put bishops in jail, or expel them from the country for issuing circulars; but then it is not necessary to do it often. A few cases are all that is needed. As soon as it is found that the Government and the police are not frightened by cursing, the representative of God on earth dwindles into a plain citizen, who goes about his business like other people—silently, moderately, and with proper respect for the secular rights of his fellows, and keeps to himself whatever claims he may have to the government of the world.

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When the late M. Coquerel passed away, he left his co-religionaries, the Liberal French Protestants, in great distress of mind. Our readers may remember that the last French Ministry but one chose to insist upon the powers of the orthodox Synod over the whole French Protestant body. As a consequence, it refused to confirm the election of Liberal pastors when conducted in disregard of an oath or shibboleth which the Synod sought to impose. New elections had been ordered when the Ministry went out of office, but M. Wallon, the new Minister of Public Worship, suspended them, and submitted the question of the legality of the elections to the Council of State. The Council has been very tardy in acting on it (it has had since March last to reach it or to make up its mind), and, meantime, in the Liberal parishes services have been suspended, and the complete uncertainty as to their future has caused the greatest anxiety. This has now been relieved for the present by M. Wallon, who consents to cut the knot by a provisional confirmation of the pastors whose election is contested, provided that the consistories explicitly ask for it, and in each case acknowledge the arrangement to be purely temporary and in no way hampering the final decision of the Government. The compromise has been very gratefully accepted by the Liberals. Whether there is to be one or two Reformed Churches now depends on the Council and perhaps on M. Guillaume Guizot.

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Marshal MacMahon has done a good thing, and one which seems likely to have an excellent political effect, in dealing promptly with a very gross case of insubordination in the navy. Admiral de la Roncière-le-Noury, in command of the squadron in the Mediterranean, wrote a letter in reply to an invitation to a Bonapartist reunion, in which he declared in substance that his adhesion to the existing régime was only temporary; and, in substance, that he would support Marshal MacMahon as long as his administration gave him (the Admiral) satisfaction. Whereupon he was promptly ordered to strike his flag, and placed on the retired list. There could be nothing more dangerous in a country situated as France is than a disposition on the part of the army and navy to mix themselves up in politics and form preferences between governments. If this were once allowed to grow up, the reduction of the country to the condition of Spain would be only a question of time. Besides giving a most important lesson in discipline, the Marshal has of course by this act greatly conciliated the Republicans, and it will go far to convince men of all parties that they have at last got an honest man at the head of the administration.

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The news from Herzegovina is again conflicting, and is likely to be so for some time. There is evidently no considerable or organized body of insurgents in the field. The Turkish troops probably have things their own way wherever they move, but small guerilla parties have occasional successes, probably often against civilian Turks and Turkish villages, which keep hope and excitement alive. The foreign consuls are said to be making strong efforts at mediation, but are unsuccessful, owing to the simple fact that the insurgents have no responsible head whose authority is acknowledged or can make itself felt by the various bands. The news of late, it will be observed, comes now mainly from Servia, where there is a strong party intent on driving the Principality into hostilities with Turkey, but it has thus far only succeeded in carrying a non-committal address to the Prince in the legislature. If it be true, as is likely, that the Turks have now 50,000 men in Bosnia, the cause of the insurrection, in default of outside interference, is hopeless. Its only chance of success lay in bringing about a serious rising, and committing Servia and Montenegro before Turkey could reach the ground with reinforcements or Austria could interfere. The English and Continental press still discuss the affair with great animation, all being agreed that something must shortly be done about Turkey; but the only proposal that thus far has met with much favor is that Bosnia and Herzegovina should have a semi-independent administration, which would, of course, as in the case of Servia and Roumania, be simply a preliminary to total separation—a fact which the Ottoman Government perceives clearly.

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

IT is becoming every day clearer that the two great political parties are likely to go to pieces on the financial question, in spite of the efforts of both to prevent it, and that next year, whatever may be the result of the pending elections, there will be substantially two new parties—one for inflation and one for resumption. What they will be called, or, if still called Republican and Democratic, as we presume they will be, which will be which, it would be difficult to say with confidence, but the chances are that the resumptionists will be Republicans and the inflationists Democrats, if those names are preserved. But then neither party will be what it is now. The present Republican leaders, for instance, must necessarily "take back seats," and there will be a large accession to its ranks of persons who, while opposed to its policy in times past on Southern questions, are frightened by the vagaries of the "soft-money men" and their influence in the Democratic party. In fact, the process of "taking back seats" may be said to have been begun the other day at Saratoga, and one of its first victims was, as might have been expected, Mr. Conkling. In 1872, this gentleman was the acknowledged manager of the Republican party in this State, and its greatest man. He stumped it so successfully that year against poor Greeley that he was said by the party organs to "have left a line of light" behind him wherever he went, and he was sent back to the Senate as a matter of course, and became a great power at the White House. Two years later, the State went the other way by 50,000 majority; and this year he had actually to be kept out of sight at the State Convention, in order to enable the party to make a decent appearance before the public. Hope of victory there was and is none; and yet Mr. Conkling is neither worse nor better, wiser nor more foolish, in 1875 than he was in 1872. His career is an excellent illustration of the way in which the party has reached its present plight.

The men who took charge of it at the close of the war as the old chiefs who conducted the war died, or were deposed or grew old, were generally second-rate men, who rose to the surface by dexterity simply in the period of "management" which, in party history, follows the period of enthusiasm. They had not and did not need to have any marked qualities beyond skill at conventions and glibness in the use of Republican phraseology about "human rights" and "national integrity." Many were converted Democrats, like Butler and Boutwell; others were adventurers flushed with the fame of country court-rooms; but none of them needed to pass through any rude or searching ordeal either as to feeling or opinion or character in order to get into the highest places. Mr. Conkling was one of this latter class, and he re-entered the Senate with the air and power of a Webster or a Calhoun, without ever having uttered a word on any subject which a single human being would have cared to weigh or remember. Now, to these men it was a matter of life and death to keep the party occupied with and concerned about the pacification of the South, to represent the pacification of the South as a gigantic job, which this generation would hardly see accomplished, and a job which would have to be done by Congressional legislation. This was the subject with which they were most familiar, and on which they had won their little oratorical triumphs and had climbed into office, and about which they thought the popular excitement was greatest and likely to last longest. When the Ku-klux operations began, it seemed as if the madness of the South would make their fortunes secure, and indefinitely prolong their hold on the Government.

The consequence of this was that the party, as a party, took no hold whatever of the national problems which the war had left for solution. Its attention was deliberately turned away from the abuses of taxation and administration and currency which the war had created, and which needed to be promptly dealt with after the war was over, in order not to become chronic maladies. The newer men who sought to occupy themselves with them were sneered at or discouraged or treated with suspicion. Mr. David A. Wells, whose reports, whatever their faults, had the inestimable merit of attracting attention to the questions of national currency and taxation which lie at the basis of all healthy politics, was summarily kicked out of the Treasury as soon as he began to be much talked about, and the Treasury itself was put into the hands of a man without financial knowledge or experience, or general ideas, or capacity for reasoning, and thoroughly hardened in the tricks of political chicane. Civil-service reform, owing to the exertions of a few enthusiasts, was pushed so hard that it obtained slight but derisive recognition by a bill, meant to be a sham, authorizing the President to appoint a commission, and by a plank in a Presidential platform; but every attempt to treat it seriously was summarily suppressed and ridiculed. In the meantime, everything that could be done was done to magnify the insecurity of life and property at the South, and the malignity of Southern discontent. The plan of making Southern discontent appear perennial and dangerous in the eyes of the North was, however, frustrated by two things—one, the operations of the carpet-baggers, and the other the return to the Southern whites of that political wisdom which, in spite of the great slavery hallucination, has never wholly deserted them, and has, we believe, now been the means of preventing the gradual conversion of the Federal Administration into a huge machine for the government of conquered provinces.

In the meantime, however, there was one question behind the party which could not be ignored or put out of sight, and which, as all history has shown, was the most explosive question with which a politician can be called on to deal—we mean the condition of the currency. This is the one political question which touches every heart and every interest, about which passions are fiercest and prejudices blindest, and on which knaves and demagogues fasten most eagerly. The only safety lay, after the war, in taking it up fearlessly before the knaves and demagogues found out the mine there was in it, treating the greenbacks as a pressing debt, and calling on the still fervid patriotism of the North to make one more sacrifice to the country by paying it off. A man who took this sane and healthy view of the matter, Mr. McCulloch, got into the Treasury during Andrew Johnson's administration, and in a moment of inadvertence the party chiefs allowed him to have his own way; but as soon as it was found that he was pushing the currency question to the front and making it a "burning question," he was summarily shorn of his power. His successor, Mr. Boutwell, was actually allowed to inflate the currency in his own discretion, and was allowed, without rebuke, to claim the right of inflating it as a useful appurtenance of the office of Secretary of the Treasury. In this way we drifted into the panic of 1873, and then the crash came. At the first touch of financial distress, the mad fever of inflation burst out, and the Republican party then found that the most important question of this century, after slavery, had passed out of its hands, and had become an open question, and was likely to prove its ruin. After a few frantic but vain turns of the Southern "outrage" crank, it has tried to face the difficulty, but it is evidently too late. The party is divided on it; among the chiefs there is not a single man who is an authority on it, or has studied it, or can speak about it with great weight, or has made any particular mark about it, while there are but few who have not dilly-dallied over it and been double-faced about it. The question, in fact, is not a Republican question; the Democrats have just as much claim to it; and the result is chaos. There is something, indeed, ludicrously odd in some of the scenes in the crisis. With the national credit and the business of the country in peril or suspense, awaiting the result of the elections, Conkling has to be hidden in a garret, and Boutwell, the great author of "the reserve" and the very father of inflation, is sent out to stump Ohio on behalf of hard money.

The duty of the independent voter under these circumstances is of course somewhat difficult to determine. No general rule can be laid down about it. Neither party is sound on the currency question. Among the chiefs on both sides, there has been shameful evasiveness and double-dealing about it. The Republican party is fairly and directly responsible for the present state of things, and the Democrats would be entitled to its place if they were not,

on their side, abandoning the position they held at the beginning of the war, and making a wonderful display not simply of incompetency on this delicate subject, but of general recklessness and dishonesty. The safest course, therefore, for a man sincerely desirous of saving the national credit, and warding off frightful commercial disorder, would seem to be to vote in his own State for whichever party is soundest and most straightforward with regard to the duty and expediency of resumption. In any particular State, the important thing is not that the Republican or the Democratic ticket should be elected, but that that ticket should be elected the triumph of which will give most confidence and encouragement to the party of hard money all over the Union. In this State, most assuredly, Mr. Tilden and his friends have claims on public confidence just now which it would be impossible to concede to Conkling, Murphy, Bliss, Gardner, and the other Custom-house publicists whose career is now drawing to a close; but then it must also be said that any one who distrusts Tilden and his friends on the ground of their antecedents cannot go wrong in voting for the Republican candidates. In either case, his vote will tell in favor of the return to honest finance at an early date.

## THE NEW VIEW OF "DOMESTIC VIOLENCE."

THE correspondence between Attorney-General Pierrepont and Governor Ames of Mississippi is both entertaining and instructive. It is one of those incidents in politics which shed light in every direction, on the past as well as on the present and future, especially when taken in connection with the resolution of the recent Republican Convention in this State condemning military interference in the Southern States, except in cases clearly provided for by the Constitution. When the carpet-bag governors, aided by the United States Marshal, began a year ago to get up "outrages" and call for Federal aid, all attempts to get the Government at Washington to bear in mind the constitutional restrictions on Federal interference in State affairs were idle. Troops were despatched in all directions, without preliminary enquiry, on the click of the telegraph. They were used in Louisiana to organize the State Legislature and to discharge ordinary police duties in the interior, and at last matters reached such a pass that a military officer of high rank, who had been sent down to examine the situation, recommended the general outlawry and delivery to military execution, by Presidential proclamation, of whole classes of American citizens, and this was subsequently justified by a Republican speaker of high standing—an ex-Cabinet officer—in the Connecticut canvass, as a legitimate expression of official indignation. Finally, the troops were sent up to Vicksburg to settle, and they did settle, by force of arms, a dispute between two candidates for the office of sheriff such as comes before the courts on a *quo warranto*. Behind these more open and flagrant violations of law, there was going on, preparatory to the election, a system of wholesale arrests of white citizens by parties of cavalry on the charges of "intimidating" negroes, which from their very nature were incapable of disproof. There can be no more vague term than "intimidation."

There was no doubt at the time in our minds that all this was part of an electioneering scheme on a great scale, for which the Force Acts and the Attorney-General's office were to supply, and did supply, the machinery. A number of Republican politicians in Washington had got it into their heads that the safety of the country required that the Southern States should be held by the Republican party, and that the way to secure this was to keep up a semi-military rule under civil forms in the States lately in rebellion. To make the plan the more complete and safe, it was backed up by the theory, which was studiously preached, that the President was a simple-minded soldier, who sat quietly at the White House executing such laws as Congress supplied him with, under the advice of the legal sage in charge of the Department of Justice, but who had no feeling or opinion of his own about the matter one way or the other. It so happened, however, that the legal sage was chosen by General Grant himself, and kept in office with something that looked very like keen appreciation of his peculiar abilities. The Attorney-General's opinions ran, in fact, all the one way. The freedom of his "legal mind" from doubts was one of the most remarkable incidents of the crisis. Somehow, it seemed to him that all *states* of facts and *all* emergencies called for the despatch of troops. More remarkable still, as soon as the opinion of the country, as expressed through the press and the fall elections, emphatically condemned the semi-military régime, Mr. Williams was allowed to resign, and "the outrages" ceased. The negroes were no longer murdered or intimidated; quiet began to prevail all over the South; and this spring the murderers and their victims—the banditti who passed their days "intimidating" and the negroes who, according to Mr. Dawes, never went to bed without expecting to find their throats cut in the morning, and therefore, presumably, lay awake all night—managed between them to plant a crop of cotton, to say nothing of corn, which is now estimated at 3,833,000 bales. A more remarkable performance is, under all the circumstances, not to be found in the annals of industry.

Under the new Attorney-General there has been no revival of outrages; but his manner of dealing with the late disturbances in Mississippi brings out in sharp relief the peculiar characteristics of the system in use in Mr. Williams's day. There is a riot at a public meeting of the usual Southern type, beginning in a quarrel between two men, and ending in the killing of several and the "intimidation" of a good many more. Such incidents have been common at the South ever since the settlement of the country. What people used to say about them was that they were the product of a low state of civilization, to be cured by time, religion, and education; but the Republican theory of them in the Williams period was that they were the beginning of a general insurrection against both the State and Federal Governments, and therefore called for a prompt application of martial law. In that period, too, it was always held that it was the governor, and not the legislature (or not the governor *and* the legislature), who constituted the government of the State, and his applications, therefore, always received prompt attention. He was not questioned as to the nature of the crisis or as to his ability to convene the legislature. Accordingly, Governor Ames first asked whether the State was not *de jure* in a condition of insurrection or domestic violence, under a proclamation issued nine months ago—one of the theories of the Williams period, propounded during the troubles at New Orleans, being that when the President had proclaimed a State as assailed by domestic violence, the effect of the proclamation would be indefinitely extended, so as to cover all fresh disturbances. He learned from Washington that this novel but convenient view had been abandoned. He then, but not until then, apparently looked into the Constitution, and reported that domestic violence was raging around him, but that the legislature could not be convened "in time" to judge whether Federal help was needed, and therefore he demanded it himself, and immediately. It will be observed that the cunning rogue put in the phrase "in time" himself. The Constitution does not contain it. The theory of its framers clearly was that the domestic violence which the United States was to help to put down was to be violence so great that the State forces, after a fair effort, could not suppress it, and therefore likely to be so protracted that the State legislature would have ample time to meet and consider what had best be done, and that the governor was only to act alone when the violence was so widespread and serious that the members of the legislature could not reach a common place of meeting. But the carpet-bag governors have held that they might have the Federal aid whenever, in their opinion, the disturbance would be over before the legislature could assemble, and on this view Mr. Williams always acted. Mr. Pierrepont, however, approached the matter in a different way. He got the troops ready, but then put to Governor Ames a question before which the whole carpet-bag theory of Federal duties dissolved at once. He asked him: "Is there such an insurrection against the State government as cannot be put down by the State military

forces, aided by all the other powers of the State government and the aid of true citizens?" To this enquiry, sent on the morning of the 10th inst., the Governor, although the emergency was so pressing that the State legislature could not be convened "in time," returned no answer until late on the night of the 11th, and then it came in the shape of a rambling, evasive despatch, putting the trouble on the peculiar relations of the two races, but not furnishing the required facts. The troops have accordingly not been sent, and the domestic violence is fading away.

It is hardly necessary to point out the bearing this has on the occurrences of last year. It shows clearly that the President and his advisers, and his stump-orators, and his military commissioners were wrong at that period, both as regards their own duty and the rights of Southern citizens, and it shows that those who then, at the cost of much obloquy, criticised them so severely, were doing exactly what the occasion called for, and that what they did has borne fruit.

## CHAUNCEY WRIGHT.

THE death which we briefly noticed last week reminds us most sadly of the law, that to be an effective great man one needs to have *many* qualities great. If power of analytic intellect pure and simple could suffice, the name of Chauncey Wright would assuredly be as famous as it is now obscure, for he was not merely the great mind of a village—if Cambridge will pardon the expression—but either in London or Berlin he would, with equal ease, have taken the place of master which he held with us. The reason why he is now gone without leaving any work which his friends can consider as a fair expression of his genius, is that his shyness, his want of ambition, and to a certain degree his indolence, were almost as exceptional as his power of thought. Had he, in early life, resolved to concentrate these and make himself a physicist, for example, there is no question but that his would have ranked to-day among the few first living names. As it was, he preferred general criticism and contemplation, and became something resembling more a philosopher of the antique or Socratic type than a modern *Gelehrter*. His best work has been done in conversation; and in the acts and writings of the many friends he influenced his spirit will, in one way or another, as the years roll on, be more operative than it ever was in direct production. Born at Northampton in 1830, graduating at Harvard in 1852, he left us in the plenitude of his powers. His outward work is limited to various articles in the *North American Review* (one of which Mr. Darwin thought important enough to reprint as a pamphlet in England), a paper or two in the Transactions of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a number of critical notices in our own pages—the latest of these being the article entitled "German Darwinism," which we published only two weeks ago. As a writer, he was defective in the shaping faculty—he failed to emphasize the articulations of his argument, to throw a high light, so to speak, on the important points; so that many a casual peruser has probably read on and never noticed the world of searching consequences which lurked involved in some inconspicuously placed word. He spent many years in computing for the *Nautical Almanac* and from time to time accepted some pedagogic work. He gave a course of University lectures on psychology in Harvard College in 1871, and last year he conducted there a course in mathematical physics. As little of a reader as an educated man well can be, he yet astonished every one by his omniscience, for no specialist could talk with Chauncey Wright without receiving some sort of instruction in his specialty. This was due to his irrepressible spontaneous habit of subtle thinking. Every new fact he learned set his whole mental organism in motion, and reflection did not cease till the novel thought was firmly woven with the entire system of his knowledge. Of course in this process new conclusions were constantly evolved, and many a man of science who hoped to surprise him with news of a discovery has been himself surprised by finding it already *constructed* by Wright from data separately acquired in this or that conversation with one or other of the many scholars of Cambridge or Boston, most of whom he personally knew so well.

In philosophy, he was a worker on the path opened by Hume, and a treatise on psychology written by him (could he have been spared and induced to undertake the drudgery) would probably have been the last and most accomplished utterance of what he liked to call the British school. He would have brought the work of Mill and Bain for the present to a conclusion. Of the two motives to which philosophic systems owe their being, the craving for consistency or unity in thought, and the desire for a solid outward warrant for our emotional ends, his mind was dominated only by the former. Never in a human head was contemplation more separated from desire. Schopenhauer, who defined genius as a cognitive faculty manumitted from the service of the will, would have found in him an even stronger example of his definition than he cared to meet. For to Wright's mode of looking at the universe such ideas as pessimism or optimism were alike simply irrelevant. Whereas most men's interest in a thought is proportioned to its possible relation to human destiny, with him it was almost the reverse. When the mere actuality of phenomena will suffice to describe them, he held it pure excess and superstition to speak of a metaphysical whence or whither, of a substance, a meaning, or an end. Just as in cosmogony he preferred Mayer's theory to the nebular hypothesis, and in one of his earliest *North American Review* articles used the happy phrase, "cosmical weather," to describe the irregular dissipation and aggregation of worlds; so, in contemplating the totality of being, he preferred to think of phenomena as the result of a sort of ontologic weather, without inward rationality, an aimless drifting to and fro, from the midst of which relatively stable and so (for us) rational combinations may emerge. The order we observe in things needs *explanation* only on the supposition of a preliminary or potential disorder; and this he pointed out is, as things actually *are* orderly, a gratuitous notion. Anaxagoras, who introduced into philosophy the notion of the νους, also introduced with it that of an antecedent chaos. But if there be no essential chaos, Mr. Wright used to say, an anti-chaotic νους is superfluous. He particularly condemned the idea of substance as a metaphysical idol When it was objected to him that there must be some principle of oneness in the diversity of phenomena—some *glue* to hold them together and make a universe out of their mutual independence, he would reply that there is no need of a glue to join things unless we apprehend some reason why they should fall asunder. Phenomena *are* grouped—more we cannot say of them. This notion that the actuality of a thing is the absolute totality of its being was perhaps never grasped by any one with such thoroughness as by him.

However different a philosophy one may hold from his, however one may deem that the lack of emotional bias which left him contented with the mere principle of parsimony as a criterion of universal truth was really due to a defect in the active or impulsive part of his mental nature, one must value none the less his formulæ. For as yet philosophy has celebrated hardly any stable achievements. The labors of philosophers have, however, been confined to deepening enormously the philosophic *consciousness*, and revealing more and more minutely and fully the import of metaphysical problems. In this preliminary task ontologists and phenomenalists, mechanists and teleologists, must join friendly hands, for each has been indispensable to the work of the other, and the only foe of either is the common foe of both—namely, the practical, conventionally thinking man, to whom, as has been said, nothing has true seriousness but personal interests, and whose dry earnestness in those is only excelled by that of the brute, which takes everything for granted and never laughs.

Mr. Wright belonged to the precious band of genuine philosophers, and among them few can have been as completely disinterested as he. Add to this eminence his tireless amiability, his beautiful modesty, his affectionate nature and freedom from egotism, his childlike simplicity in worldly affairs, and we have the picture of a character of which his friends feel more than ever now the elevation and the rarity.

## AN ALSATIAN SAINT.

STRASBOURG, August 24, 1875.

I WOULD recommend all those who stop for a few days at Strasbourg to take the railway as far as Obernai, and from there to ascend the woody slopes of the Vosges to the top of the famous Hohenburg. The precipitous rocks of red sandstone which form the crest of the Vosges are covered with the buildings of the old convent of Saint Odile. From the terraces of the convent the view extends over the plain of Alsace; the spire of the Strasbourg Cathedral rises on the horizon, and behind the line of the Rhine you see the parallel chain of the Black Forest. There are few finer views; you understand, as you see the rich vineyards, the hop and tobacco fields, the yellow corn-fields, that these magnificent plains, covered with as fertile a loam as that of Egypt, has been often and will still be fought for; Alsace is, like Lombardy and Flanders, one of the great prizes of the struggle for life of nations.

I remember the Hohenburg when it was quite abandoned. It had become the property of a friend of mine, and as we once spent a night in the deserted cells of the convent we could hear the mice running quietly all night long. My friend sold the Hohenburg to the Bishop of Strasbourg,

the chapel was repaired, and there exists now a small congregation which lives altogether in the old establishment of Saint Odile. The monks work in the fields, in the forest, in the gardens; the sisters are chiefly devoted to the numerous pilgrims and to the travellers who come to enjoy, sometimes for a week or two, the pure air of the mountain. It can hardly be denied that the establishment, on the whole, savors more of the inn than of the convent. You are helped during the meals by sisters in their black gowns and white caps, in long, whitewashed refectories. There is a certain solemnity about the place, but the tourist element has become the most important: beer, cigars, Kirschwasser, are the order of the day, and the Alsatian nuns are reduced almost entirely to the rôle of inn-servants. The change has become even more striking since the conquest of Alsace, as the Hohenburg is one of the favorite promenades of the conquerors. Every day at twelve, which is here the dinner-hour, two tables are served in separate rooms, one for the French-speaking tourists and one for the *Prussians*, for all Germans still go under this formidable name. I asked the Lady Superior if the Hohenburg congregation had thus far not been disturbed by the Falk laws; she told me, with a smile, that they had been forgotten on their mountain, that thus far they had had no persecution to suffer. Everything goes on as in old times. There are days in the year when hundreds of peasants, with their wives and children, ascend the mountain, go to the miraculous well where Odile was refreshed by water pouring from the rock at the place where she put her hand; they contemplate the place where her knees made a hole in the sandstone, so often did she pray for the wicked lords of her family. Her bones are no longer shown to the pilgrims, as they obviously could not have belonged to a woman.

The legend of Saint Odile still exists, but it has been, so to speak, purified and improved. As Odile is the patroness of Alsace, you will understand at once its importance. Some Germans, or Germanizing writers, have tried to deny her existence. The death of Odile is commonly placed in the year 750; there are no authentic documents mentioning her in the eighth or ninth century. Hohenburg is mentioned for the first time in 837 in a *charta* of Louis le Débonnaire; this *charta* exists in the archives of Strasbourg, but the name of the first abbess is not mentioned in it. The son of Charlemagne merely confirms the privileges of the Hohenburg convent. Odile was not canonized at the time, and he does not mention her name. The legend of the saint did not crystallize until the twelfth century; it cannot be denied, however, that the pope (Leo IX.) came to Alsace in the year 1049, that the Hohenburg convent was aggrandized under the patronage of this Alsatian pope, and that on this occasion an authentic bull of 1050 mentions the canonization of Odile. Some German professors have pretended that the Alsatian pope was moved by family interests, and that the name of the Alsatian abbess was a convenience for him. This would prove, at any rate, that this name had a great prestige in the eyes of the population. It had become a synonym of purity, chastity, and sanctity in the most troublous times of the Middle Ages. The Alsatian pope was not an imbecile; he was a scholar well versed in ecclesiastical history. He was born in 1002, about 250 years after the supposed death of Odile; she belonged to his family, and her virtues had probably become a *titre de noblesse* for the house of Eguisheim-Dagsburg. Everybody believed at the time of his journey that Odile was buried on the Hohenburg, and her tomb was supposed to have a miraculous virtue. No opposition was made in the Catholic world when she was canonized, though the Franconian family, which then held the imperial throne, was not always friendly to the papacy. Historical science sometimes defeats its own object; the German school of critics has often proved that things never existed which afterwards were proved to have existed after all. A fact is a hard thing to suppress; to me it appears evident that Odile was a fact, that she did exist. This once admitted, the details of her legend are, in an historical sense, almost indifferent: her legend is not so, as the legend evidently embodies the best aspirations, the instincts and ideas of the age in which she lived, and which she impressed by the originality of her life. The tomb of Odile can no longer be seen, as it once could; and it may even be that nothing of her remains on the mountain. The Magyars plundered Hohenburg; the houses and chapels built under the last Merovingians and the first Carlovingians have been replaced at later periods. One thing could not be touched by the Magyars, nor destroyed by the rains and winds: it was the memory of a daughter of a great Alsatian duke who, towards the end of the Merovingian period, left the castle of her father, the noise and revelry of the Alsatian nobles, and chose to live on the Hohenburg, which must have been then almost inaccessible. The road which now conducts to the summit of the mountain was only built a few years ago, and I have never made the ascension except by foot-paths among the old fir-trees.

The contrast between the passions of men and the serenity of nature is an eternal theme for poetry. I spent many hours yesterday on the great terrace of the Saint Odile Convent; I heard near me the playful voices of French children. Were they Alsatian or French? What will be their fate? Will they fight some day under the tricolor flag, or under the Prussian eagle? A German officer had opened a staff map, and he was studying the position of the villages, the direction of the roads, as carefully as if he had to give to-morrow the order of march for a battle. Two young French seminarists had come from Nancy to visit the miraculous well of Odile. Did they believe in it? did the spring of unbounded faith flow in their hearts? They seemed so happy; they asked many questions of me, and I could not help remembering the magnificent verses of Musset:

> "O Christ, je ne suis pas de ceux que la prière
> Amène à pas tremblants sous tes arceaux muets."

Who is right, and who is wrong? Is human life an empty show, like those clouds which were rolling over the distant mountain, and which vanished in the heat of the plain? Ivan Turgenef represents one of his heroes leaving heart-broken the town where he has lost everything, and murmuring in his railway car, "Smoke, smoke!" as he sees the swift and evanescent wreaths of smoke coming out of the engine. How long will two great, intellectual, and powerful races fight for the dominion of all the villages which are dotting the plain, of the silent fields, of the peaceful valley?

I came down the mountain by a by-road; I looked over the huge Celtic wall, the remains of the Roman road, which went straight over mountains and valleys, and I stopped a moment in an old forester's house. The old soldier is still there. Over his door are the curious horns of the deer, the tusks of the boars he has killed; his gun, which is not a Mauser or a Chassepot, but an old-fashioned gun which he has used for twenty years, and which seldom misses its mark, is carefully oiled, and hangs along the wall. I ask him for some wine; he will receive no pay from a Frenchman. The faithful dog comes and sits by my feet, as if he knew that I was a friend. He is no great politician, my old forester; he knows little about the Hohenzollerns or the Bourbons, or the Republic. He is a child in heart; he is honest and faithful, and he speaks of France as a child does of a mother. Would you have him eradicate from his heart the tender and mystic love which has grown slowly like the trees of the forest? Surely conquest is a horrible thing. The so-called superior races are the modern minotaurs; they devour human beings, human affections; they would justify the sneering irony of a Mephistopheles. The work of centuries is undone in a day on a single battle-field. Wörth is not far off. I will not go to see it. I will not see the green places whose verdure has been made richer by blood. I will roam a little more among the ruins, see the curious old castles, Andlau, Spesburg, Giesbaden. There there is no longer any trace of violence, though all these places were the abode of violence; their dormant ruins speak of nothing but peace, and silence, and rest. Where are the fiery hearts which once beat under the massive walls? Nothing after all remains, nothing is eternal, but nature and the memory of those pure virtues, those lofty sentiments, which in this region have been for centuries embodied in the name of Odile. Fiction is sometimes more true than history.

# Correspondence.

## THE NEW GERMAN ECONOMISTS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your article entitled "The New German Political Economy" (No. 532), I think you hardly do justice to the position and the claims of this school. In the first place, it is represented as being an outgrowth of the national awakening after the war of 1870, and I think most readers would understand it to be of very recent origin, and probably composed of very young men. Now, the copy of Roscher's 'Nationalökonomie' which lies before me is the ninth edition, published in 1871; the preface is dated Leipzig, 1854. That is to say, instead of being a young doctrinaire, Roscher has been for over twenty years the professor of political economy in the leading university of Germany, and is universally recognized as the first economist of Germany, and, since the death of Mill and Cairnes, I think he would be pretty generally recognized as the first economist living.

Again, I take exception to your expression: "It [this school] fancies it has made discoveries which must reduce Adam Smith and all his followers to comparative insignificance." I have never met with any such claims on their part. The following is what Roscher says of Adam Smith in his latest work, 'Geschichte der Nationalökonomik in Deutschland,' one of the great series of histories of the science published by the authority of the Historical Commission of Munich: "The entire history of doctrines of our science is to

be divided into two principal groups, before and after Adam Smith; so that everything earlier appears as preparation for him, everything later as development of him or opposition to him." Again: "Of the universal [*welthistorische*] tendencies which control the second half of the eighteenth century, six were harmoniously incorporated in his personality as in no other—so strong, so symmetrical, and so individual at the same time, that he may rank as the most important representative of this combination. I mean the new philosophy, scientific experimentalism [*Empirismus*], the advancement of material interests, the striving for political freedom, for social equality, and for cosmopolitan humanity." (I quote from a review in Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift.*)

That the present German school has left behind it many of the practical conclusions of Adam Smith and his followers is no more true than that the leading English economists have done the same. They do not, however, like Mr. Carey, reject the foundation, but build a new structure upon it. Mr. Cairnes rejected the doctrine of *laissez-faire* quite as emphatically as Roscher. "There is no security," he says, "that the economic phenomena of society, as at present constituted, will always arrange themselves spontaneously in the way which is most for the common good. In other words, *laissez-faire* falls to the ground as a scientific doctrine" (Essays, p. 250). Again: "The policy in question, the policy of *laissez-faire*, has been steadily progressive for nearly half a century, and yet we have no sign of mitigation in the harshest features of our social state" (p. 249).

This truth, so strongly expressed by Mr. Cairnes, is the one seized upon by the German economists as the warrant for their view that the prevailing system is "wholly worthless for the explanation of the recent social problems" (Adolf Held, in the *Historische Zeitschrift*). I admit that, in their reaction against it, they appear sometimes to undervalue its scientific value as a basis for their practical discussions. But it is only "*appear*." I think the English economists themselves—certainly Mr. Mill or Mr. Cairnes—would be satisfied with the following statement as to the function of selfishness in human actions, by Prof. Schmoller of Strassburg, a younger and more radical thinker than Roscher: "Selfishness in political economy resembles the steam in the steam-engine; I cannot tell what it accomplishes until I know the pressure under which it works" ('Grundfragen des Rechts und der Volkswirthschaft,' p. 38).

This gives the key to the method of the "historical" or "realistic" school. It does not deny the conclusions of the English economists, admitting their premises. (Roscher pronounces Ricardo and Malthus "investigators and discoverers of the very first rank.") But it insists upon it that these conclusions are in practice far less near the reality than the English economists are accustomed to assume; and here Mr. Cairnes agrees with them. It follows, as Schmoller says, that "every practical economical discussion must start with the character of the people in question, the habits and conceptions within the period, the rank, the profession, and the place of which it speaks" (p. 37). So Mr. Cairnes, speaking of the science: "Its utility, with a view to the practical requirements of a country, will entirely depend upon what those requirements happen to be" ('Essays,' p. 241). Therefore, Schmoller goes on to say, economical freedom can only be a presumption "when one thinks of particular men, with particular habits and particular training. Adam Smith's 'Political Economy' did this. It argued from the educated trading middle-classes of England and Scotland in Adam Smith's time; it saw that from the abolition of obsolete economical laws dating from the Middle Age proceeded an active development of powers. Therefore, it said without qualification, constraint cripples public economy, freedom is its element, advances and frees every power. It was an exaggerated generalization of an unquestionably correct observation" (p. 47). Precisely what M. de Laveleye says, in the article referred to by you: "The free-traders defended a just cause with bad arguments, and a useful reform with lame axioms."

W. F. Allen.

Madison, Wis., Sept. 12.

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[We have also received a letter on this subject from Mr. Brinton Coxe, which is devoted to the defence of Dr. Roscher, by means of extracts from his latest work, against the charges of socialism, of undervaluing Adam Smith or the English economists, of discarding deduction in economical enquiries, and of substituting State interference for competition. Although we have put it in type, we are unable to find space for it, and think it hardly necessary to publish it. We were wrong in using Roscher's name so prominently as the representative of the new school; we did so by way of meeting the extraordinary conclusions which the writer in the *Financial and Commercial Chronicle* had drawn from his latest book, which we had not seen. But quotations from his works do not furnish an answer to what we have said about the new German political economists. Their nickname of "Katheder-Socialisten" does not mean that they are supposed to advocate the abolition of property, but that they concur with Lasalle and Karl Marx and Bebel, and other socialist chiefs, in greatly enlarging the sphere of the state in the matter of regulating industry. We ought to add that our article was suggested by and took as its text M. Laveleye's recent exposition of the German doctrines in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and in proof that we have not exaggerated in describing his position, we may cite M. Baudrillart's account of it in the last number of the *Journal des Economistes*, which has reached us since last week, where he says that he (M. Laveleye) has proclaimed that "political economy, the old orthodox political economy, of the Smiths, the Says, and the Bastiats, is dead, has closed its life, and this sentence of death appears to him perfectly legitimate." "For M. Laveleye nothing remains of the old political economy. It is an error. Its principle even is as faulty as its method. It will not do to amend it or complete it; it must be given up."

Touching the time when the new school took its rise, all doubt on that point was set at rest at the last meeting of the Société d'Economie Politique in Paris, by the statement of Herr Engel, the Director of the Prussian Bureau of Statistics, that he was himself one of its founders; that it is not protectionist, but confines itself to maintaining the right of the state to interfere in social arrangements, and that it took its rise in his Bureau at Berlin, attached to which there is a sort of college, in which young economists pursue their studies in the light of accumulated facts; and he gave as a reason why it was not more fully represented in the Parliament, that it was founded, or rather organized, *after the late elections*. Its notions of the functions of the state are very fully set forth by M. Laveleye. Herr Engel's story was confirmed by Professor Meitzen, of the chair of Statistics in the University of Berlin.

Coming to Professor Allen's own account of the creed of the new school, we find in it a striking illustration of the danger of trying to discuss anything by means of short quotations. Mr. Cairnes by no means rejected the doctrine of *laissez-faire* as worthless or dangerous. In the essay from which Professor Allen quotes, he is discussing the cause of the indifference or hostility of many modern reformers to political economy, and describes their conception of political economy as that of a gospel which undertakes to show, and this only, "that wealth may be most rapidly accumulated and most fairly distributed by the simple process of leaving people to themselves," but which, if this is all it has to say, has been preached enough, and must now give way to something more fruitful. But he "denies altogether the correctness of this view of the science," and "proceeds to explode it" by showing that "the maxim of *laissez-faire* has no scientific basis, but is at best a mere handy rule of practice." He then points out how far short it has fallen of realizing the expectations which its earlier advocates entertained of its working, and what he says on this point is very sound and just, but resembles closely what might be said of the Christian religion, of universal suffrage, of popular education, and various other means, small and great, resorted to at different times by enthusiastic men for the promotion of human happiness, and what we have at various times ventured, with our foreheads in the dust, to say in these columns to the frolicsome friends of woman suffrage.

"Human beings," he says, "know and follow their interests according to their lights and dispositions, but not necessarily nor in practice always in that sense in which the interest of the individual is coincident with that of others and of the whole. It follows that there is no security that the economic phenomena of society as at present constituted will always arrange themselves in the way which is most for the common good. In other words, *laissez-faire* falls to the ground as a scientific doctrine. I say, as a scientific doctrine, for let us be careful not to overstep the limits of our argument. It is one thing to repudiate the scientific authority of *laissez-faire*, freedom of contract, and so forth; it is a totally different thing to set up the opposite principle of state control, the doctrine of paternal

government. For my part, I accept neither the one doctrine nor the other, and, *as a practical rule, I hold laissez-faire to be incomparably the safer guide.* Only let us remember that it *is* a practical rule, and not a doctrine of science, *a rule in the main sound*, but, like most other sound practical rules, liable to numerous exceptions."

We here see that citing him a little more fully puts a very different complexion on Mr. Cairnes's position, and there could hardly be a more thoroughgoing declaration than this of hostility to the aims and methods of the historical school. There is nothing in his works to warrant the extravagant assertion of Adolf Held "that the prevailing system is wholly worthless for the explanation of the recent social problems." This is just like the wild talk heard at the Professorial Convention two years ago, and we feel very confident that neither Mr. Mill nor Mr. Cairnes would have adopted Professor Schmoller's account of the economical function of selfishness, "that it resembles the steam in the steam-engine"—that is, that it is a blind, brute, destructive force, unless from the moment of its generation it is confined in a powerful cylinder and managed by a lever and valves. This view of it is one which may find reception in Prussian military circles, but we doubt if any English or American economist could be got to entertain it as a basis for economical deduction. To him selfishness is not and cannot be separated, for the purposes of economical discussion, from the social instinct in man. The consideration of it, as Professor Schmoller describes it, as a naked force, belongs to criminal jurisprudence, not to political economy, and the phenomena it produces are theft and fraud, not production and exchange.

Professor Cairnes's definition of political economy, which is very clear, disposes, too, very effectually of the great German discovery that every country is hereafter to have a "political economy of its own," suited to the character and habits of the people. He points out that political economy is a science, in the same sense in which "astronomy, dynamics, chemistry, and physiology are sciences." It deals with the phenomena of wealth, but does not undertake to show people how to get rich. Astronomy explains the laws which govern the courses of the stars, and dynamics the laws of motion; but the one does not teach navigation, nor the other mechanics. What an economist is occupied with is the explanation of the phenomena of wealth—that is, the phenomena attendant on the activity of man in society in procuring the means of enjoyment. The "bottom fact" of his science is not *laissez-faire*, but the constant, universal, and immemorial desire of man to acquire and possess property, which exists in all countries, and has existed in all ages, and produced thieves and pirates first, and then merchants and manufacturers. The existence of this is his fundamental assumption, just as the uniformity of nature is the fundamental assumption of the astronomer or chemist. Of course this desire works under different conditions in different countries, or, in other words, the phenomena of wealth are different, and the subjects of economical investigation, therefore, are different in different parts of the world; but the science does not change when it crosses the sea any more than the dynamics relied on by an engineer making a railroad in a highly cultivated district in England, would differ from the dynamics relied on by an engineer making a railroad in a Louisiana swamp. The fact is that the "Realists" are making a great outcry about nothing. They have made no important discovery, but they may do a great deal of mischief by strengthening and diffusing amongst the vast mass of ignorant and unreflecting men who are now coming into possession of political power all over the world, the notion that wonderful changes may be effected in the conditions of human existence by the vigorous use of governmental machinery. It is here that, we verily believe, the weak spot of our modern civilization is to be found—the seat of the disease which may one day bring the race back to the barbarism from which it emerged, for the theory might fatally weaken that reliance on individual character through which human progress has been mainly made. Considering the difficulties which have attended this progress for ten thousand years, and must for ever attend it, one can hardly refrain from smiling when told by social philosophers that *laissez-faire* has been tried for half a century, and the poor and unhappy are still numerous.—Ed. Nation.]

## THE DUNCAN AND SHERMAN FAILURE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Knowing full well that subscribing for and admiring your paper confers not the slightest right to attempt influencing in any manner your editorial opinion, yet I do believe and confidently expect you to coincide that in the recent failure of Duncan, Sherman & Co, of your city, you have hitherto conspicuously neglected the finest opportunity that has ever occurred on this planet of emphasizing the command, "Thou shalt not steal." I have taken great interest, and the pleasure it gave me has been a sufficient reward, in commending to my orthodox friends your manly and fearless exposure of financial, political, and religious frauds, in contrast with the moral cowardice of the pulpit and religious press upon those subjects.

My friends now ask me for an explanation of your marked silence upon and exemption from condemnation of this most atrocious fraud of all; and I have none to give. As a Californian, I hope you will not permit so fine an opportunity to pass of contrasting the life and, under the circumstances, manly death of Wm. C. Ralston with the head of the house referred to, who, knowingly, for years lived ostentatiously upon money not his own, and yet continues to cling to life with the proverbial tenacity of those who "do the state some service" in our penal institutions.

Yours respectfully, J. R. Wilson.

Pittsburgh, September 6, 1875.

[We have received several letters like the above. Some of them we have answered privately, but this begins to be tiresome. We will now say, once for all, that, in the first place, the proprietors of this paper are creditors of Messrs. Duncan & Sherman, for a small amount, it is true, but still for a sufficient amount to make it improper that we should harangue the public on the moral aspects of their failure. In the second place, there has been nothing in the practice of the *Nation* with regard to such cases to make it singular that we should now refrain from extended comment. We are not Commissioners in Bankruptcy. We have no machinery for overhauling bankrupt estates, and make no pretence of passing on the rights and wrongs of the principal failures of the day, unless they become the subjects of judicial investigation. To undertake anything of the kind would be ridiculous. We have commented, it is true, in severe terms on several commercial disasters, but simply because they had some bearing on public affairs; on Jay Cooke's, because he had been made the Government banker, by a jobbing transaction, and had sold large quantities of worthless securities through fraudulent connivance with a portion of the religious press; on Clews's, because he had also been made Government banker in place of the Barings, through another job; on General Frémont's Texan railroad bonds, because the French courts had sentenced him to five years' imprisonment for swindling; on the Emma Mine fraud, because the American Minister in London had played the part of a stool-pigeon in it. But we do not keep an eye generally on the bankers and trustees of the country, to see that they do their duty; we do not examine their assets or their books, when they fail, to see whether they have been reckless or fraudulent. Cases of failure of course might occur the interest in which would be so great and their consequences so serious—such, for instance, as Overend & Gurney's in England—that they would properly and necessarily become topics of newspaper discussion; but we doubt whether we should have taken any such view of the Duncan & Sherman case, even if we had not been disqualified for preaching on it by personal interest.—Ed. Nation.]

## TOO MUCH IN EARNEST.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I wish to call your attention to an article in the 531st number of the *Nation*, page 142, Sept. 2, 1875, in reference to the Georgia insurrection. know nothing about this insurrection except from the accounts of it I have

read in the papers I take, and I have certainly not seen in any of them anything concerning it that in any way justifies or excuses the language of the article referred to. The charge of Judge Johnson to the grand jury, which contains, as you say, the evidence of the "black-hearted villany" of the South, seems to me to be a very proper one, and was no doubt delivered in all sincerity. I have been a subscriber to the *Nation* about three years, and have endeavored to enlarge its circulation in this section by recommending it to my friends, believing it calculated to accomplish much good, particularly among the educated and better-informed class of our people. I had been induced so to think from the ability, statesmanship, and morality its pages have hitherto displayed, and I feel disappointed and mortified at the littleness, injustice, and malignity the article referred to evinces. If the circumstances of this insurrection have been magnified or misrepresented, show your readers wherein. Give us the facts, and be certain that in the statements you make you state the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. The article referred to, as its animus evinces, is based on suspicion and malignity, without any evidence whatever to support its assertions or to justify its language. I believe it to be a slander. I judge of the condition of the people of Georgia by what I know of the condition of our people here where I reside. I shall feel constrained to regard the article referred to as a slander until you show to the contrary. If you are neither willing to verify its correctness or to endeavor to counteract the mischief it may do, I wish you to erase my name from the list of your subscribers. I will receive it no longer under such circumstances. I was before the war an Old-Line Whig. I have always been, first and last and all the time, a Union man, but have never voted with the Republican party. I always endeavor to judge and act correctly, and I belong to a class much more numerous in the South than many of you people of the North seem to suppose. If you will visit this section, you will be perhaps surprised at the hospitality, patriotism, and forbearance of our Southern "banditti," and I think I can convince you we neither fear to be "observed" nor think it "necessary to dissemble." I will show you what we do fear, and I feel persuaded you would return to your Northern home a wiser if not a better man.

I am respectfully yours, etc.,

WM. G. WILLIAMS.

RODNEY, M pt. 13, 1875.

[The above is one of the comic results of a paragraph which we fondly imagined that any regular reader of the *Nation* at least, of average intelligence and moderate capacity for joking, would perceive to be ironical. We presumed, in fact, that this would be so plain to anybody who knew what our position about the South had been for the last two years, that we struck out in the proof, as too broad, a closing line which expressed the opinion that Judge Johnson had gone home, after the trial, and supped on a negro baby. We now begin to think, however, that if we had left this in, so far from exciting the suspicion of Southern editors as to the real nature of the paragraph, it would have increased their fury, and led them to vindicate Judge Johnson against the charge of cannibalism. As it is, we have had a half-hour of hearty enjoyment in reading some of their articles. The Georgia *Daily Times* ascribes our account of the trial to the bitter memory of Bull Run retained by "the hospital rat" who wrote it, and who, he supposes, still writhes when he thinks of his long run into Washington with "the Black Horse Cavalry" at his heels. It actually puts into italics the *Nation's* assertion that "the black-hearted villany of the South comes out very plainly in Judge Johnson's charge," which was followed immediately in our columns by a description of the charge, showing it to be, in our opinion, a model of its kind:

"He begins," we say, "by telling the Grand Jury that he has been advised of a 'plot of insurrection,' and has ordered a full investigation into all the circumstances. He then gives legal definition of insurrection and attempts to incite insurrection, cautioning the jury not to be guided by suspicion, rumor, or hearsay. He warns them, too, against exaggerating the enormity of the crime, or allowing any consideration of color to affect their minds, reminding them that they must 'ignore the fact that the accused are negroes' or 'that they were ever slaves.'"

It has been maintained that there are men who are completely devoid of humor, a view which we have never shared; but a few more experiences of this kind would shake our confidence, particularly as a tribe called Weddahs has lately, it is said, been discovered in Ceylon, who never laugh, and do not know what a joke means any more than a horse—showing, if the story be true, that this sense does not necessarily enter into what may be called the human element in man's nature.—ED. NATION.]

# Notes.

ROBERTS BROS., Boston, have nearly ready the fourth volume of Miss Alcott's 'Little Women' series, to be called 'Eight Cousins'; also, a translation from the French of 'Madame Récamier and her Friends'; 'The Ship in the Desert,' a poem by Joaquin Miller; and Hamerton's 'Round My House' and 'Etching and Etchers.'——Lockwood, Brooks & Co. publish next month 'An American in Iceland,' by Prof. Samuel Kneeland, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The millennial celebration of August, 1874, is described, and there are notes on the Orkney, Shetland, and Faroe Islands.——Hurd & Houghton announce 'Japanese Art,' by James Jackson Jarves; and 'Doings of the Bodley Family in Town and Country,' by Horace E. Scudder—a child's book.——Harper & Bros. announce 'Select Dialogues of Plato,' in English; 'The Catskill Fairies,' by Virginia W. Johnson; and 'John Todd,' an autobiography, edited by John E. Todd.——D. Appleton & Co. will republish Darwin's 'Climbing Plants and their Habits.'——'Forty Years in the Turkish Empire,' being memoirs of the late Rev. William Goodell, D.D., is in the press of Robert Carter & Bros.——Macmillan & Co.'s list includes the 'Austrian Arctic Expedition,' by Lieutenant Payer; the complete poems of Christina Rossetti; and the 'Makers of Florence,' by Mrs. Oliphant.——Nelson & Phillips will publish 'Summer Days on the Hudson,' by Daniel Wise, D.D.; and 'North Pole Voyages' (American), from the second Grinnell Expedition to that of the *Polaris*, by the Rev. J. A. Mudge.——'American Literature,' by Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, is announced by G. P. Putnam's Sons.——Scribner, Armstrong & Co. publish during the coming season 'Impressions of London Social Life,' by E. S. Nadal; Dr. Holland's completed story of 'Sevenoaks'; two new volumes of the Bric-à-brac Series—'Personal Recollections of Lamb, Hazlitt, and Others,' and 'Constable and Gillies'; a poem, 'The New Day,' by Richard Watson Gilder; and—what will be good news for the young folks—an entirely new and illustrated edition of 'Hans Brinker,' and a new volume by Mr. Frank R. Stockton, 'Tales out of School,' a companion to his delightful 'Roundabout Rambles.' Among the foreign reprints of this house we note Vol. IV. of 'Chips from a German Workshop'; 'Babylonia,' by George Smith; Jules Verne's 'Mysterious Island'; and Louis Rousselet's 'India and its Native Princes,' an expensively printed and illustrated book of travel.——Sheldon & Co. publish 'Memoirs of Dr. Eliphalet Nott,' by Prof. Tayler Lewis; and 'History of Ancient and Modern Philosophy,' by Prof. Joseph Haven.

—"T. B." writes us from Rochester: "Possibly the subjoined advertisement may have some interest as a contribution to the enquiry touching honorary degrees, suggested in one of your latest numbers. It is cut from the *Architect* (London), in which it has stood, with some changes of form, but the same in its fragrant substance, for some months past":

UNIVERSITY DEGREES.—Architects, Engineers, Builders, and other Scientific Gentlemen desirous of obtaining a learned degree in Honoris Causa from a Foreign University, should communicate with "Medicus," 46 King Street, Jersey, England.

The explanation of this, however, has just appeared in the London *Times*, and reveals not German but American swindling. "Medicus," on being applied to by a Mr. Sparkes (who suspected fraud) for a prospectus, offered to procure him the degree of Ph.D. from the "American University of *Philadelphia*," and, as he was a B.A. already, to throw in the M.A. "without any increase in the charges. The total cost of a promotion, *in absentia*, is £20, inclusive of a handsome diploma and certificate of registration." The institution in question, which aimed to be confounded with the University of Pennsylvania, had its charter revoked for these practices some years ago.

—The *Geographical Magazine* for September contains a large colored map of Paraguay, compiled by Keith Johnston during his recent visit to that country. Mr. Johnston accompanies it with the first part of an account of his journeys between the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. His descriptions of the natural scenery make a pleasant impression on the mind of the reader, but this is offset by the suggestions (rather than pictures) of the desolation caused by the war in all the towns and settlements of the Dominion of Lopez. The depopulation sometimes amounts to extinction, and such have been the vicissitudes of the country that an affix *-cué* (as in Casalcué, Ramocué, etc.), signifying abandoned, indicates places either now or at some time utterly deserted. El Carmen, near the Paraná, which, twenty years ago, had an estimated population of 1,000, now has but two habit

able houses, and counts but eleven people. Close by it, on the river, Encarnacion, founded in 1614, and once a leading *reduccion* of the Jesuit missions, was well filled before the war, but most of the inhabitants have crossed the river into Argentine territory, and only about a dozen houses continue to be occupied. Even more melancholy was the lapse, due to a different cause, of a German colony planted near Jaguaron, not far from Asuncion. It lay in the midst of a dense forest, and "the conspicuous numbers along the path marking the lots of forest to be cleared are now almost the only signs of the colony remaining; but two or three indefatigable Teutons have, at a prodigious expenditure of labor, cleared little plots of ground in this wilderness, and live there in spite of all difficulties." These difficulties are the heavy timber, for which there is no market, and a total absence of water. In company with the Brazilio-Paraguayan boundary commission, Mr. Johnston arrived at the last camp of Lopez, in the northeastern corner of the state, and he concludes his paper with this mournful image, which reminds one of the camp of Varus visited by Germanicus:

"The site of the camp . . . . . is still strewn with the undisturbed wreck of everything that belonged to it: carts, broken guns, and camp-furniture of every sort, with numbers of skeletons, lie scattered round. The sufferings of this last remnant of the Paraguayan army may be realized in following the track between this camp and the former one of Panadero, for under every shade-tree along it are the untouched bones of men who have lain down to die of wounds, weariness, or starvation."

—We hope the Agricultural Bureau is watching the experiment of Eucalyptus globulus plantations in this country. Its northern limit is a question of great interest and importance, and cannot be solved, doubtless, for a number of years. The tree does remarkably well in California, and we know of its having been set out extensively in Arkansas. So rapid is its growth that possibly as timber it may be found more profitable to raise than grains or fruit, even if not allowed to attain its full growth; while its medicinal properties are doubtless as efficacious in its shrub-like condition as at a riper stage of development. At the same time that the blue-gum is being tested, experiments should also be made of other species of the eucalyptus, especially as they are known to be hardier than the more familiar E. globulus. Signor Branchi, formerly Italian vice-consul at Melbourne, mentions several in a letter to the Florence *Nazione* (July 10). He had seen in Australia, and especially in Tasmania, eucalypti growing on the highest mountains, on which the snow lasts for months in the spring. Naturally they were of a shorter growth than their giant brethren, but live they could and did. Enquiry of Baron von Mueller, director of the Botanic Garden at Melbourne, resulted in the naming of an abundant variety—coriacea, alpina, coccifera, vernicosa, urnigera, stricta, etc.—which endure the frost and flourish up to 1,500 metres above the sea-level. Mueller believed it possible to make them at home on the lowest slopes of the Alps. The rage for the blue-gum, however, has caused it alone to be an ordinary article of commerce, the other species being very costly and hard to procure; and Signor Branchi recommends his countrymen to send out a special collector to Australia and Tasmania to save expense. With its facilities, our Agricultural Bureau might certainly obtain the supply needed for trial in this country, and we again call its attention to the subject.

—A New Yorker, Mr. James Bruyn Andrews, has occupied himself while abroad in preparing a grammar of the Mentonese dialect ('Essai de Grammaire du Dialecte Mentonais, avec quelques contes, chansons, et musique du pays.' Nice: 1875). He states in his preface that no grammar exists for any of the patois from Marseilles to Genoa, even including the large cities. At most some vocabularies or dialectic specimens can be found. The dialect of Menton is eminently one of transition between the French and the Italian, and though it would appear to be difficult of acquisition, it can be read without much difficulty by any one familiar with the two languages from which it is derived. Mr. Andrews contrasts it in sundry particulars with the dialects of Nice and Genoa; it is decidedly less Genoese than that of Monaco. Its range is confined to the canton of Menton, where it varies but little from that spoken in the town itself. It certainly offers a very interesting study in comparative philology. The Latin original occasionally asserts itself somewhat unexpectedly, as in the diminutives *fremenela* (*frema*, femme, woman), and *omenet* (*ome*, homme, man), where the lost *n* of *feminam* and *hominem* reappears; and in *nova* and *nove*, feminine singular and plural of *nou* (sing. and plur.), *novus*, new. Sometimes the vocables go in pairs, between which the choice is indifferent, as (from the Italian) *en giue*, and (from the French) *en garson*, a young man. Mr. Andrews gives a considerable vocabulary of the commonest names, a list of conversational phrases, and several pages of compositions in prose and verse. Those in prose are absurdly amusing; to some of the songs Mr. Andrews has added the music, and it is pretty enough. The weather-sayings of the Mentonese have the piquancy which they are apt to have among all peoples. Thus, of April it is said: "Abri a trenta giorne, e se pioghessa trenta en, no faria ma a nuscen" (April has thirty days; and if it should rain for thirty-one nobody would be the worse for it); and of September: "A volp voe che Setembre aughessa 366 giorne" (Reynard would be glad if September had 366 days). Mr. Andrews has been so unfortunate with his printers that one cannot help thinking that the typographic art in Menton must be in the same transition state as the dialect.

—The Benedictine Abbey of St. Blasien, in the Baden part of the Black Forest, was formerly rich in manuscript treasures. When the French were harrying the country in the early part of this century, most of the manuscripts were carried away from the abbey for security by the monks, and taken to the monastery of St. Paul, near Klagenfurt, in Carinthia. What manuscripts there were left in St. Blasien probably found their way to the Court and State Library at Carlsruhe. We are glad to learn from a German correspondent that there is a chance of ascertaining, with some considerable degree of precision, just what manuscripts there were in St. Blasien. Dr. Alfred Holder is now ransacking the library of St. Paul in search of manuscripts, and particularly of catalogues of manuscripts. Dr. Holder's sagacity and his skill in palæography make it certain that if there is a clue to anything valuable in the library of St. Paul he will get hold of it.

## BANCROFT'S NATIVE RACES OF THE PACIFIC STATES.*

II.

THE second volume of Mr. Bancroft's work relates to the civilized nations of aboriginal America, and the field traversed by it has all the interest of the broader field belonging to the wild tribes, and the additional interest which is found in dealing with that remarkable phenomenon, an independent and isolated "civilization." Of the eight hundred pages which the volume contains, there are only seven or eight in fine type, and these are devoted to an interesting attempt to trace the etymology of the names of the civilized peoples. There are many pages literally packed with references and titles (*e. g.*, p. 501), but these are in the form of foot-notes. All the rest is "plain sailing," and amidst scenery which ought to allure and gratify any intelligent reader. To many, we doubt not, the book will be as a doorway opening toward a new and unheard-of world.

Amongst the great topics of study reserved for the present and succeeding ages, the extinct civilizations of the past occupy a prominent place. Under the guidance of archæology and linguistics, scholars have approached anew the old civilizations of Rome and Greece, to find them teeming with fresh and suggestive facts, and have penetrated through the crust of ages to the still older civilizations of Egypt and Assyria, to find there still other facts to surprise and instruct this conceited modern world. Not a little attention has also been given to the ancient social life of India, China, and Japan; and now the time seems to have fully arrived for a more thorough study of the aboriginal civilizations of America. Ever since the discovery, they have received more or less attention, and we must not forget how much thought and time such authors as Humboldt and Gallatin and Prescott have devoted to them. But it is within a few years past, in such writings as those of Mr. E. G. Squier on Central America and Peru, and those of the late Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg (to whom, by the way, Mr. Bancroft is at once just and generous, on p. 780), and Mr. Herbert Spencer's second volume of Descriptive Sociology, that these grand developments of American power receive any comprehensive scientific treatment. The volume now under review, to which the fourth (on architectural remains) will be supplementary, constitutes the most substantial and valuable addition to the literature of this subject which the present generation has been permitted to welcome from the press. Until the fourth and fifth volumes are before us, we cannot fairly estimate Mr. Bancroft's work in this special department; but, looking at the present volume in the light of the author's announced design "to present these people as they were," we take pleasure in recognizing the largeness of his knowledge, his very vigorous grasp of the whole subject, and his skill in putting on record what constitutes a brilliant picture of nations which were once great but have vanished utterly.

The civilized nations are divided into two great groups, which for convenience are designated "the Nahuas and the Mayas respectively; the first representing the Aztec civilization of Mexico, and the second the Maya-Quiché civilization of Central America." The manners and customs of each of these groups are described under five separate heads; and let those who are

* 'The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America. By Hubert Howe Bancroft. Vol. I. Wild Tribes; Vol. II. Civilized Nations.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875. 8vo.

sceptical in reference to the greatness of the ancient American civilizations observe what topics are enumerated under each of these divisions, and what the type of life must have been which gave origin to such institutions as these :

"The first may be said to include the systems of government, the order of succession, the ceremonies of election, coronation, and anointment, the magnificence, power, and manner of life of their kings, court-forms and observances, the royal palaces and gardens. The second comprises the social system : the classes of nobles, gentry, plebeians, and slaves ; taxation, tenure, and distribution of lands ; vassalage and feudal service ; the inner life of the people, their family and private relations, such as marriage, divorce, and education of youth ; other matters, such as their dress, food, games, feasts and dances, knowledge of medicine, and manner of burial. The third division includes their system of war, their relations with foreign powers, their warriors and orders of knighthood, their treatment of prisoners of war, and their weapons. The fourth division embraces their system of trade and commerce, the community of merchants, their sciences, arts, and manufactures. The fifth and last considers their judiciary, law courts, and legal officials" (pp. 124, 125).

Is it true, then, that the nations which fell so swiftly before the swords of the Spanish invaders had developed so high an order of life as this—that they had so elaborate a system of government, a social life so rigidly stratified, relations so important with foreign powers, trade and commerce, manufactures, arts and sciences, and a judiciary—to say nothing of their religious ritual and their architectural achievements? "It is my sincere desire," says our author in answer to all such questions, "to present these people as they were, not to make them as I would have them, nor to romance at the expense of truth. . . . Truth and accuracy are the principal aim, and these are never sacrificed to graphic style or glowing diction" (p. 124).

After a preliminary "general view," five hundred pages are devoted to the Nahua nations, and a hundred and seventy-five pages to the Mayas. The chapters in which the various topics are treated are full of interesting writing, but of course we cannot follow the author in his long journey, or even mention the subjects which seem to us specially deserving of attention. As compared with Prescott, Mr. Bancroft has the advantage of a wider knowledge of authorities ; as compared with the Abbé Brasseur, he has the advantage of a steadier judgment and a keener scientific sense ; and in consequence, although possessing less artistic feeling and literary skill than either of these authors, his work is more complete and trustworthy than theirs, and therefore more satisfactory to the conscientious reader. We should be glad, if we had room, to make some extended quotations, showing the author's descriptive power and his skill in analysis and combination ; but we can only refer in a general way to the account of the inauguration of the Mexican kings (in chap. iii.), the description of the royal palaces (chap. iv.), of the city of Mexico and the great temple (chap. xviii.), of the public festivals (chap. ix.), and, for those whose tastes are political and sociological, to the account of castes, land-tenure, etc. (in chap. vi.), of their commerce (chap. xii.), of their war-customs (chap. xiii.), and of their laws and law-courts (chap. xiv.) Not less interesting are the accounts of their arts and manufactures, of their elaborate calendar, of their picture-writing, and of their eloquence and poetry. To many it will convey a quite new impression in regard to the hated Indian race to read such a passage as this :

"Love of flowers was a passion with the Aztecs, and they bestowed great care upon the cultivation of gardens. The finest and largest of these were at Iztapalapan and Huastepec. The garden at Iztapalapan was divided into four squares, each traversed by shaded walks, meandering among fruit-trees, blossoming hedges, and borders of sweet herbs. In the centre of the garden was an immense reservoir of hewn stone, four hundred paces square, and fed by navigable canals. A tiled pavement, wide enough for four persons walking abreast, surrounded the reservoir, and at intervals steps led down to the water, upon the surface of which innumerable water-fowl sported. A large pavilion, with halls and corridors, overlooked the grounds" (p. 575).

And how strange it will seem to some of our readers to find that even the boarding-school life of these ancient "barbarians" was so much like that of to-day in our American cities and villages :

"Annexed to the temples were large buildings used as seminaries for girls. The maidens who were educated in them were principally the daughters of lords and princes. They were presided over by matrons or vestal priestesses brought up in the temple, who watched over those committed to their care with great vigilance. Day and night the exterior of the building was strictly guarded by old men to prevent any intercourse between the sexes from taking place ; the maidens could not even leave their apartments without a guard. . . . . When they went out, it was together and accompanied by the matrons ; upon such occasions they were not allowed to raise their eyes, or in any way take notice of any one ; any infringement of these rules was visited with severe punishment. . . . . They were taught the tenets of their religion ; they also learned how to make feather-work, and to spin, and to weave mantles. . . . . At night the pupils slept in large rooms in sight of the matrons, who watched them closely. The daughters of nobles, who entered the seminaries at an early age, remained there until taken away by their parents to be married" (p. 245).

In another part of the description, however, the resemblance to the boarding-schools of the present day is less obvious, for we read :

"They were obliged to be skilful and diligent in all household affairs. They were taught to speak with reverence, and to humble themselves in the presence of their elders, and to observe a modest and bashful demeanor at all times. They rose at daybreak, and whenever they showed themselves idle or rude, punishment was inflicted" (*id.*)

It will be a surprise also to many to find that this almost forgotten people produced such poetry as this, taken from an ode on the "Mutability of Life," by one of the kings of Tezcuco, which proves to have been not only an ode but a prophecy ;

"And thou, O wise Prince Oyoyotzin,
Mighty monarch, and king without equal,
Rejoice in the beauty of spring-time,
Be happy while spring abides with thee ;
For the day creepeth nearer and nearer
When thou shalt seek joy and not find it.

"A day when dark Fate, the destroyer,
Shall tear from thy hand the proud sceptre,
When the moon of thy glory shall lessen,
Thy pride and thy strength be diminished,
The spoil from thy servants be taken,
Thy kingdom and honor go from thee.

"Ah, then, in this day of great sorrow
The lords of thy line will be mournful,
The princes of might will be downcast,
The pride of high birth will avail not:
When thou, their great Head, hast been smitten,
The pains of grim want will assail them.

"Then with bitterness will they remember
The glory and fame of thy greatness,
Thy triumphs so worthy of envy,
Until, while comparing the present
With years that are gone now for ever,
Their tears shall be more than the ocean"—(p. 495).

In treating of the Central-American nations our author adopts the same general plan, but carries it out on a much narrower scale. Not because he considers the Maya civilization less elaborate or important than the Aztec, but because the available data are much more meagre. His account of the Maya calendar, however, is very full (pp. 755–767), and this is followed by an excellent summary (with illustrations) of what is known of the Maya method of writing, and of what has been done toward deciphering the inscriptions upon the Central American ruins (pp. 767–782). But neither here nor in the "list of authorities quoted" at the beginning of the first volume is there any mention made of M. de Charencey, one of the few enthusiastic laborers on this by-path of science, and the man upon whom the mantle of the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg (such as it is) seems to have fallen. Mr. Bancroft has something to say of the relations of these two civilizations—the Nahua and the Maya—to one another ; but, as becomes an author who eschews theorizing, he expresses himself very guardedly. But in thus grouping the civilized peoples in two divisions, he adopts a theory in spite of himself, or, rather, he seems to take for granted what is only an unproved and unsupported hypothesis—that all the civilized nations belonged to one or the other of these two great stocks, and that there were no other independent civilizations within the broad domain which his book covers. Why may we not suppose, for instance, that the civilization of the Tarascos of Michoacan (see p. 108) was as distinct from that of the Aztecs as the latter was from that of the Mayas ? and if so, why treat the two first as if they were one ? It may be said in reply that a wholesale method of treatment was unavoidable ; indeed, the author distinctly announces that his grouping is tentative at best ; but in the detailed account of institutions and customs this fact is sometimes too much lost sight of. Mr. Bancroft expresses, with some hesitation, his belief in the existence of a Toltec epoch preceding the Aztec (p. 98), but he does what he can to break the bondage exercised over many students by the Toltec name, and especially rejects the notion that the Central-American civilization owes its origin to exiled Toltec nations, driven from their home in the Valley of Mexico by incoming barbarians from the north. He claims for the ruins of Copan and Palenque a very high antiquity and an origin entirely independent of any Toltec influence. He believes profoundly in the antiquity of ancient America, for in one place he speaks of the unwritten history of the races he is describing as "reaching back for thousands of ages," where the phrase "thousands of years" would have answered every purpose.

Mr. Bancroft's second volume—like the first—contains an elaborate introductory chapter. Its title is "Savageism and Civilization," and, as it fills eighty pages, it may almost be considered a treatise by itself. It is a dissertation on the causes and conditions of civilization, and is interesting

not only by virtue of its contents, but as showing how thoroughly the author has explored his subject, and upon how broad a basis he placed himself in his preliminary studies. Under the leadership of such thinkers as Spencer, Bagehot, Draper, and Youmans, he goes back to "primal principles," and discusses such themes as force and matter, man as a physical being, the progressional impulse in humanity, the influence of good and evil in the social organism, etc., etc. The subjective conditions of human progress are fully considered from this starting-point, that "in every living thing there is an element of continuous growth; in every aggregation of living things an element of continuous improvement"; and then the objective conditions are taken up (such as climate, the conformation of the continents, etc.), with special reference, of course, to Mexico and Central America. The theory of Buckle, that civilization is invariably the product of heat and moisture, is severely criticised, and the endeavor is made to reach a broader view. We have no serious complaint to offer of the presentation made by Mr. Bancroft of this difficult subject, but throughout his dissertation his devotion to the new evolutionary philosophy is perhaps too marked to suit the taste of orthodox readers.

It was our intention to speak of the bibliography—containing the names of twelve hundred authors—prefixed to the first volume, if only to express surprise at some of the omissions we have observed in running the eye over it. But we must hasten to a close, saying a word or two in conclusion in regard to our author's style. One virtue he possesses in a high degree—perhaps we should say in excess, when we consider that he writes for a promiscuous public—namely, great plainness of speech. There are certainly a good many passages which anxious mothers would hesitate to lay before the eyes of their children. But this plainness of speech is partly the offspring of that straightforward and business-like method which characterizes all the author's work. There is very little of ornament and not a single circumlocution in these sixteen hundred pages, but on every page we find the impress of an earnest and busy thinker, who in all his utterances aims straight at the mark. He is not sufficiently dominated by the æsthetic sense, so that he glides far too easily into newspaper English, and occasionally is guilty of a grammatical blunder; but upon the whole his style is good, because it is so well fitted for his purpose. We intended to specify a few of the solecisms and instances of cheap rhetoric which disfigure these elaborate volumes, but in view of their many excellences it seems a specially ungracious task to do so, and we refrain.

In leaving Mr. Bancroft's book, we desire to express explicitly our thanks for what he has done for the science of man, and especially for American ethnology and history. "Whatever their exact status in the world of nations," says our author, speaking of the Nahuas and Mayas, "they are surely entitled to their place; and a clear and comprehensive delineation of their character and condition fills a gap in the history of humanity." In the education of the future, a place will at length be given to ethnological studies, and the aboriginal condition of America will then occupy more than a few preliminary pages in our historical text-books. The American people, although the offspring of the Old World, will learn to take delight in New-World history, and, although heirs of the Christian civilization of the Orient, they will turn with quickened interest to the vanished civilizations of the West. For the change which must eventually come, the present work will do much to prepare the way.

## NEW NOVELS.*

IN attempting to make a romance of the tolerably familiar biography of Angelica Kaufmann, Miss Thackeray's touch seems to us to have lost its usual fineness. The story is a pretty one in itself, but Miss Thackeray has not succeeded in giving it either the vividness or the coherence that we look for in a novel. It is part of her skill, generally, to remind the reader, lightly, of certain tones, certain half-tones, in the style of the author of 'The Newcomes'; but in so far as 'Miss Angel' suggests in any degree the minor graces of Thackeray's style, it suggests them to its disadvantage. Miss Thackeray emulates her father here, not perhaps in his most successful, but at least in his most difficult attempts. When he put Addison, Steele, Swift, Washington, Johnson, upon the stage, he was not at his best; but never, perhaps, was there more reason to notice the charm of a style which could carry off even a failure. Miss Thackeray deals with several persons registered in history not long since, but she has not made their images more lifelike than she found them. They strike us as rather pale and tame, and they are embedded in much discursive allusion, of a sentimental sort, in which a certain falsetto note has not always been evaded. Miss Thackeray is decidedly a writer, and she often phrases things in a very charming fashion, but she occasionally suffers herself to fall into a certain rhetorical amateurishness. An example of this presents itself in the opening lines of the book, where she tells us that Angelica's "little head is charmingly set upon its frame." What is the *frame* of a head? The analogy that the word suggests strikes us as imperfect. Miss Thackeray is very fond of description, but her descriptions are often fatally unbusinesslike. There is a general flashing and glowing and streaming and melting, but in the midst of it all rarely a definite image. If Nature, with Miss Thackeray, is meant to be merely incidental and parenthetic, we have rather too much of her; if she is meant to be important and essential, she is too vague and desultory. The author of 'Miss Angel' has grace, humor, warmth, literary feeling, but she tells her tale too much by mere allusions.

There are doubtless now living many well-informed people who have never heard of Mrs. Oliphant, but we can assure them that Mrs. Oliphant and her writings are among the most extraordinary literary phenomena of the day. This lady's fertility has long been a familiar source of amazement to us; she turns off, if we are not mistaken, her half-dozen works a year. The most singular part of it is that they are very good; it is not mere speed; it is speed and safety too. You open 'Whiteladies'—the latest, we were going to say, but we will by no means answer for that—you read half-a-dozen pages, and you feel like laying down the book. You see what it is—fiction by the square yard; its portentous prolixity tells you that. The author is writing so fast that she has no time to choose; she must take everything that comes. Mrs. Oliphant takes everything, and tells a very long story, but the stream of improvisation is so well under her control and flows in so clear a current that she is able to offer us a very fair average brilliancy. You feel at the end of your half-dozen pages that you know the mechanism, and declare that you don't want machine-made entertainment; that this sort of thing can possibly have no illusion. But your eye wanders further; it skims and skips; and presently you find you are mildly interested. You go from one chapter to another, you turn the pages, the even current bears you along, and at the end of an hour you are actually reading 'Whiteladies.' You can have done both better and worse—worse, certainly, vastly worse, if you pick up a novel of the day at hazard. Practice makes perfect; Mrs. Oliphant has prodigious fertility and fluency, and, considering the quantity, the quality is quite remarkable. 'Whiteladies' is the story of an old country-house of Henry VII.'s time, and of the surreptitious attempt of an amiable spinster to introduce a false heir. False heirs in novels are a trifle stale, and old country-houses (which, it is true, are not always so prettily described as this one of Mrs. Oliphant's) have not the glamor they once possessed; but there was some novelty in the idea of making a comfortable elderly lady of the type of Miss Susan Austin perpetrator of a serious penal offence. We would not have had her pay the full penalty of her indiscretion, but we cannot help thinking that something more interesting in a dramatic way might have been made to come of it than her confession, as it is here related, and her placid tea-drinking life afterwards. 'Whiteladies' strikes us as having been written from page to page, without a plan, and we imagine that when Mrs. Oliphant began to relate Miss Susan's fraud she had very little idea whether she would make it a tragedy or a comedy. The drawback of this inexpensive improvisation has been that her pages are filled with persons whom she is quite at a loss how to dispose of, at the same time that, although prettily enough sketched, they are not as mere portraits sufficiently entertaining to justify themselves. The whole story moves in the Austin family, some of whom it has been the author's fancy to make Belgian shopkeepers, and some others French gentlefolk. We incline to believe that, if she had allowed herself time to think, she would not have created this complexity of foreign races. It is very well and very picturesque that the baby whom Miss Austin attempts to smuggle into the family should be Belgian, but we do not see what was gained by making the rightful heir two-thirds a Frenchman. His sister is the youthful heroine of the tale, but it is hard to imagine a heroine whose position should be more of a sinecure. Of course, at the worst, Mrs. Oliphant can marry her, but this, under the circumstances, is a scanty service. Why, too, should Giovanna, Miss Austin's accomplice, who pretends to be the mother of this interpolated baby, be three-quarters an Italian? The colors in Giovanna's portrait strike us as very much mixed, and all this imbroglio of nationalities seems decidedly arbitrary. The book is clever and readable, however, and decidedly superior to most current novels by female hands. Mrs. Oliphant can write English, though she has some rather foolish mannerisms, and her style conveys a suggestion of a greater general intellectual force than is now usually thought requisite for prosperous novel-writing. But she constantly gives us an impression that she might do better if she would suffer her ideas to ripen. We may be

* 'Miss Angel. By Miss Thackeray.' New York: Harper & Bros. 1875.

' Whiteladies. By Mrs. Oliphant.' New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1875.

wrong, however, and this diffuse, superficial, occasionally slipshod Mrs. Oliphant may be, on the whole, the best Mrs. Oliphant possible. We confess, however, that as we read we were conscious of the importunity of two alternating questions: Is this a writer capable of finer things, jaded and demoralized by incessant production? or is it a writer in whom inspiration naturally flows thin, who has thoroughly learnt the trick of the trade, and who, in grinding out a smooth, tame, respectable novel, is simply fulfilling her ideal? We gave it up, as the phrase is, but the problem in its way was interesting, and it helped us through 'Whiteladies.'

The author of 'Wyncote' has much less practice and facility, but we are by no means sure that there is not more illusion in her simple and shrewd little narrative than in the clever amplitude of the tale we have just noticed. 'Wyncote' is, indeed, a very pleasing little novel; it is what young girls call an extremely *pretty* story. It looks like no great things at first (especially when one finds Mrs. Erskine getting the simplest Italian words quite wrong—she has brought her people as tourists to Rome), but as the reader goes on he finds humor and a neat and graceful style, and discrimination of character, and, in a quiet way, considerable art. 'Wyncote' is also the history of an old country-house, with which the fortunes of various persons are more or less entertainingly connected. English novelists are greatly to be envied with their easy abundance of historic manors and legendary halls. Americans are apt to feel that if *they* only had such material they would make no vulgar use of it. Mrs. Erskine's heroine is a young girl who has been brought from Rome, where she was the much-tried daughter of a blind and starving old English artist, to officiate as companion to an ancient lady, under the eye of the latter's daughter, a strenuous old maid of charitable pursuits and a romantic history. Miss Camilla, the old maid, is extremely good, and the author has happily commingled in her composition the disagreeable and the sympathetic. There are various other persons, especially a certain Lydia Ashton, a young lady who "goes in" for the highest æsthetic culture, and who, if she lived in New York or Boston, would be a representative of Morris wall-papers and eccentric dados. She is very well done, her companions are lightly but happily touched, and the story, albeit rather tame, is agreeably and naturally unfolded. It has a compactness and symmetry which denote an artistic instinct, and it is, in a very good sense of the term, a ladylike book.

Mrs. Jenkin has done very much better things than 'Within an Ace,' and we are quite at loss to explain the genesis of this incongruous tale. It treats of a gentleman in Edinburgh who has taken a young girl named "Cattie" to live with him as a daughter. He has several other daughters, one in especial named Tottie, whose conversation consists exclusively in feeble and ill-timed conundrums. To these young ladies comes a French Count, and forthwith proposes to marry Cattie. We had expected, from the début, a quiet tale of life in Edinburgh from the point of view of the author of the 'Heir of Redclyffe,' but we are speedily transported to France, and to the most illustrious society (the French Count's mother, for instance, is near of kin to a reigning sovereign), and entangled among Cattie's matrimonial vicissitudes. We do not profess to have understood them or to have obtained the slightest inkling of Mrs. Jenkin's purpose, moral or dramatic. French counts in English novels are generally very loose fellows, and the ladies who marry them are not to be envied. Mrs. Jenkin apparently has had a wish to rehabilitate an injured race, and she has made her Count the victim of his Scotch wife's naughtiness. Cattie pouts and sulks, distresses her husband, and disgusts the reader. The latter has no clue to her moods, and, to tell the truth, he takes but a languid interest in the tale. He has never got over his surprise at finding that the household in Edinburgh, and Tottie's conundrums, and the enmity borne to Cattie by a certain ill-conditioned Uncle Dan, are all a mere blind alley, leading nowhither, and that he is launched into a pale simulacrum of the usual French novel of matrimonial impropriety. Not that there is any impropriety here: Mrs. Jenkin, to account for Cattie's vapors, hasn't given her the shadow of a lover. She has only given her a pernicious friend, a certain Mme. d'Aiguillon, who treats her to all manner of wicked counsel. There is no knowing, however, what Cattie might have done in consequence, if the story had not suddenly terminated. Mrs. Jenkin relates all this incoherent stuff with a vivacity and assurance worthy of a better cause.

The general difference between English and French novels is that the former are obviously addressed in a great measure to young unmarried women, and that the latter directly count them out. The strength of each species, we think, lies on the whole in their adhering to this natural division. M. André Theuriet apparently thinks otherwise. He has written a novel which (we suppose) a *demoiselle* may read, but which, in spite of its having originally come out in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, will not be found remunerative by sterner minds. A French novel pitched in the English key is apt both to forfeit its characteristic charms and to miss the homelier graces of our own school. This has been the fortune of M. Theuriet, who has not succeeded any more than several cleverer Frenchmen before him in drawing a tolerable portrait of that familiar figure in English fiction, the young girl who combines liberty with modesty. M. Theuriet, like his predecessors, loses no time in telling us that this and that and the other point in his heroine's carriage and conversation were very "chaste." From the moment that we have to be assured and reminded of this circumstance, the illusion, for ourselves, is gone. We had no idea that that thing of pernicious possibilities, a "French novel," could be so flat and pointless as 'Le Mariage de Gérard.'

M. Gustave Droz, after being for several years the most brilliant of the younger French story-tellers, has passed into an unaccountable eclipse. With 'Les Etangs' he only partly emerges from it; for if the story is more readable than the one which preceded it (the inconceivable 'Femme Gênante'), it owes this merit to its not really being a story. The author has laid his hand upon some curious old letters, and he publishes them in a slender fictitious setting. Or are the letters, too, possibly an invention of his own? In this case, 'Les Etangs' would be very clever, and yet be still very inferior to the works which made its author's fame.

The first fifty pages of 'Mr. Smith' tempt the reader to believe that Jane Austen has found a rival, or at least a very successful imitator. As the story advances, this impression fades away; though the reader is still entertained, he lowers his expectations. Miss Austen, in her best novels, is interesting to the last page; the tissue of her narrative is always close and firm, and though she is minute and analytical, she is never prolix or redundant. In being twice too long, 'Mr. Smith' only incurs the same reproach as nine-tenths of the clever novels of the day. The author has undertaken to report in full every sentence of every conversation that took place in a certain village and its neighborhood during a certain winter when Mr. Smith came to take up his abode there and put the marriageable young ladies into a flutter. Her pages contain an inordinate amount of talk; at least half of it might be spared. Half, however, is excellent for humor and observation; it is just the talk which would have taken place in those particular circumstances. The "sensational" novel has been greatly denounced, but the English fiction of our day has certainly gone very far in the portrayal of quiet life. 'Mr. Smith,' it seems to us, marks the uttermost limit, and in reading this volume we have wondered not a little at the skill which could throw such homely incidents into so entertaining a light. The skill is for the most part in the writer's humor—humor of a gentle, circumspect, feminine order, but, such as it is, very alert and abundant. Mr. Smith is a rich old bachelor who comes to make himself a home in a genteel village, and the story relates the matrimonial campaign of four or five more or less desperate spinsters. This is a familiar situation, but the author makes us smile at it afresh. Indeed, looking at things critically, we feel tempted to accuse her of making us smile too much. The state of mind of young girls like the Misses Tolleton and the Misses Hunt is half-pitiable and half-contemptible, and Miss Walford seems to us to have gone quite astray in attempting, toward the close of her tale, to inspire us with a sympathetic interest in a heroine whose baser nature she has so satirically exposed as that of Helen Tolleton. This young person baits her hook for Mr. Smith more artfully than her rivals, and fairly lands her prize. But just after being accepted, Mr. Smith, who remains throughout the book a rather impalpable shadow, dies abruptly of a mysterious malady, and this manœuvring maid is brought to confusion. Here, on all grounds, the story should have ended. But it has contained one other marriageable man, and he is promptly handed over to Miss Tolleton in compensation for her loss. This surely is rather vulgar morality—for morality it pretends to be. Be very mercenary, we infer, be cold and hypocritial and snobbish, and all things, at the end, will be well with you. 'Mr. Smith' will possibly be even more entertaining to American readers than to English, but the former will ask themselves a few independent questions. Is the matrimonial market in England really so "tight" as Miss Walford would have us believe, and is the business of procuring a husband carried on with such explicit frankness? Do well-conditioned young girls, like the Misses Tolleton, discuss their own private enterprises in this line with the

'Wyncote. By Mrs T. Erskine.' New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1-75.
'Within an Ace. By Mrs. C. Jenkin.' New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1875.
'Le Mariage de Gérard. Par André Theuriet.' Paris: Charpentier; New York: Christern. 1875.

'Les Etangs. Par Gustave Droz.' Paris: Hetzel; New York: Christern. 1875.
'Mr. Smith. By L. B. Walford.' New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1875.

crudity—the brutality, we might almost say—observable in the conversations here recorded? If this is the case, 'Mr. Smith' is more than entertaining; it is really valuable. We should not forget to commend the portrait of Mrs. Hunt, the doctor's wife, and another of two unremunerative daughters whom Mr. Smith does not marry. She is drawn with a quite masterly acuteness, and we would retain all *her* conversation verbatim. We decidedly recommend the book as it stands, but the author will do still better if she makes a point of compression.


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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1875.*

## The Week.

ON Wednesday week the Massachusetts Democrats held their State Convention, and, as was expected, renominated Mr. Gaston for Governor. They joined to him, as Lieutenant-Governor, Gen. Wm. F. Bartlett, an independent in politics, who may or may not, it is said, consent to part company with the Republicans. Up to this time, however, he has not declined the nomination, and he has thrown his weight, which is considerable, in favor of the strongest possible nominations on the part of the Republicans. Not only is his character as good as Gov. Gaston's, but his personality is much more vigorous and pronounced, and he has many elements of popularity. He represents, too, the western part of the State, the section which is just now causing the regular party leaders among the Republicans the greatest anxiety. The platform consisted of twelve planks, two of which were given to burying the issues of the civil war; two to arraigning the Republican party for divers shortcomings; three to praise of Gov. Gaston and Gen. Bartlett. The third resolution opposes "any further issue by the Government of a currency inconvertible with gold—the world's recognized measure of values," and urges a speedy return to specie payments. The sixth is an *ad-captandum* generality on capital and labor; the seventh congratulates the people on the repeal of the prohibitory law; the eighth we do not profess to understand, but it denounces, as anti-Democratic, "constitutional amendments which limit or restrict the election of public officers by the people"—including, we suppose, the judiciary; the ninth takes an "honest pride" in the progress of "reconciliation, peace, and fraternity" as shown by the late Bunker-Hill commemoration. The hard-money plank elicited a single opposing speech and opposing vote.

Buncombe and hard money excluded, this platform announces very little concerning the Democratic party in Massachusetts except that it regards itself as better than the Republican, which it can only accuse of extravagant increase of the public debt of the State, its other sins being transferred to it from the party at large. In other words, the challenge is not as to policy but as to men, and that the Republicans feel this keenly has been very evident during the week. In ordinary times, Mr. Rice would be a "good enough Morgan" to beat both Loring and the Democratic candidate; but it is, first, extremely doubtful whether he can dislodge Gov. Gaston as an incumbent, who has given general satisfaction; and in the next place, he cannot expect that the name associated with his as candidate for Lieutenant-Governor will have anything like the prestige that attaches to Gen. Bartlett's. The one thing clear is that Dr. Loring, if he gets the nomination, will lose the election for the party. That under these circumstances the nomination of Charles Francis Adams has seemed more and more of a necessity and a possibility, instead of a piece of harmless enthusiasm on the part of the Springfield *Republican*, is not surprising. The Worcester *Spy* and other papers in the middle and western portion of the State have come out for him, a certain number of delegates have been instructed to vote for him, and many of the unpledged are confidently counted on as his supporters. Mr. George Wm. Curtis, too, in a creditable private letter, as unlike as possible Mr. Henry Wilson's ambiguous letter of advice, has warmly counselled the nomination of Mr. Adams, on party as well as on public grounds, and doubtless with some effect, as the letter speedily got into print. As we go to press the convention is doing its work, and the news of the result will outstrip any speculation of ours upon it. The indifference, timidity, or open hostility of the Boston papers and politicians does not encourage us to hope that Massachusetts will honor herself with such a Governor as Mr. Adams would be. Gen. Butler has been elected as one of the delegates, but it is said he will absent himself, although his partisans are commonly supposed to be those of Dr. Loring.

Judge Pershing, the Democratic candidate for the Governorship in Pennsylvania, has written a very adroit letter of acceptance. He gets over his unfortunate career as a Copperhead during the war by pronouncing all the issues with the South settled, and then gives his whole mind to the consideration of the currency. He says "he is opposed to inflation in its true sense, and inflation is not demanded by the Erie platform." It simply opposes contraction, which he thinks would produce untold misery. We must wait until we stop exporting gold to pay interest on our indebtedness abroad, before specie payments can be safely resumed, but when that period will be he prudently refrains from mentioning. He is in favor of such a volume of the currency as "the legitimate demands of business" may require; but here again he 'cutely forbears to mention what amount this is, or whether anybody knows or can know anything about it, but does not hesitate to hand the duty of determining it over to Congress. The close of his letter is curious, as illustrating the distinction which we have lately several times maintained exists, and has existed from the beginning, in the Democratic mind between bank paper and Government paper. "I will only add," he says, "that I adhere to the doctrine always held by the Democratic party, that gold and silver constitute the true basis *for a bank-note circulation*. The question as to this is not the same with that as to a paper currency that is of itself made by the sovereign power a legal tender, and *therefore money*." This is about as clear as mud; but what does the *World* say to it? We would advise Judge Pershing to ask himself, as a mental exercise, what the effect on bank circulation would be of a declaration by "the sovereign power" that it too was a legal tender. Would this make it "money"? If not, why not? If so, why does a bank circulation need to be based on gold and silver? Why not pass an act to save banks the trouble of keeping coin and make their bills a legal tender in payment of debts, and thus have the delightful abundance of "the circulating medium" described by Nasby at the Confedrit Cross-Roads?

The leading men of the Pennsylvania Industrial League, Messrs. Joseph Wharton, Henry C. Lea, and William Sellers, who have in times past acted with and supported Mr. William D. Kelley on fiscal questions, have found it necessary to issue a circular addressed to their old friends and associates disclaiming all connection with that gentleman in his present currency schemes, which they pronounce "revolutionary," and "intrinsically and in the highest degree unsound," and "devoid of that hold on common sense without which no financial structure has ever long endured, no matter by what ingenuity introduced, or by what authority enforced." We would submit, however, to these gentlemen whether it has not occurred to them that the prolonged heat, not to say fanaticism, with which all parties in Pennsylvania, including the Industrial League, have enforced the doctrine that the Government is bound not only to help to found and encourage branches of industry, but to come to their relief by changes in taxation whenever they are from any cause depressed and need higher prices, is not producing its natural fruits, in debauching the public mind in that State on the whole question of the relations of the people to the Government? In our view, that effect of the protective system on which free-traders dwell most—the taxation of one portion of the community for the benefit of another—is small and insignificant compared to the effect the system produces in confusing the minds of plain people as to the things which they ought to do for themselves, and those which the community at

large ought to do for them; and in a country governed by universal suffrage this effect is dangerous in the highest degree.

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Mr. Schurz has made his opening speech to an immense meeting at Cincinnati, and it is safe to say that, as a happy and effective piece of popular oratory, in the best sense of that term, it was as good as anything he has ever uttered. He took occasion in opening to repudiate the assumption that he was working back into the Republican party, or that he was doing any other work in Ohio than he had done in the Senate when he withstood the inflationists of both parties in that body last winter. Some of his *reductiones ad absurdum*, performed on the venerable Allen's speeches, were very happy specimens of that argument. Allen meets the difficulty about the great accumulation of money in the banks just now by the assertion that money in bank is of no more use to the community than "corn-stalks," and Senator Schurz had actually to point out to an acute commercial community that the talk of the old war-horse was nonsense, because, as it is the custom of the American people to deposit their money in banks as soon as they get it, if money in bank is of no use to trade, the issue of greenbacks to "bring the volume of the currency up to the wants of trade" would have to be limitless and unending. It is of course useless and more or less dangerous to prophesy about a contest which at best will be close, but from all we hear there is good reason for believing that it will end in a decisive victory for the friends of a sound currency. In fact, considering the character of Allen's opinions and speeches, his election would justify very gloomy views about things far more important than the vote of any one State on any one question.

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We had an inflation meeting in this city on Thursday last which had been long heralded, but somehow was by no means a success. Butler and Wendell Phillips were not among the speakers, though they had been promised; but the latter wrote a letter insinuating that some public men were crazy, though he judiciously refrained from enumerating them. The audience was small, and hostile to the objects of the meeting, and the speeches were sad affairs. The resolutions repeated the old and well-known wish that "the volume of the currency should be made and kept equal to the wants of trade"; demanded the withdrawal of all national-bank notes and the substitution of greenbacks, and that the latter should be received in payment of all public dues, including at least one-half the customs duties, forgetting, we hope, that this would be cheating; and, finally, the establishment of free State banks of discount and deposit. Such of the speakers as touched on the currency—for some spoke of nearly everything else—treated it metaphysically, that is, not as one of the tangible facts of life, but as a figment of their own imaginations, to be shaped as they pleased. Nobody would suppose from their talk that the human will and human liberty of choice had anything to do with the value of different kinds of currency.

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Secretary Delano has at last resigned, in a long letter, in which he reminds the President that he wished to resign last fall, when the President asked him to remain; that he repeated his wish last spring with the same result; and the reasons for this decision were the importance, intricacy, and difficulties of the duties of his office, which he enumerates, and his own skill and fidelity in the discharge of them, and his necessary exposure to falsehood and misrepresentation on account of them. He adds that during all this time he has had the entire confidence and sympathy and co-operation of the President, while he on his part has for the President the "highest regard, founded upon unqualified confidence in his unselfish patriotism, the accuracy and solidity of his judgment, and on the high sense of justice which has always characterized him." The general impression, in fact, conveyed by the letter is that one man of extraordinary talents and virtue has been employed by another to execute a task of extreme difficulty, which he has performed to the complete satisfaction of both. In reply, the President sends the usual testimonial which he gives them all when they go out of office. He says he has received his letter of resignation of July 5 in due course, but held it on account of the "continued persecution which was being unjustly heaped on Mr. Delano by the public press." He accepts it now in order to give his successor time to prepare for the meeting of Congress. He confirms Mr. Delano's story about his desire to retire a year ago, and his own unwillingness to let him do so, and trusts that "the future will set him right with the public," and that he will enjoy its confidence as heretofore, and assures him of his continued respect and friendship. As the President bore testimony of a similar character to the virtues of "Boss" Shepherd, by promptly renominating him for the office out of which he had been legislated for corruption, he can hardly take it amiss if we assume that his testimonials are not now worth anything to anybody, and that he might as well have let Mr. Delano go in silence.

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Mr. Delano, with an affectation of modesty which is highly becoming, would fain hope that the results of his administration of the Internal Revenue Office are not entirely unknown to his fellow-citizens. He presided over that office for a year and eight months, but, according to our recollection, he gave it very little of his personal attention, and left it in a condition which betokened anything but intelligent, consistent management or executive efficiency. The year following he had so far forgotten the cost of collecting the revenue that, in a stump-speech in Ohio, he made out a difference of nearly two millions and a half between the last year of Johnson's and the first of Grant's Administration, whereas the decrease had been only about $160,000. This was a pretty serious error for a chief officer to make who desired to be remembered by his fellow-citizens, and it was heightened by a disingenuous omission to state that the taxes under Johnson were much more numerous and complicated than they were subsequently, and required a larger force to collect them; and that the ratio of cost of collection to net receipts was, if anything, higher in 1869–70 than in some of the years immediately preceding. In short, if there is anything we shall have to remember about Mr. Delano, it is that he succeeded an honest and capable Secretary of the Interior, who resigned because he would not allow politicians to meddle with the affairs of the Department, and that he in turn resigned long after it was evident that he was not capable, and at a time when his going, unlike Secretary Cox's, added strength to the Administration by removing a burden.

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Mr. Henry Clews, our late Government banker, as Clews, Habicht & Co. in London, applied last week for his discharge in bankruptcy, but it was opposed on the ground of fraud by many creditors, and the hearing was postponed until September 30. The alleged frauds are very numerous, but mostly arise out of the dealings of the firm in carpet-bag bonds of the Southern States, and out of the transfer of assets left on Mr. Clews's hands when he first failed in 1873 to a new firm which he subsequently formed, and which soon failed also. Among the claims filed against him last Thursday, on which another charge of fraud is based, is one of two persons named Cheever and Van Buren, who produce a contract made with them by him in July, 1869, by which he agreed, in case he was appointed "the financial agent of the Government in London, Paris, and Frankfort, to divide the profits of the same with B. H. Cheever and James Van Buren, one quarter each, they being partners in such proportion." They now allege that he made $600,000 by his agency, and has not fairly divided with them. It thus appears that Clews was working for the agency two years before he got it; and what the public would now like to know, and what, we trust, the next Congress will take pains to find out, is, who B. H. Cheever and James Van Buren are, and *why* Clews agreed to give them half his profits in case he was put in a Government place of high financial trust and responsibility.

The existence of this contract came to our knowledge in the spring of last year. We always suspected that the existence of something of the kind was necessary to account for Clews's appointment. Mr. Boutwell, who made it, gave for it a reason which was on its face absurd, that the Treasury wished to put the business in American hands (Clews was an Englishman and his partner Habicht a Swede), and that the Barings had unduly pressed the State Department for a small balance during the war, which was untrue. We have never had the slightest doubt that this extraordinary change had a job of some kind, and probably a disgraceful one, concealed in it, and we believed that Mr. Boutwell was responsible for it, as he was in part for the Sanborn scandal. We hope that the next House will therefore thoroughly investigate him on this point, and that his health will not break down under it at the critical moment, as it did in the Simmons trouble. He is one of a class of politicians who just now will repay the close and undivided attention of all patriotic men, we mean the class which unites great skill in the low arts of politics—those of chicane and intrigue—with an exterior of austere republican virtue and simplicity.

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The Cheever and Van Buren claim is likely to have one curious result. On inspecting the contract, in which these two are described as partners for one-half the profits of the Government financial agency, which amounted as they say to $600,000, the Trustees in Bankruptcy decided that the partners were liable for their share of the amounts, and they have accordingly begun proceedings against them. The point raised, it will be seen, resembles somewhat in morals though not in law that made against Mr. Henry C. Bowen, of the *Independent*, on the contract to push the sale of the Northern Pacific bonds by the use of his money and editorial columns, by Mr. E. R. Robinson, the counsel for the trustee of Jay Cooke's estate. By the bye, why does Mr. Robinson not push on that suit? Is Mr. Bowen to be allowed to go on saying his prayers daily with that mass of ill-gotten stock and bonds on his shoulders? Does the Trustee not owe it to Mr. Bowen's soul to try to the utmost to relieve him of it?

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The autumn trade has made good progress during the week, and in some departments there has been a degree of activity not witnessed for several seasons. The rule, however, with buyers continues to be to take small lots, make quick sales, and replenish stock frequently. Under favorable circumstances, such as seasonable weather, country traders can buy goods for "cash," and turn them into money, and make their payments to city jobbers, within the time which the term "cash" covers. In business like this no paper is made, and the extent to which it is carried on is an explanation of the small stock of mercantile paper in the market. The favorable side of this kind of business is its entire safety to all concerned; the unfavorable side is that it betokens lack of confidence in the future. The crops of the country meet the highest expectations; the lowest estimate for cotton is 4,250,000 bales, and from this it runs up to 4,650,000 bales. With such a crop, even at a low price, the South particularly and the country generally cannot fail to be largely benefited. Other Southern crops, like sugar and rice, are also exceptionally good. In the West, wheat will be above the average, and the corn crop will be the largest ever produced. A low price for cotton is inevitable, both because of the immense crop and the depressed condition of manufacturing interests here and in England. During the week there has been a decline in breadstuffs, the foreign markets having for the time been overstocked by the heavy shipments there in July and August, when it was thought the European harvests had failed; the continued disorder of the foreign-exchange market has also worked against the breadstuff markets. Notwithstanding all this, however, it is known that Europe wants and must have a larger amount of grain from us than during the past two years, and later in the season the movement is expected to reach large proportions, provided the foreign-exchange market can be kept free and clear. Gold has ruled at 116¼ to 116⅜, and the holders of it have the same control, but in respect to gold loans have exercised more forbearance, and with the result of a less fitful foreign-exchange market. There has been less coin imported than was expected, and not enough to give relief. It is still the settled opinion of bankers that a large amount of gold will have to be imported to move the crops. At noon on Saturday the value of $100 currency was $85 74.

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There has been a strike among the operatives at Fall River, as everybody knows, for many weeks, to which the manufacturers were not at all averse, as it gave them a good excuse for lying idle during the dull times. Many or most of the mills resumed work on Monday, exacting, however, from all workers presenting themselves for employment a written pledge not to belong to the unions by which the strikes are begun or controlled. This caused the recalcitrants outside to form a mob, and attack those who had surrendered, on their way to or from their work, and there was finally a riot on a small scale, which caused the mayor to call out the militia. The fact is that the directors of strikes have so little judgment or discretion, and strikes are now becoming so common, that it is difficult for manufacturers to form any reliable calculation in the conduct of their business, and the exaction of some guarantee of steadiness and persistence from workers seems absolutely necessary if capital is to find any safe field in certain kinds of production calling for expensive buildings and machinery. What will be the end of the struggle, as at present conducted, it would be hard to say.

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The news from Europe is mainly made up of rumors and counter-rumors from Herzegovina. As a general rule, the reports of insurgent successes have turned out false, while those of Turkish successes have been confirmed, a circumstance which prepares one for the despatch to the London *Standard* that "a bureau has been established at Belgrade for furnishing false and warlike news," which is not unlikely. The Servians have worked themselves up to fever heat, and have been mobilizing their troops, buying horses, and making other bellicose preparations, but the restraining hand of Austria will doubtless prevent any outbreak of hostilities, though there is always danger from chance collisions on the frontier. It is almost impossible for a Turkish patrol or sentinel to look long at an unarmed Servian without taking a shot at him, and the converse is equally true. The mediating consuls have got back to Mostar, the capital of Herzegovina, after a wild-goose chase after the insurgent headquarters, which are literally "in the saddle," and without having accomplished anything in the way of negotiation. The rebels are scattered and worn out, and the country is at the mercy of the Turks and greatly desolated, one of the deplorable accompaniments of Turkish fighting being the presence of large bodies of irregulars from Anatolia and Albania, who eat up everything, or burn and destroy what they leave. A joint appeal of the Christian powers to the Porte to make concessions and restore peace is the last thing talked of.

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From Spain the news comes that the late Minister Castillo was not so stiff in his hostility to the priesthood as had been supposed; that the Pope has his promise that the new Government would try to observe the concordats, and that, therefore, the late circular of the Nuncio to the bishops was not as unjustifiable as it seemed. Moreover, the rumor that the Nuncio had been recalled is contradicted, and, in fact, it looks as if the Alfonsists were again bidding against the Carlists for the support of the priests. The stories about the military operations are as conflicting as ever, but it seems as if the Government forces were really gaining ground. The longer Alfonso manages to stay on the throne, the better his chances are, and the order for an election of the Cortes in December looks as if he thought himself strong enough to set up a regular Government. A good deal will depend on its composition when it meets.

## THE PARTY AND THE PRESS.

ONE of the most gratifying features in the present crisis is the readiness of the two parties to offer good nominations to the electors. Both in this State and in Massachusetts, for instance, the voters have the prospect of an alternative which, for general excellence, has not been presented to them for a long while. This is, in fact, due to the exhaustion of the platform as a means of influencing opinion. During the ten years which have elapsed since the war, both parties have mainly relied on their platform, which was so drawn as to have as much sound and cover as much space as possible. One of its essential features, and not the least amusing for a long time, was the insertion of a clause intended, by some vague, meaningless phrases, to flatter or soothe or reassure all classes and interests, however much opposed to each other. The party, for instance, regularly once a year undertook, with unblushing front, to solve all those problems of society which lie in the reconciliation of conflicting claims, or, in other words, all the really serious problems of politics. It would offer to pass laws which would satisfy the laborer and capitalist, the borrower and the lender, the poor and the rich, the carrier and the passenger, the bailer and bailee, mortgagor and mortgagee, the producer and consumer, the farmer and manufacturer, and so on through the list of social and legal relations; and then, at the close, there was apt to be a highly entertaining plank, based on the assumption that some evil-disposed persons were engaged in trying to prevent the payment of the pensions of the soldiers and sailors, and conveying the assurance that the convention had its eye on them, and would foil their nefarious game. Of course, to do even half the work which the party thus cut out for itself, supposing it to be the party in power, there would have to be a large and carefully arranged collection of statistics in the hands of the Government; a body, larger or smaller, of leaders of legislation capable of drawing conclusions from them; a majority in Congress willing to be guided by the best opinion of the civilized world on the knotty points of political economy and jurisprudence; and a public sentiment, either thoroughly enlightened on the more recondite questions of the day, or else prepared to support somebody who was. But to such a combination of circumstances nobody concerned in drawing platforms ever looked. Indeed, any mention of such a thing as a necessary accompaniment or consequence of the platform would have excited great laughter in the committee-room, and a dozen representatives of the Ungrammatical Plain Man would have jumped up to say that they thought that the country could be saved without all this fuss. The general result was apt to be, that, to a declaration of principles worthy of a council of Comtist sages, there was appended a list of candidates whose views on the prominent topics of the day were as simple and artless as those of the Congressman who, finding the currency forcing itself on his attention, determined to "read up" on it, and demanded of the Washington bookseller 'John Smith on the Wealth of the People,' but, learning that this was not to be had, admitted that 'Barnum's Art of Making Money' would do just as well.

This plan of making a high-sounding platform do all the work of the canvass, and, in fact, serve in place of legislation—of which a good illustration is to be found in the Republican action with regard to the civil-service reform after the declarations of the Philadelphia Convention—was pursued with tolerable success until 1872, when the Cincinnati movement and the interest which it at first excited showed that it did not work well. Then came the theory that the Republican party in power was a kind of church, which had to be reformed from the inside, for which there could be no substitute, and the leaders of which derived from the possession of "orders," if we may use the expression, a constant right to lead in spite of occasional aberrations. This lasted two years, or until last fall, when the party, after drawing up platforms of more than usual power and volume, nominated exactly the same old hacks for office as before, and found to its astonishment that the public was not only tired of platforms but had lost confidence in "reform within the party," and was disposed to seek reform anywhere. The result is that this year we have increased care on both sides in the selection of candidates, and increased modesty and simplicity in the construction of platforms, and a total silence about the pensions of the soldiers and sailors. Neither party offers to solve all the great social problems, and regenerate the commonwealth within the twelvemonth next ensuing. The most that either promises to do is to restore specie payments, and secure common honesty in the management of the public funds, or else to ward off the horrible calamity of a contraction of the currency. It is true that Kelley promises the joys of Eden through his 3-65 bond, but then he has not succeeded in inducing either Republicans or Democrats formally to adopt his schemes.

Of course all this is full of suggestions. There is one, however, that presents itself with peculiar prominence, and that is the enquiry why the better, semi-independent class of Republican newspapers—of which *Harper's Weekly* may be taken as a good type—which have to a certain extent assumed the relation of a loving observer and critic towards it instead of the old one of organ—why this class delays its criticisms and its warnings until things reach the sad pass in which we now see them in this State, for instance. Why not speak out more boldly when the first signs of deterioration in an Administration present themselves? The first sign that General Grant had abandoned the strait and narrow way on which we all supposed that he had entered when he took office, was the appointment of Tom Murphy as Collector of this port. Why should honest and upright Republican papers have then gone on pretending that Tom was a good person and an unobjectionable person for the place? Why again remain silent when Casey began his performances at New Orleans, or pretend that, even if his conduct was a little irregular, he was a good man, beset by evil-doers and sternly battling for the right? Why look on so long without protest when Attorney-General Williams was treating the State constitutions at the South as if they were so much waste-paper? Why say nothing when Boutwell began to treat the Treasury as if it were his private business, for which his own views of expediency furnished the law? We might multiply these questions almost indefinitely. They would be answered of course differently by different journals—by the *Times*, for instance, in one way, and by *Harper's Weekly* in another; but all answers would lead us to the same conclusion—viz., that all discussion of public questions by the press, in order to be profitable, or, in fact, in order not to be mischievous, has to take it for granted and for firmly established that the influence of power is corrupting, and has always been corrupting, except in the case of very rare natures and under very peculiar circumstances. Therefore, when men in power begin to show signs of consulting their own wills, or convenience, or passions, rather more than the public welfare, it is chimerical to suppose that they will, if left to themselves or patted on the back, retrace their steps and mend their ways. They never, or hardly ever, do so. The love of doing what they please grows with the doing of it, and after its gratification has lasted a certain length of time they become incapable of taking advice, and treat criticism as insolence. This is true of parties as well as of individuals, of presidents as well as of kings. The time to check them on their downward course is at the moment of beginning it. It follows from this that "reform within the party" is an idle dream. No party has ever yet reformed itself. Party diseases are always fatal. The present state of things illustrates very well, too, the futility of the idea that by keeping silent about its failings, or condoning them, the Republican party could be kept in power and the Democratic party out. The support of the Administration by the honest press, so far from saving it, has simply helped to debauch the public taste and blunt its moral sensibilities; the Democrats have come in, or are coming in, all the same.

## POPULAR PROTECTION AGAINST FINANCIAL QUACKERY.

AFTER the experience through which the country is now passing, it is to be hoped that something will be done to make at least that portion of political economy which relates to the nature and

use of money a more prominent subject of instruction in common schools. The subject is taught in the colleges, but then very few people go to college, and it is high time that at least elementary notions of sound finance were imbedded in the mind of everybody before engaging in the active work of life. Political economy, it is true, is full of points on which stable or generally accepted conclusions have not been reached; but then there are some principles as firmly established as any truths of physical science, and which it ought to be popularly regarded as a mark of childish folly to doubt; and the futility of irredeemable paper is one of them. It ought to be as disgraceful and ridiculous in our day and generation for a grown man to go about like Kelley, or Allen, or Carey, trying to persuade people that good money could be manufactured by a printing-press, as to go about trying to persuade them that the sun goes around the earth. In short, the impossibility of dispensing with gold and silver as a measure of value ought to be by this time settled as one of the fundamental and indisputable facts of life, which are only questioned in lunatic asylums.

We do not believe the popular ignorance on the subject is nearly as great as the inflationists imagine. There is a strong element of farce in their agitation, which makes the wags enjoy their speeches, as containing the materials of a huge joke; and then the entirely penniless people, who have nothing to lose by change, are of course easily led by any scheme which promises to increase their "purchasing power" in however slight a degree; but there are not many Americans engaged in the purchase or sale of commodities, and *out of debt*, who are really deceived by the inflationist gospel. Such apparent popular success as it has achieved is largely due to the fact that the panic of 1873 was most destructive among the great enterprises. It found large numbers of persons laden with investments on a large scale, which required a long period of prosperity to enable them to turn out well. The consequence is that there is a powerful body of men among us, with great capacity for making a noise, who would like consumption to receive a stimulus, however brief, that would enable them to get rid of their stock of goods; or would like the value of paper money sufficiently lowered to enable them to pay a very large debt with a small sum in coin or other commodity. These people have a direct, personal, and strong motive for agitation which is wanting to the friends of resumption.

It has also to be taken into account that the West has received from the greenbacks its first experience of good money of any kind. They are, it is true, irredeemable, but then, unlike the old bank-bills of that region, they are current everywhere, and a man does not find his funds dwindle in his pocket as he rides away from home, and is delivered from all fear of broken banks and most of his fear of counterfeits. We at the East in these latter years can, in fact, hardly understand the amount of loss and inconvenience which has been infused into Western life in times past by the attempt of new communities to get along without hard money. These attempts have generally consisted in the establishment of banks of all sizes, exempt from proper legislative control, and often started by swindling adventurers, prepared to wind up the concern before their first issue of bills could get back on them. The memory of this state of things, which really lasted down to the war, is very bitter at the West, and makes the cry of "free banking," which is so popular with us, anything but popular with people out there. In point of fact, with gold, or with bills redeemable in gold, they have never been familiar. The kind of redeemable paper of which they have had most experience is paper which everybody forbore presenting for redemption lest he should break the bank, but passed on to his neighbor as fast as he could, not knowing the day when it might cease to be current, and which had a different value in every town he entered, and in some no value at all. The charm of the greenback to him, besides of course its poetic value as being "battle-born and blood-stained," lies in its being universally acceptable, and possessing uniform purchasing power in any part of the country. It is, doubtless, of different values on different days; but the value, whatever it may be, is the same everywhere; and it does not cease to be current in the course of a short buggy ride, as used to e said of some of the Western bank-notes. This is a point which the orators now wrestling with the Ohio inflationists ought to, and doubtless do, bear in mind, and which they can readily deal with, by showing that the National bank-bills, if their redemption in gold were guaranteed by the Government as their redemption in greenbacks is now guaranteed, would really possess all the qualities which now makes the greenback dear to the West—that is, they would circulate all over the country and would possess uniform purchasing power. A return to specie payments does not therefore promise a return to "wildcat banking" or to make a "bank-note detector" once more a necessary part of every trader's business equipment.

Now, however, that the Government has committed the great error of issuing irredeemable paper, and of making it a legal tender, nothing will ever prevent a revival of the demand for fresh issues of paper in times of difficulty, by a larger or smaller body of persons, except a better popular acquaintance with financial history. If there was a chance, even small, of making money by maintaining that the sun went round the earth, great orators and writers would be sure to present themselves in hard times, and maintain that this was really the case, and that the astronomers who held to the Copernican theory were horse-leeches who were fattening on popular simplicity and credulity; and they would have a certain measure of success, if it were not that the truth of science at least has worked its way, in spite of appearances to the contrary, into the list of popular fundamental assumptions. The reason why quacks are so bold and unblushing in finance is that all we know about finance is an inference from the recorded experience of other countries and other generations. No examination of paper-money or of gold by itself, as we see it in use to-day, would throw any light on their necessary relations as currency. When we want to understand this, we have to read the history of a variety of experiments, made in various places and at various times, which is just what the quacks refuse to do, and they flourish because their audiences have not done it either. We believe that there has not been a single expedient proposed in this country within the last ten years to enable us to dispense with redemption in specie, which has not been tried and has not failed in some American colony or State; nay, there is hardly one which was not tried in the State of Texas during its brief existence as an independent republic. The constant revival of them, therefore, in pamphlets, of which nearly every editor receives half-a-dozen every week, and in speeches and bills and resolutions, and the complacency with which hard-money men have to sit down to refute them as if they were new, startling suggestions, are almost discreditable to our civilization. One of the marks of civilization is familiarity with the experience of the race in its various fields of activity. Civilized men are not expected to have to discover everything afresh in each generation, and one of the uses of schools is to enable each generation to profit by this experience. The amount of attention Kelley, and Phillips, and Allen, and Carey, and their kind receive furnishes, therefore, a serious reflection on our system of popular education. Wendell Phillips, not long ago, arose unblushingly in the Social Science Association to debate finance and advocate paper-money, and showed in five minutes that he had so little aquaintance with the subject that he did not understand the English Bank-Charter Act of 1844, and did not know what happened when the Act was "suspended" in a panic by the action of the Ministry; and yet he still perambulates the country and delivers himself on this same subject, without the slightest increase of diffidence, and one occasionally sees refutations of him two columns long from old financiers in the Boston papers. He is enabled to do this solely owing to the largeness of the number of people among us who suppose that everything in finance is mysterious, that *all* its points are still open to discussion, and that we here, in the matter of our greenbacks, are treading new ground on which even intuitionists like Phillips may by some lucky stroke throw fresh light. And yet such financiers as he, if popular education on such matters were what it ought to be, would be as easily found out as any Eighth-Avenue astrologer.

## SCOTLAND.—THE ARGYLESHIRE GATHERING.

SEPT. 11, 1875.

I HAVE just been re-reading, in the land of its birth, the most delightful of English pastorals, Arthur Clough's long-vacation poem, "The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich." Clough, during his too short life, was so well known and so highly estimated on your side of the Atlantic that I need not ask you if you or your readers know the poem. The proverb that a prophet is not honored in his own country was never better illustrated than in Clough's case. For years after the publication of "The Bothie" in a limp paper cover, like an Oxford prize poem, very few people in England except Clough's old college friends had read the poem, or even heard of it. Clough was known by a few as a hard-working official in the office of the Committee of Council on Education, and as secretary, for the love of her and of her work, to Miss Florence Nightingale. No one except his most familiar friends recognized in "the grave man nicknamed Adam" one of the most genuinely poetic natures of his time. It was only after his early death, and when his poems were collected together, that the English world knew his worth. In America, I have been given to understand, he was appreciated much earlier. His sterling character, his energy of intellect, and his whole tone of thought were acceptable to a people who were sensitive to such qualities. Be that as it may, I feel certain that none of your countrymen or countrywomen who care for the sort of life that this poem treats of could object to be once more reminded of it. Every time I read the pastoral I seem to appreciate more thoroughly the fresh sense of healthy manliness, the subtle humor, the love of wild wandering among the stern grandeur and the softer beauty of Highland scenery, and the genuine spirit of the Oxford undergraduate life, which the author has embodied in his poem. Perhaps one ought to have known the pleasures of a long-vacation reading party, and to have lived by "the moorland of Rannoch," or in that lone land in the westward, where

> "—— the great peaks look abroad over Skye to the westernmost islands,
> . . . . . .
> Knoydart, Moydart, Morrer, Ardgower, and Ardnamurchan"—

to appreciate to the full the beauties of the pastoral, the music of the grand old Gaelic names, and the fresh, breezy life of the heathery Highlands. But even a brief sojourn in the Western Highlands during the golden September weather which we have been enjoying of late enables one to gather something of the spirit which pervades every line of the poem. Except, perhaps, the western shores of Greece, there is no part of any country on this side of the Atlantic which can bear comparison with the Western Highlands of Scotland for beauty of scenery and variety of effects. The very climate which, in ordinary years, but not in this year, is the wettest in the United Kingdom, helps the scenery, and by bringing out the intensity of color in the landscape heightens the effects; and none of these beauties escaped Clough's eye. If it be true that Sir Walter Scott made the Highlands, it is no less true that Clough gave a finishing touch to no inconsiderable portion of them. His poem is a treasure-house of perfect descriptions of Highland scenery. Take, for instance, the following eight lines, where the whole glories of the autumn tints (coming on, alas, too rapidly this year for those whose holiday is drawing to a close, and who must soon find themselves in the sloppy streets of London) are brushed in with such delicacy of touch and feeling:

> "It was on Saturday eve, in the gorgeous bright October,
> Then when brackens are changed, and heather blooms are faded,
> And amid russet of heather and fern green trees are bonnie;
> Alders are green and oaks; the rowan scarlet and yellow;
> One great glory of broad gold pieces appears the aspen,
> And the jewels of gold that were hung in the hair of the birch-tree,
> Pendulous, here and there, her coronet, necklace, and ear-rings,
> Cover her now, o'er and o'er; she is weary and scatters them from her."

But it is not my intention to write you a treatise upon Scotch scenery, or even upon Clough's poem. I was led to re-read "The Bothie" by the fact that I have just returned from assisting at an entertainment almost identical with that which Clough describes in his opening lines. I spent last Wednesday at what is called "The Argyleshire Gathering," or assembling of the clans of the county of Argyle; and if you care to read in hard, unsympathetic prose a record of what took place there, when you can get an outline of the same thing in Clough's sparkling verses very much better done, I shall be glad to give it to you.

And, first of all, I had better tell you of the origin of this gathering and of the locality in which it is held. Argyleshire, as you are aware, is the land of the Campbells. The great Campbell, or "The Maccallum-more," as he is called in this county, is the Duke of Argyll, and four years ago his eldest son, the Marquis of Lorne, married the Princess Louise, the fourth daughter of the Queen; and, as all the Campbells round here tell you, "a proud woman the Queen was, puir leddie, when she married her tochter upon Maccallum-more's son." Besides being the land of the Campbells, Argyleshire is a long straggling county, intersected on all sides by great arms of the sea running far inland, like Norwegian fiords, and separating one lot of Campbells from other lots of Campbells, and all the people who are not Campbells from each other and from the Campbells. It is a picturesque county, and is much haunted by tourists and sportsmen at this season of the year. Its seas are land-locked mainly, and they are frequented by yachts and pleasure-boats of all shapes and sizes and of every construction, very much as they are by herrings and by porpoises which pursue the herrings. The capital of the county is Inverary, where also is the castle of Maccallum-more. But Inverary is but a fishing village, standing at the head of an inland loch leading to nowhere, and visited by no one who has got any other place to visit. Oban, on the other hand, in the northwestern part of the county, is the Charing Cross of the Highlands. Wherever you wish to go, be it to the north or the south or the east or the west, you are pretty sure to find yourself at Oban. It is situated on a beautiful circular bay on the Frith of Lorn—big enough to contain a fleet of yachts; and last Wednesday there were upwards of a score of them at anchor, some being among the finest in the yachting list, and among them the American yacht the *Viking;* and it contains a number of the best-appointed and roomiest hotels in Great Britain. Such being the conditions of the county, an idea presented itself, at the "home-coming" of the Marquis and Marchioness of Lorne four years ago, to some of the many Campbells, that the occasion of the alliance between Maccallum-more's son and a princess of the blood might be utilized so as to bring about friendly relations with the other Campbells and with the county people who were not Campbells, whom, owing to the physical geography of the county, they were unable to visit. It was proposed to establish a gathering of the Argyleshire clans once a year at Oban. Such a scheme, well carried out, could hardly fail to be beneficial to the county. It might tend to promote other alliances, of a humbler character perhaps than that of the great prototype, but if suitably arranged between rich Saxons who invaded the county during the shooting season, and poor Campbells who remained there all the winter, the clan might not be the losers. A Campbell, even when on pleasure bent, preserves a frugal mind. Efforts were accordingly made to start an annual gathering of all the Argyleshire families and their friends. The same sort of thing takes place among the Mackenzies of Inverness-shire at Inverness, among the Duffs and Grants of Aberdeenshire at Braemar, among the Menzies and Stuarts and Macalpines at Blair-Athol, and why not among the Campbells at Oban? Highland sports are carried on at all these places, with prizes to be given away by the lady of the locality to the successful competitors. Balls take place, where everybody who is duly vouched for by some responsible person assembles and makes himself or herself friendly and pleasant. For four years now, as I understand, all Argyle has been in the habit of assembling each year. Highland sports have come off and balls have been given, and the idea thus formulated and carried out has resulted in a complete success.

It was at one of these ceremonials that I assisted last Wednesday; and, if a stranger can form an opinion on so important a subject, I should say that any one who likes Highland sports, and is fond of social gatherings, could not fail to be pleased by what he saw. And what, you may ask, are Highland sports, and in what do they differ from sports that are not Highland? Just as the roaring of a wild stag on the mountains is fiercer and wilder than the bellowing of the domestic bull in a field, so Highland sports are fiercer and wilder than lowland sports, but in other respects they are not dissimilar. Foot-races are run by the Highlanders and the Lowlanders in very much the same way, and high jumping and wide jumping figure in the programme of both peoples. But tossing the caber—*i.e.*, jerking a young tree of the forest in such a way that it performs a complete somersault; throwing the heavy hammer, putting the stone, playing piobairiachids, reels, and strathspeys upon the bagpipes, and dancing the sword-dance over two drawn claymores, at the risk of cutting your feet off by the ankles or gashing the calves of your legs, are pastimes in which none but kilted heroes can take part. These, however, were the rites at which we assisted on Wednesday. They were performed in a fine natural arena, surrounded by rocky terraces like the seats of a Roman amphitheatre, crowded with the natives of Argyle. All the county people were duly assembled, each family bringing their retainers, splendid in kilts and tartans, for the residents who hail from the sunny South like to see their people clad in the weird costume of the North. It was an interesting sight, and, while there is something pathetic in the efforts of the Gael to preserve his wild old rites and ceremonies, you could not help reflecting that much of the show was spurious. The Gaelic race is drifting fast to leeward. The Saxon is too strong and too rich for it. Highland gatherings got up by wealthy South-

erners and supported by them want the true ring of nationality. They may be accurately modelled on the manners and customs of the past, and made to look as like the real thing as possible. But just as it was found impossible, some years ago, to revive even a spark of mediæval feeling in the elaborate attempt to get up a tournament of the olden time in Eglinton-Castle, so here it is impossible to produce much more than a theatrical representation of the barbaric times. Professional caber-tossers and stone-putters with Saxon names win the first prizes over the genuine Celt of the country. Dancing-masters from Glasgow, and bagpipe-players from perhaps still further south, go the round of the various gatherings and carry all before them. But with all these drawbacks—if it be a drawback to fail to reproduce barbaric times—these meetings have their merits. They are social and friendly, and they keep up the old autonomic spirit of the counties and shires in Scotland, and that autonomic spirit is one of the safeguards of the independence of the country, inasmuch as it fosters in the best way possible the idea of local self-government.

## THE LAND QUESTION IN AUSTRALIA.

MELBOURNE, June 14, 1875.

PARLIAMENT has at last met. Although the programme of a weak Ministry is necessarily one of compromise, the political situation is such that we cannot avoid discussing questions of universal interest. Our particular problems just now are the question of abolishing a Second Chamber, or at least making it ineffective; the question of secular education; the question of giving the right to mine on private property; and how to rearrange our land-laws. I do not think there will be much discussion on secular education. It is established; it is a success; and we are not seriously intimidated by a threat from the orator of the Irish Catholics that he will draw "the free and flashing sword" to put it down. Neither, I fear, will the question of reforming the constitution occupy any very prominent place in the debates. In the first place, our Second Chamber, the Council, cannot be commanded to commit political suicide, and will certainly not be cajoled or frightened into it while it is supported by the strong feeling of the moneyed classes in the colony. In the next place, the present Ministry is not supposed to have any convictions, or any even plausible plan. The belief in well-informed circles seems to be that it has arranged to be beaten and withdraw gracefully on this matter, provided the Council will assent to the bill for mining on private property, which, in one form or another, has been repeatedly sent up by the Assembly and rejected by the Council. My own impression, I confess, is that the Council will never pass anything more revolutionary in this direction than a bill to legalize contracts between the land-owner and the miner; that is, to take the property in minerals from the state, and vest it in those who have bought land. A few weeks will show how far I am right. Meanwhile, the question of the Land Bill is before the country, and it will perhaps interest your readers to know what the issues involved are. Our difficulties are, I think, of a special kind.

They began with the gold-diggings, or our sudden burst into great prosperity. Several thousands of men suddenly enriched wanted to invest their savings in land and make themselves homes in their adopted country. Victoria was then divided, under an ordinance of that ingenious theorist Lord Grey, into settled, intermediate, and unsettled districts. The settled districts, which were alone open to ordinary purchasers, comprised about 3,000,000 acres, not quite an eighteenth of the whole area of the country. On 32,000,000 acres of unsettled territory our sheep-farmers, to whom our land had been leased, claimed an absolute right of pre-emption, and a preferable right of occupation on the remainder. Without going into an old question, I may perhaps say that I do not think the squatters' claim was borne out by the strict words of the regulations under which they had rented their land. Still, the incautious policy of Government, denounced at the time by Mr. Robert Lowe, who was then an Australian politician, had no doubt led the sheep-farming class to entertain unreasonable expectations. Hence there has always been in Victoria a strong feeling of bitterness between the squatters or sheep-farmers—who think that they have been illegally deprived of the right to buy up the fee-simple of the colony at a tenth of its value—and the small farmers and laborers, who resented the attempt to exclude themselves from the land, and resent with less justice the large fortunes which the sheep-farming interest has made in virtue of early and inexpensive settlement. Practically, therefore, every Land Bill since the democratic element has become ascendant represents the determination of the working-classes not only to secure themselves a supply of cheap land, but to keep the large landed proprietors from increasing their actual estates. An American will perhaps find it difficult to understand why any legislation should be required beyond throwing the land open to all in large quantities. But Victoria presents a combination of several unusual circumstances: a small proportion of really fertile land and a most unusual reserve of capital seeking investment. Less than half the colony is supposed to be really fit for occupation; and of this 10,000,000 acres have been sold, while about 15,000,000 remain to be disposed of. Were these thrown open indiscriminately for selection at £1 an acre, or sold at auction to the highest bidder, there is no doubt that in five years nine-tenths of them would have been taken up by a few hundred rich men enjoying the confidence of the banks, and that the small proprietors of the remainder would be bought out in about five years more. An economist of the English school of course argues that the state has nothing to do with the position or numbers of those who buy land from it, and has no business to interfere with the natural prerogative of capital to employ itself as it likes best. The great majority of Australians, however, are firmly determined that the land shall not be monopolized by a few rich men. We prefer French subdivision to the large estates of the English gentry; and we prefer it the more as the rich men have not struck root in the country, are often absentees, and never cordially democratic.

But how are we to sell land and prevent the longest purse from acquiring it? Having lived through many Australian land-laws, I feel like the cardinal who had "seen four-and-twenty leaders of revolt." They are all like one another, and all failures. The system of selling by auction, except to a small extent, has been universally abandoned. Practically, it is always worked by combinations of land-sharks, who intercept the profit of the state, and prefer the large land-owner as a customer to the small. Excluding auctions, the first idea was to throw open an area of 4,000,000 acres, which was never to fall below 2,000,000, for selections in small lots by persons bound to cultivate or improve up to a certain value. But as the state proposed to sell land worth £6 an acre for £1 to the small settler, need I say that the squatter first organized dummies, who were to take up land in their own names for him, and afterwards gradually bought out the bonâ-fide settlers? In fact, many a small farmer cannot do better than part with his first selection. During the three years' residence which the law compels before it gives him a title, he can pay his way by raising crops from a virgin soil, or by carting and wood-cutting; and at the end of the time he may easily make £1,000 profit on his cheap bargain with the state, and move off to a fresh selection in one of the neighboring colonies, or even, if he does not shrink from making a false declaration, in Victoria. Meanwhile, new land is being alienated every year from the state at a price far below its value; the number of genuine cultivators does not increase very rapidly; and a great proportion of the land sold notoriously passes into the hands of the men whose properties are already overgrown. Personally, I hold a strong view that the farming class in a new country must always be migratory. Where land is cheap and labor dear, it pays better to till for a short time, and then shift the homestead, than to stay on exhausting the soil or recruiting it by costly manures. I therefore view without dismay the shifting of our population, which creates and abandons townships with a happy facility, and believe that the cheapest way of tillage is provisionally the best, or at least that the state is not bound to promote scientific agriculture by legal enactments. But our present land-laws seem to me at once foolish and demoralizing. They have created a whole class that receives a large bounty for living in districts which it would not naturally choose, in order that at the end of three years it may go out of them again at a profit. Nor is it too much to say that those men are tempted to much dishonesty in the matters of residence and improvements, and are not likely to be the better for the three years of purposeless work or vagabondage which falls to their lot in the barren districts that would never be settled but for the law. Besides, the condition of residence bears hardly upon the large class in towns who would like to invest in and improve land, but who cannot live upon it away from their work. The new land-law Mr. Casey has introduced seems on the old lines and rather worse than its predecessors. To prevent the transfer of land, he proposes to withhold the titles till after thirteen years. This will certainly prevent the transfer, but it will also prevent settlement, as no small cultivator can hope to earn a living on land that he cannot mortgage. It is in fact a proposal to bind the farmer to the soil for a term of years. Next, a few acres outside the pastoral districts are to be thrown open to non-resident selectors. And lastly, in compliance with a very general wish that the crown lands should be leased or sold, so that the state may get the increased increment of value, a small experience in this direction is to be made with some of the river frontages near Melbourne. There are some minor provisions, good and bad, such as that licenses cannot be assigned, but these are points of detail on which I dwell the less, as I feel confident that every attempt to make the system

more artificial will only make it more defenceless against wealth and legal subtlety. I regard Mr. Casey's measure as a practical admission of defeat, and expect the land-question to take a new, a revolutionary form.

It may do so in one of two ways. Our most original politician here, Mr. Higinbotham, has given in a modified adhesion to the system I have alluded to of having all the crown lands sold. Mr. Higinbotham is a man of high character, acknowledged honest and honorable even by those who denounce him as a red republican, is the most genuine orator we possess, and is very popular. His one fatal fault is that he prefers the position of a free lance to that of leader of a party or lieutenant of an administration. Should he, however, decide on advocating his plan, I think it certain that it will at least receive a fair trial on a large scale. But the plan which at present captivates the popular fancy is undoubtedly one proposed by a very inferior politican, Mr. Woods, who desires to put a progressive tax upon land. Some of our mob orators have already carried this to the extent of proposing that the tax should go up a penny for every 1,000 acres, so that a man holding from one to two hundred thousand would practically be fined half or three-quarters of his income, even in the not very probable case that his land averaged a pound an acre in value. I have such confidence in the moderation and good sense of our people that I do not believe any extreme scheme of this sort will be listened to. But I think even moderate men are inclining to tax large properties at a rather higher rate than small. The question is whether a small differential tax would not induce our largest land-owners to bring their outlying properties into the market, or at least abstain from buying up fresh land. We could then abolish the system of bounties, and let the farmer select as he liked from the unsold crown lands at something like the market value, or at most with some facilities of deferring payment. Possibly this plan also may work badly or be evaded. Under any circumstances, I apprehend the land question will be the great problem of all the Australian colonies for many years to come.

# Correspondence.

## "THE ONE-MAN POWER."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your editorial article in the *Nation* of 9th inst., on "The one-man power in finance," indicates your opinion, supported by several illustrations, that society in most or all of its subdivisions is subject to the same one-man power, whenever organized efforts are directed to accomplish anything. If this view is correct, is it not owing to natural laws governing mental forces, analogous to those that rule in gravitation, and therefore to be assumed as present and active in all associations of men?

The truth of this appears in all the walks and conditions of life. In any group of school children at play the controlling influence generally rests with one, or at most with two or three. In any board of trustees or vestrymen of a church, though they may have been elected by a pure democracy—that is, by the whole vote of the body they represent—yet in nearly all cases some one man will outweigh in efficiency all the others. If the representatives of any given denomination meet in state conference, or presbytery, or convention, and they deliberate in committee of the whole, they will, in any important matter, appoint a sub-committee, consisting of a few members, who embody the principal forces applicable to the measure; and when these retire to deliberate, the residuum of strength will be soon apparent in one of the number selected. The same is especially true of legislative bodies, whether State or national. The Speaker with care divides the House into a variety of committees; each committee is composed of men, in his opinion, having especial abilities for the particular interest; and the committee constitutes in large degree the strength of the whole body, when any measure within its supervision is taken up. This committee, in the meantime, will have practically concentrated its forces in one man, or at most one man to each political party represented.

We come therefore, in a sense, and in the sense in which your article is written, to a one-man power. Is there any escape from this in human affairs? and is escape desirable? Should not the weightiest reason, as well as the heaviest metal, have the most value? For the necessary evils growing out of this must not society find compensation in the value and brilliancy of its best men, thus formed by constant friction, and chiselled and polished in their several places? As a partial remedy for the damage that will result from an occasional explosion, like the one that forms the subject of your paper, you suggest, in regard to persons wielding the one-man power in finance, "even if it would be impossible to prevent their doing things, it ought not to be impossible to compel a report of them, and account for them after they have been done"; but in abatement of the value of this, you had already written, after noticing the necessary qualities that go to make up a man capable of this control:

"Anybody who has these qualities naturally makes his way to the front in all moneyed concerns, and naturally becomes president or cashier; and the directors trust him because they know he is abler than they are, and because in nine cases out of ten they would be incompetent to criticise his course. If they were competent to criticise it, they would be his equals; but they are not, and they know it, and they know that no statement he could make to them of what he proposed to do, and his reasons for doing it, would make them wise enough really to supervise him."

The difficulty could hardly be better stated; but if his own directors, men who own the interest in his charge, and who have selected and employed him, cannot, and cannot be made to understand him, will his report to the public be generally understood, and tend to correct his measures? In view of your quotation from the London *Economist*, showing that London bankers regard the one-man power in finance as the least of two evils, and the probable fact that all or nearly all the banks in your own city and throughout the country rest largely on the management of one man to each, and the fact that all human interests, when committed to organized numbers of men, appear to take life and action from some one of the number, is it not probable that there exists a law of our congregate being that, irrespective of the number that deliberates, all other counsel must give way to the best counsel, and of necessity the best counsel will be the thought of some one of the number? Sometimes the single voice of this best counsel is heard from among the people outside of legislative halls and government cabinets, and then it becomes, as quoted by John Bright from an old poet:

"A yet auguster thing
Than parliament or king."

This may be a law of the "survival of the fittest," or it may rest on the maxim that "Providence favors the heaviest artillery."

Henry W. Lord.

Pontiac, Mich., Sept. 13, 1875.

[The director might not be competent to criticise a bank president's general management, any more than the public is competent to criticise a judge's reasons for his decision; but this is only true within certain limits, and with regard to things plainly legitimate. If a judge were grossly corrupt, and decided a case without any show of authority, to oblige a friend, his opinion would be sure to expose him; the simple judgment would not. So, also, if a bank president made loans without security, or to persons without credit, or took the money himself, and had to tell all about it, no director would feel that he needed to be a great financier in order to condemn him. Under the present system, the bank manager begins by operations which are legitimate but abstruse, and the immunity from criticism which he enjoys on them tempts him at last into operations which are wholly illegitimate and by no means abstruse. We do not mean to say that the problem is easy of solution, because of course directors have to treat the president as if he were an honest man, and therefore shrink from precautions implying doubts of his integrity.—Ed. Nation.]

## THE PIKE CO. LEVEE BONDS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have had great satisfaction in reading your various articles and comments on the "Holy Farmer" of the West, and write this merely to give you a little of my personal experience in the matter of the Pike County levee bonds spoken of in your last issue.

I am so unfortunate as to be a "bloated" holder of those bonds to a limited extent, and know whereof I affirm when I say that, despite all the legal and constitutional provisions for their safety so vigorously set forth by Mr. Marcy in the *Tribune*, the coupons due last July on the *first issue* of bonds have not yet been paid. I understand a *few* were paid, possibly for the interest of the brokers who have yet to dispose of more of these "securities for trust funds." The bonds may be valid and sound, according to Mr. Marcy, but I had always supposed one element of "soundness" in bonds to be the payment of maturing coupons.

I don't write this to be published, even if you had any inclination to do

so. I only wish to let you know that your remarks on the attitude of the Farmer-Baron toward these levee bonds is as you stated.—Very respectfully,

SEPT. 12, 1875.

[Our correspondent seems to forget the long and grinding oppression undergone by the Farmer at the hands of the owners of money and goods. These unpaid coupons are only a small instalment of what has been wrung from him by bankers, piano-men, pork-men, booksellers, publishers, tailors, hatters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and common carriers. They have all levied "toll" on him. He is now trying to get some of it back out of somebody. The more one watches his efforts to save himself, the deeper the depravity of the railroad men appears.—ED. NATION.]

## RAG-MONEY ARCHITECTURE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Allow me to call your attention to the work now going on in the Boston Post-Office building; for, although of no great consequence, it is yet not without interest, as an instance of the way in which Government work is sometimes done. The floors and foundations of the U. S. Treasury vaults are being strengthened, to enable them to hold the silver now accumulating; for, as originally built, they were only capable of containing currency.

Now, Mr. Editor, if gold and silver coin were new inventions, made in the year 1875, this might be easily understood; but, under existing circumstances, does it not argue on the part of the Government architects a degree of incompetency rather surprising in "the best civil service on the face of this planet"? A CONSTANT READER.

BOSTON, Mass., Sept. 8, 1875.

# Notes.

THE first volume of the translation of the Comte de Paris's 'History of the Civil War in America,' in preparation by J. H. Coates & Co., Philadelphia, will embrace the first two volumes of the original.——Jas. R. Osgood & Co.'s fall list includes a large number of new editions, and the following noticeable new works: 'The Masque of Pandora, and other poems,' by H. W. Longfellow; 'Home Pastorals,' by Bayard Taylor; 'Songs of Three Centuries,' selected by J. G. Whittier; 'Victorian Poets,' by E. C. Stedman; 'The Bird and the Bell,' poems by C. P. Cranch; 'Rose and Rooftree,' poems by G. P. Lathrop; the second series of Prof. Lowell's 'Among My Books'; a volume of essays by R. W. Emerson; 'Saxon Studies,' by Julian Hawthorne; a 'Life of George Ticknor,' by Geo. S. Hillard; an 'Art Romance,' by Harriet Hosmer; and Mr. Henry James, jr.'s 'Roderick Hudson.' The following works will all be more or less profusely illustrated with heliotypes: Justin Winsor's 'Shakespere Bibliography,' already described by us; Viollet-le-Duc's 'Discourses on Architecture,' translated with notes by Henry Van Brunt; "Famous Painters and Paintings," by Mrs. J. H. Shedd; 'The History of Independence Hall, Philadelphia,' by Col. Frank M. Etting; 'Poetic Localities of Cambridge,' views of scenes and places made famous by Lowell, Holmes, Longfellow, etc.; and 'A Farmer's Vacation,' by Col. Geo. E. Waring, jr.——Macmillan & Co. have in hand a new edition of Jowett's 'Plato' in five volumes instead of four. The translation has been thoroughly revised. They will also publish an account of the two abortive British expeditions to Western Yunnan, commanded respectively by Major Sladen and Colonel Browne, by Dr. Anderson, Director of the India Museum, Calcutta. He accompanied the second expedition, in going to meet which Mr. Margary was murdered by the Chinese.——Some other English publications, announced as forthcoming shortly, are the following: a History of Prussia, in eight volumes, by Capt. Wyatt; 'Myths and Songs of the South Pacific,' by the Rev. W. W. Gill; 'The Correspondence, Table-Talk, and Memoirs of Benjamin Robert Haydon,' by his son, F. W. Haydon, which will be illustrated in a very interesting manner with portrait sketches; a work on Currency, by Prof. Bonamy Price; 'The Great Divide,' being the Earl of Dunraven's travels in the Upper Yellowstone in 1874, illustrated by his companion, Mr. V. W. Bromley; 'Spitzbergen and Novaya Zemlya, with the adjacent Seas,' by Mr. James Lamont; and—a work which should claim the attention of architects—a series of autotype views of some of the ancient halls of Lancashire and Cheshire, with descriptions by Mr. James Croston.

—In *Lippincott's Magazine* for October, Dr. Francis Wharton's paper on "Spiritualism and Jurisprudence" will be sure to attract a large number of readers by its very title. Every sincere believer in spiritualistic phenomena has an interest, which ought to be more than a languid interest, in bringing to punishment impostors who practise mere jugglers' tricks in binding and loosing themselves in dark cabinets, or Katy-King materializations, or who cook the negatives of their "spirit photographs," or, with a coarser deception, produce rappings, counterfeit trances, and deliver conscious "messages" for pay. But Dr. Wharton puts these knaves out of the question, since there is clearly law enough for them if their imposture can be proved. He imagines such extreme cases as "if A, instead of making a table move from one end of the room to the other, make a purse move out of B's pocket without B's consent"; or "if A, instead of compelling B to float in the air, should compel B to commit a crime." And he then asks: "What attitude is jurisprudence to assume towards a person who, charged with an invasion of the laws of the land, sets up as a defence that he was acting under the constraint of a superior spiritual power? What attitude is jurisprudence to assume towards those who exercise such power for an illegal end?" This, it will be seen, involves the whole class of so-called mediums; for if it may be said that spiritualism has very few recorded instances of purse-"lifting," and probably fewer of incitement to crime than any religion equally diffused, still it is possible that (1) in consequence of mediumistic communications a person may injure himself, or (2) a medium may acquire such a control over a person's will as to cause him to injure himself or others. In either case, Dr. Wharton has no doubt that the medium is legally responsible for the consequences. The practical value of this opinion depends somewhat on the frequency of the occurrence, say, of a believer's going mad or killing himself under the supposed direction of the spirits, or alienating his property to the profit of the medium or the disadvantage of his natural heirs. Do such things really happen, and happen often? And if they do, can the consequences easily be discriminated from those which happen every day by reason of religious exaltation or depression due to preaching, or of priestly influence in determining how much of a man's goods he shall leave to the Church? Pleasant or unpleasant as the idea may be, a considerable amount of men's actions is wisely or unwisely determined by spiritual direction; how much can of course never be known. Thus far jurisprudence has had very little to say on the subject. Perhaps a chance is in store for it if, as we have been told, the fresh flowers showered down at some of the séances are not cut but torn off—a fact which would lead to the inference that some neighboring greenhouse had been robbed. But then, how is the law to catch the offender? We ought, perhaps, to point out a little question-begging in Dr. Wharton's definition of spiritualism as "the alleged power to suspend ordinary natural laws, without any motive consistent with the divine economy." We doubt if such a power is ever "alleged," or that we know what motives are or are not "consistent with the divine economy."

—In *Harper's*, the portraits which accompany Mr. Junius H. Browne's "Parisian Journalists" fall a good deal short of the current photographs of the subjects. Best of all the illustrations in this number, if we except a curious view of the Falls of St. Anthony from an old engraving, are those which accompany Mr. Conway's second article on the South Kensington Museum. One paragraph from his interesting description has a special application for us, and will bear reproducing:

"Various public men sent their treasures to the Museum in its earlier days, when they were more needed than now; but it has been found necessary to select fastidiously from the too numerous articles offered every year as loans. Many families owning valuable collections find it difficult to keep them in perfect safety, and more begin to realize that such articles should not be of private advantage. Some collections, originally received as loans, it is pretty certain will never be removed; and I am assured by the director that the Museum has been notified of being remembered in many wills. This gentleman, Mr. Cunliffe Owen, and his predecessor, Mr. Henry Cole, said to me, in conversation about the prospect of building museums in the American cities, that they had no doubt such institutions, if good and safe buildings were erected, would there as well as here find themselves centres of gravitation for the art treasures and curiosities owned by the community around them."

The twelfth paper on "The First Century of the Republic" is by Dr. Woolsey, and treats of "the experiment of the Union, with its preparations." It is a calm and serious survey of the elements which made an American nation possible and necessary on this continent, the causes which led to the revolution known as the civil war, and the tendencies which now make every lover of his country if not highly anxious at least sober and thoughtful. Dr. Woolsey's manifest intention to preserve a judicial impartiality, and to make his review as impersonal as possible, lends the greater significance to his re-

mark that "since the war the disturbed condition of one of the Southern States has induced the President, on his own responsibility, to use military power in a case of very doubtful constitutionality to say the least, and to interfere for the restoration of order in a way that cannot be justified." He adds that he does not mean to question "the upright intentions of the Chief Magistrate." While depicting the dangers of the reaction against the Southern doctrine of States-rights, he admits that it would be desirable if consolidation should so far take place, either by State agreement or a change in the Constitution, that uniform laws should prevail in regard to marriage, legitimacy, divorce, bequests, guardianship, the rights of married women, and the rights of aliens. That suffrage will ever be any less universal in this country than it is at present he does not venture to hope, though perhaps he despairs too easily. If there is any omission in this retrospect, it seems to us to lie in not pointing out the relations of a protective tariff to the corruption of our legislatures and of our civil service. Its complication with the slavery question was also worth a mention in passing.

—The *Portfolio* for September (J. W. Bouton) is a good but not a remarkable number, though the photogravures—after a landscape by Jacques and a drawing of Karl Dujardin's—are uncommonly successful; the "Jacques" has less the look of an effete mezzotint, and keeps more of the force and body of a strong oil-painting, than do most examples of the style. The large etching is by Brunet-Debaines after a Venetian scene of Turner's, and is a strong, rapid sketch of a picture excelling in subtle finish, resembling an effort to report in ten words a diffuse rhapsody. It is noticeable that the French etcher, in copying Turner's groups of figures, is quite unable to attain his peculiar boneless innocence of anatomy, and makes good suggestions of artistic forms instead of the soft limbs of a Turnerian crowd. The letterpress includes a neighborly review of the French journal *l'Art*, and continuations of Mr. Hamerton on Etty and Mr. Atkinson on Wiertz.

—In Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for July 5 may be found an original map, by Dr. Schweinfurth, of Dar-For, Egypt's new acquisition, which lies between Kordofan on the east and Wadai on the west. Its immediate neighbors on the southeast are the Dinkas or Denkas. This pastoral White-Nile tribe, as readers of Schweinfurth will remember, is a very interesting one and considerably advanced in manners. Their cookery is nice, their taste fastidious, and their eating very decorous. For the sake of making their hair straight, the men resort to much combing, and to malodorous washes and pomades which, as cattle-breeders, they find both cheap and tolerable. They think clothing was invented for women only. As long ago as 1853 they were made the objects of an Italian mission, with which went out a Veronese priest named Giovanni Beltrame. He employed his leisure between conversions in studying the language of the Dinkas, and in the course of nine years had accumulated with great difficulty the rough materials for a grammar of it. Returning to Europe in 1862, he was able in 1866 to consult Prof. Mitterutzner's 'Brief Grammar, Text-book, and Dictionary of the Dinka Language' (Brixen), and in 1870 he brought out his own ('Grammatica della Lingua Denka,' Florence). Quite recently he has been engaged in extracting some idea of their language from the two children of the dwarfish tribe of Akkas whose arrival in Europe excited so much interest among ethnologists. The Dinka language is monosyllabic but regular, and is completely equipped with all the parts of speech. Beltrame's reviewer in the *Perseveranza* quotes an ancient song of the Dinkas which can but increase one's respect for their intellectual capacity. It runs thus:

"In the days when God created all things he created the sun, and the sun is born, dies, and returns again; the moon too he created, and the moon is born, dies, and returns again; he created the stars, and the stars are born, die, and return again. Man created he, and man is born and dies, but returns no more."

—A correspondent writes us as follows:

"In the *Nation*, No. 530, final sentence of a notice of a German criticism of Bancroft, is a reference to the difficulty of rendering in English the word *Tendenz*. Permit a hesitating questioning, on the part of one who has no special claim to be heard on the subject, whether the equivalents there suggested may not be improved on. *Bias* is vague, is unconscious, and has no end in view. *Purpose*, of course, is conscious, but is very general, and does not define its aim. *Preconceived theory* is also conscious, but it may exist without any intention of carrying it out, any application of it to facts, and the fashioning of them in presentation. The writer having occasion to use an English equivalent for *Tendenz* adopted at first *doctrinal drift*, or *doctrinal aim* (preferably the latter), as expressing the idea of a conscious and definite purpose to shape subject-matter in the interest of a particular view, which is what he understands to be the notion denoted by *Tendenz*. Lately, he came upon Dr. Schaff's rendering, which he considers still better (the difference being, however, more in form and in a certain suggestiveness than in actual meaning), *dogmatic design*. There is another word of which German critics seem to be fond, and to which they give a special sense that seems likewise hard to catch. It is the word *Moment* (not the masculine noun, denoting a period or a force, but a neuter). C. F. Baur, for instance, speaks of an idea which is to be regarded *nur als ein verschwindendes Moment* of a *Tendenz*. What is the best English equivalent? Do *aspect*, *phase*, *advancing stage* convey it? Or if they do not, can an improvement be made upon them?"

As we understand it, *Moment* as used by the Germans means *motor element*, or *dynamic factor*. A simply constitutive element or component is a *Bestandtheil* of the result; but where the result is itself a process or a dynamic effect, its component forces are "momenta." Thus oxygen and iron are *elements* of iron rust, but the presence of moisture is an important *Moment* in its production from them. In the phrase from Baur quoted by our correspondent, the context alone can decide whether *phase*, *aspect*, or *factor* would be the best translation. If phase, then the author has glanced off from the dynamic to the temporal meaning of the word, which is also familiar in German. Both *verschwindendes* and *entscheidendes Moment* are very common phrases, and are partly paralleled in English by the expressions, "a matter of little moment," "enterprises of great pith and moment." Philosophers in English often use the word as the Germans do, and speak, for instance, of discriminating the *momenta* of an argument. It is probable, however, that either "element" or "factor" can nearly always be used satisfactorily where a German would say *Moment*.

—The much-discussed question of the condemnation of Galileo for holding to the Copernican theory of the revolution of the earth has been gone over afresh in the last number of Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, by F. H. Reusch. He shows that the judgment was not for belief in the theory, but for discussing it as an open question. In the first process (1615), Galileo, who was a believer in the Copernican theory, but also a zealous Catholic, submitted his will to that of the church, and promised not to promulgate or discuss the doctrine in future. In 1632, however, encouraged by the long lapse of time, and by his friendly personal relations with the liberal Pope Urban VIII., he published a dialogue, in which the Copernican and Ptolemaic theories were discussed by the respective interlocutors—professedly without any expression of opinion on the author's part, but of course with a great preponderance of argument on the side which he himself believed. This led to the second process and to his condemnation, with the vexatious surveillance under which he lived the rest of his life. The writer pronounces the famous story that, at the time of his recantation, he ejaculated to himself, "Eppur si muove" (it moves for all that), not only false but impossible. The entertaining text, however, taken by the monk who first preached against him—*Viri Galilaei, quid statis aspicientes coelum?*—appears to be genuine.

—Students of military affairs who are not indifferent to the progress of semi-civilized nations in the art of war, will be interested in Mr. Edward H. House's clear and minute account of the 'Japanese Expedition to Formosa' (Tokio, 1875). Mr. House accompanied this expedition as a correspondent of the *Herald*, in which paper the earlier chapters of his work mainly appeared as letters. The military operations in Formosa, though difficult enough, were on too limited a scale to deserve an historian; but the circumstances under which they were determined on and executed—the nice questions of national domain and international law—the foreign diplomatic intrigues by which China profited, and the direct negotiations, in which she finally yielded to Japan at every point—made the expedition an important landmark in Eastern development. Mr. House is an unqualified admirer of the Japanese, and finds them on all occasions wise, moderate, and firm; right in their motive and right in fact; humane to their enemies, courteous to everybody. If this were not true, it would still be plausible, since, rather than make war on Japan, China expressly justified Japan's actionin Formosa, and paid the costs of it. But a Chinese historian might still have something to say. Mr. House describes the Japanese soldier as "a Sybarite compared with the average European man-at-arms." He neither builds his own shelter, digs in the trenches, nor cooks his own food. All this is done by coolies, who bring him his meals in his tent. The Japanese rations are "extravagantly profuse," and include beer and spirits; and for the soldier's comfort when off duty, "he was supplied with loose cotton robes and straw slippers, which were issued to all upon demand." "In ornamental 'drill' the Japanese are perfect"; but "they have never been able to accustom themselves to the lower details of military routine," so that, for example, their disembarkation of troops and stores "was not accompanied with anything approaching to order or regularity." On the other hand, the irregular way in which a Chinese frigate returned a salute of twenty-one guns was noticed by the Japanese with much compla-

cency, and subsequently, on the landing of some Chinese commissioners, they "were received by a body of soldiers variously attired and accoutred, so as to represent the military system of past years as compared with that of the present day. It is not impossible," adds Mr. House, "that an indirect moral was intended to be pointed by this peculiar display." The courage of the Japanese appears from this narrative to be beyond dispute, and one incident is mentioned in which fortitude vied with courtesy. Mr. House was making the return march with very bad feet when it occurred :

"Several wounded soldiers were carried by me in litters, most of them lying at full length and speechless. One, however, was sitting upright, his injuries being such as to make that position the least painful to him. His arm was shattered and the flesh of his breast was torn away. Seeing that I was limping along with an extremely awkward gait, he stopped his carriers and asked what was the matter. I told him that my feet had been bruised and cut, whereupon he insisted that I should throw away my useless shoes and take his cloth socks and sandals. 'You see,' he said, 'I have no use for them now.' This was from a man who, while suffering from two dreadful wounds, spoke in the brightest tone, and smiled as cheerfully as if he had lain on a bed of roses."

## STRAUSS'S VOLTAIRE.*

VOLTAIRE was born in 1694, nine years after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He died in 1778, eleven years before the Convocation of the States-General. His life thus covered the greater part of a century, and during the last fifty years of his life he was the sovereign of European opinion. No literary man, either before or since his time, has exercised anything like his sway. His power further increased as his life went on, and was equally great with all classes of society. His last visit to Paris was a scene of triumph. Statesmen and philosophers hailed him as their guide and teacher ; polite society caressed him as the most brilliant of wits ; and the populace, who are usually indifferent to philosophic fame or literary reputation, worshipped him as a hero and deliverer. Nor was it enthusiasts alone who shared this idolatry. When Franklin brought his grandson to receive a blessing from the patriarch in the name of "God and Liberty," he expressed the veneration felt for the genius of Voltaire by many of the best and wisest thinkers of the age. Modern students find it difficult to understand the moral causes, at least, of Voltaire's power. He is known to them chiefly as a reckless scoffer, whose life was spent in waging an envenomed war with all the dogmas of Christianity, and a scoffer who was wanting in the dignity and self-restraint which are naturally demanded from a philosopher or reformer. His wit, indeed, is known to every reader by tradition; but in England and America his works are but little studied, and the witticisms which have impressed themselves on popular memory are often merely epigrammatic expressions of hatred to religion or theology. The six lectures in which Strauss has, under the form of impartial biography, put forth one of the most dexterous apologies for the career of the great freethinker, will enable persons unacquainted with Voltaire's works to appreciate the unparalleled cleverness and ability which constitute the intellectual sources of his might.

But it may be doubted whether Strauss makes plain to ordinary Englishmen or Americans the moral causes of Voltaire's success. Whoever wishes to understand not so much what Voltaire actually was as what he seemed to his contemporaries, should read with care the life in which Condorcet has embodied a disciple's admiration for his master. The book is a charming summary of Voltaire's life, and forms the foundation on which both Strauss and Mr. Morley have erected their more pretentious works. It has the defects which are inseparable from uncritical eulogy, but it breathes the spirit of the eighteenth century, and betrays, as it were, unconsciously the secret of Voltaire's strength. The grace of the following sentences vanishes under the awkwardness of translation, but though their form be spoilt their substance remains full of instruction for all persons who wish to understand Voltaire and his age :

"From the moment [of his return from England] Voltaire felt himself called to destroy the prejudices of all kinds of which his country was the slave. He perceived the possibility of success. He determined to employ a happy mixture of daring and pliancy, knowing how at one moment to yield to the times, at another to profit by opportunities or to create them. In carrying out his scheme, he resolved skilfully to use by turns now argument, now wit, now the charm of verse, and now the effects of the theatre, so as to render reason so clear that it might become popular, so amiable as not to frighten frivolity, and so amusing as to be the fashion. This grand idea of becoming through the mere resources of his genius the benefactor of a whole people, by delivering them from their errors, fired Voltaire's soul and heated his courage. To this task he swore to consecrate his life, and he kept his oath."

Voltaire, that is to say, was in the eyes of his generation the apostle of "enlightenment," and belief in enlightenment was the faith of the age. Any one who fails to perceive this fails to understand the eighteenth century. That epoch has been termed an age of incredulity and of scepticism. It might with far greater cause be described as an age of unbounded faith in the power of common sense. This faith is utterly foreign to the sentiments, good and bad, of the nineteenth century. The very terms in which it was expressed, such as, for example, "enlightenment," "age of reason," "enlightened men," "overthrow of prejudice," and so forth, have ceased to have much meaning for the present generation, but the faith in enlightenment was, while it lasted, as genuine, as great, and as influential a creed as any which has ruled mankind. Voltaire, with all his defects, meannesses, and vices, was throughout his life the consistent and unhesitating preacher of this creed. It is easy enough to point out features in his career and character which do not admit of defence or palliation, but neither friend nor foe doubted that Voltaire, in spite of all his tricks, his lies and stratagems, burnt with sincere zeal for the spread of enlightenment, and with even more sincere zeal for the destruction of prejudice. It would be equal folly and dishonesty to deny that Voltaire and his school included under the term prejudice beliefs which have survived all the fury and venom of their attack. This is not the place to discuss the theological and religious problems which it would be necessary to consider were we called upon to enter into the controversy between Voltaire and the orthodoxy of his age. One point, however, which concerns history rather than theology, deserves notice.

Two circumstances excited in the minds both of Voltaire and of his contemporaries a hatred if not to religion yet certainly to all theological dogmas, which can hardly be shared even by the most heterodox of modern thinkers. The first cause of hatred was that in France, and over the greater part of the continent, priests and theologians were as a matter of fact the opponents of every kind of rational progress. A second and even deeper cause of dislike to theology is to be found in the still vivid recollection of all the misery and the suffering, the physical and moral evil, which wars and persecutions carried on in the name of religion had brought upon Europe. The rule of the Puritans made the name of religious enthusiasm hateful even to pious Englishmen for more than a century. The tradition of the Reign of Terror still causes educated Frenchmen to tremble at the name of a republic. But the austerity of the Puritans and the cruelty of the Terrorists did not cause the world one tithe of the misery which was associated in the thoughts of Voltaire and his friends with the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, or the prolonged horrors of the Thirty Years' War. When Condorcet writes, "The blood of many millions of men massacred in the name of God still steams up to heaven around us. The earth on which we tread is everywhere covered with the bones of the victims of barbarous intolerance," he expresses in rhetorical language the feelings of a generation who knew by experience all the evils which flow from religious fanaticism, and did not know how great were the evils which might be produced by the fanaticism of men who had been trained up to look upon religion as their foe.

If Voltaire's assaults on Christianity have rendered him odious in the eyes of all who value religion, another feature of his creed, which is also closely connected with his belief in enlightenment, has estranged from him the sympathy of modern democrats. There is no concealing the fact that he was, in common with the *philosophes* of the age, indifferent to political liberty. He believed, whether rightly or not, that the spread of enlightenment, the diffusion of general knowledge, the establishment of universal toleration, the cessation of wars, the gradual prevalence of milder manners and of humane laws, would result in the destruction of all kinds of oppression, and give mankind, if not political rights and privileges, all the benefits which make political rights of real value. "The more enlightened men become the greater will be their freedom." This is not the maxim of a leader who intends to introduce a political revolution. It is a very natural maxim for a teacher to propound who had seen great reforms carried out by despotic sovereigns, and acts of the grossest injustice supported by the prejudices and violence of an ignorant mob. Modern experience shows that freedom from political oppression must often precede the spread of enlightenment and education, and Voltaire, it may be conceded, underrated the moral benefits of liberty ; but if he failed to see that no great reform could be carried out in France without a political revolution, he certainly perceived the fact which not only revolutionists but moderate liberals have often failed to grasp, namely, that no merely political change, no establishment of national independence, no cunning device by which every man is to be assured an equal share in the suffrage, will ever secure either freedom or good government for a people who cannot shake off the bonds of ignorance, of prejudice or superstition. Voltaire's scheme of reform was by no means

*'Voltaire. Sechs Vorträge von David Friedrich Strauss.' Leipzig. New York: B. Westermann & Co.

perfect, yet posterity may rationally regret that the inevitable revolution in France was guided by men who were the disciples, not of Voltaire, but of Rousseau.

Voltaire, moreover, though he underrated the value of political rights, certainly estimated at its full worth the blessing of individual freedom ; and if he was wanting in enthusiasm for liberty, he felt more strongly than perhaps any other man of his time the noblest of all passions—the hatred of injustice. Voltaire's character has its mean, hateful, despicable aspects ; but any one who reflects on the time, labor, and zeal which he expended on attempts to avert, to remedy or avenge, acts of injustice and oppression, must admit that his character had at least one heroic side. He saved the family and cleared the reputation of Calas. He held up to the hatred of Europe the torturers and murderers of De la Barre. If it be said that in these cases he attacked oppression because the wrong was done in the name of religion, it may surely be replied that of all acts of injustice those done in the name of religion are the most hateful in the eyes of man and God. But Voltaire opposed lay no less vehemently than ecclesiastical injustice. He was as ardent on behalf of Lally as on behalf of Calas, and his sympathies were not confined by the limits of his own country, for he exerted himself, unfortunately without effect, to avert the condemnation of Byng. It was this love for justice which seized hold of the imagination of crowds who had not read his works and would hardly have understood the arguments and the sarcasms by which he won the admiration of society. The poor woman who, when asked why she pressed through the crowd of Paris to get near Voltaire, gave as her answer, "He is the man who saved the family of Calas," paid a tribute to the highest part of Voltaire's nature, and her words still explain, in part at least, the influence over good and wise men of a teacher who, with all his faults, might well seem to them a hero and deliverer engaged in a contest with the injustice of the magistracy and the intolerance of the priesthood of France.

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*The Duke and the Scholar, and other Essays.*—By T. L. Kington-Oliphant, M.A. (New York : Macmillan & Co. 1875.)—Readers of French literature during the last thirty years have often encountered the name of the Duc de Luynes as of a person at whose expense this or that splendid literary or archæological enterprise has been carried forward, and have received an impression that, in a shadowy fashion, the tradition of Mæcenas and of Cosmo de' Medici was still preserved. Visitors to the National Library in Paris will not have forgotten the magnificent collection of medals and bronzes in rooms inscribed with the Duke's name, and how they wondered at the wealth which could afford to gather it, and then could afford to part with it. Mr. Kington-Oliphant offers us here a short biography of this generous nobleman, in which his claims to the gratitude of historical students are set forth in detail. This memoir is mainly translated from a notice of the Duc de Luynes published by a modest but exemplary scholar who worked largely under his encouragement—M. Huillard-Bréholles, of whom also Mr. Kington-Oliphant gives an interesting account. The Duc de Luynes combined many attributes which are not often found together, and which, when they concur, seem the justification of a patriciate. He not only had the means for disinterested research, but he had an enlightened curiosity and a scrupulous scientific conscience. What he desired was not to patronize learning in a striking way, but in a way for which the truly initiated, the modest toilers, would be grateful. He belonged to a type of nobleman which is seen perhaps less frequently in France than in England, but which is not common anywhere. He was that rare phenomenon, a rich scholar, and he not only encouraged good work in others, but he produced it himself. Mr. Oliphant, himself an historical student, and in a position to appreciate the Duke's services to certain periods of history, enumerates his publications, researches, collections, antiquarian expeditions. He was born in 1802 ; he died in 1867. He was at most points a liberal Conservative, in others a narrow one. He was an uncompromising enemy of Italian unity ; he voted in the French Assembly, in 1848, for the scandalous interference of the Republic in Roman affairs, and he subscribed largely to equip the Papal army at the time of the resistance to Garibaldi in 1867. He was at Rome during the battle of Mentana, and died there shortly after this event. Nothing is more difficult for the Anglo-Saxon mind, in general, than to find tolerance for the French intolerance of the desire of Italy to regulate her home-conduct as she chooses, and it is a good deal to say for M. de Luynes that the English reader forgives him his want of generosity on this particular point in consideration of his usual breadth of view. He had not even the excuse of being, in faith, a positive Catholic. It may be said, however, that his attitude in this matter was not characteristic ; it was an inconsistency. He was a Legitimist, but not a bigoted one, and he possessed that agreeable attribute of many Frenchmen of rank—an "admiration for English institutions." The historical period on which he bestowed most attention was the Thirteenth Century—the struggle between the Popes and the Hohenstaufens. In illustration of this time, and of mediæval history generally, he caused a vast number of records and chronicles to be laboriously edited and published, monuments to be copied, maps to be drawn up. He promoted the researches of both French and Italian scholars. He was an ardent archæologist, and he published many papers on special topics—antique sculpture, coinage, pottery, inscriptions. He was a first-rate linguist, as the title of one of his essays—"The Coinage of the Satrapies and of Phœnicia under the Achæmenian Kings"—may testify. Into these matters he dived deeply. When discovery was made at Beyrut in 1855 of the Sarcophagus of Esmunazar, King of Sidon—a vast sepulchre of black basalt, the disinterment and transport of which were a great achievement—he immediately secured it and presented it to the Louvre. It was covered with a Phœnician inscription, upon which two German specialists instantly fell to work ; but the Duke puzzled it out before them, and published his translation. In 1865 he went to the East, and made an exhaustive exploration of Palestine. He had lavishly restored and decorated his ancient residence of Dampierre, and Mr. Oliphant gives an entertaining account of a curious episode in this process—the painting by Ingres of two frescoes in one of the apartments. The Duke was to pay him 70,000 francs. The work was begun in 1843, and in 1850 was not finished, owing to the venerable artist's extraordinary caprices and coquetries. It was finally abandoned, and now blushes unseen behind velvet curtains. The Duc de Luynes was a man of the highest private morality, was personally very shy, and was considered stiff and cold. "In private, however," says Mr. Oliphant, "he was the gayest of the gay. If some friends told him a merry tale, seasoned with a little Gallic salt, he would half-shut his blue eyes, open his large mouth, and give way to a hearty laugh." Fortune had given him many of the things that excite envy, but he himself had added to them only the things that excite respect.

Among the works of learning executed at the Duke's expense was a translation of the chronicle of Matthew Paris, in nine volumes. Another and a greater was a collection of all the surviving documents, charters, memorials, and letters connected with the reign of the great Emperor Frederic II. For these labors, and many more of the same kind (the one we have just mentioned engrossed seventeen years of the compiler's life), historical science is indebted to the learning and industry of M. J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, of whom Mr. Oliphant gives a short memoir. Huillard-Bréholles was a genuine scholar, and his life was uneventful ; he was, in historical research, the right-hand man of the Duc de Luynes. They worked together with great mutual esteem, and rendered each other indispensable assistance. Bréholles was happy in his intelligent patron, and the Duke was worthy of his indefatigable investigator. Bréholles seems to have been a modern reproduction of those heroic editors, the seventeenth-century Benedictines. He was, says Mr. Oliphant, "in certain branches of learning simply without a rival." He did an enormous quantity of work, but he belonged to that class of workers whose labors are, so to speak, subterranean, and of whom the general public never hears. They excavate, they move into place the great blocks and beams upon which the men who become famous rear their shapely superstructures. The more reason that justice should occasionally be done them, competently and sympathetically, as Mr. Oliphant has done it here. The author has affixed to these two biographical notices a condensed translation of the autobiography of a certain Fra Salimbene, a Parmesan friar of the thirteenth century, who appears to have been a great traveller and to have enjoyed a near view of many of the important events of his time. The narrative is excellently translated, without overdoing the quaintness, and, with the writer's naïveté, his shrewdness, his intense mediæval savor, is in the highest degree entertaining. We regret that want of space forbids us to quote from it ; it has some delightful passages of unstudied picturesqueness. Lastly, Mr. Oliphant's volume contains a short examination of the question whether the English aristocracy was largely destroyed by the Wars of the Roses, which is answered very definitely in the negative ; and some remarks on that characteristically British fact—the compatibility, as married people would say, which has generally existed between the English Lords and Commons. This has been very satisfactory in the past, but Mr. Oliphant assumes perhaps a trifle inconsiderately that its shadow will never grow less in the future.

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*On Actors and the Art of Acting.* By George Henry Lewes. (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1875. Pp. xii.–278.)—Years ago Mr. Lewes contributed to the *Foreign Quarterly Review* a series of admirable essays on the Spanish

drama, afterwards collected into a little volume not yet out of print. Later, under the pen-name of "Slingsby Lawrence," he adapted to the English stage 'La joie fait peur' of Mme. de Girardin and the 'Mercadet le faiseur' of Balzac. He has never lost the love for the theatre shown plainly in his 'Life of Goethe,' as well as in these earlier essays; and now, his "slumbering interest in the stage" having been reawakened by the recent successful performances of Signor Salvini in London, and seeing "signs of a revival of the once splendid art of the actor," he has been "made sensible of the chaotic state of opinion on the subject of acting in many minds of rare intelligence." Therefore, to correct this, and to "direct attention not simply to the fact that acting is an art, but that, like all other arts, it is obstructed by a mass of unsystematized opinion, calling itself criticism," he puts forth the volume before us. The means seem inadequate to the end; for Mr. Lewes's book is not a symmetrical and logical treatise; it is a thing of shreds and patches, a hasty compilation of hastily-amended articles gathered from the magazines and reviews of the past twenty-five years. These essays, "written during a period of dramatic degradation," when it was hard even for Mr. Lewes, with all his enthusiasm for the stage, to be hopeful, were in their proper place in the pages of a periodical. Now that the stage in England has improved almost to a point when the poetic drama seems again a possibility, the accumulated hopelessness of these collected articles seems especially ill-timed. But aside from this, a volume so invertebrate is not what we expect from a writer of Mr. Lewes's reputation. It is a pity that a scholar as thorough and a critic as acute as he is should not have written the useful essay upon the art of acting which he is quite capable of writing. We have no mate in English to Samson's rhymed critical essay in the style of Boileau or Pope, 'L'Art théâtral,' unfortunately too little known to American actors, audiences, and critics. An interesting treatise on acting more elaborate and detailed than Hamlet's advice to the players, still the best essay on acting, could indeed be compiled from either Colly Cibber's 'Apology' or from this volume of Mr. Lewes, which, in spite of its unsystematic and conglomerate character, contains here and there much that is valuable. The fifteen articles brought together in it include criticisms of the Keans, father and son, Rachel, Macready, Farren, the younger Matthews, Lemaître, the Keeleys, Salvini, and of various foreign actors on the English stage; essays on Natural Acting and on Shakspere as Actor and Critic; and accounts of the drama in Paris (1865), in Germany (1867), and in Spain (1867).

The criticisms of actors are excellent, marred only by the repetition which comes of writing at different times on kindred subjects. Of Edmund Kean the criticism is especially fine, lit up by many nice discriminations:

"The greatest artist is he who is greatest in the highest reaches of his art, even although he may lack the qualities necessary for the adequate execution of some minor details. It is not by his faults but by his excellences that we measure a great man. The strength of a beam is measured by its weakest part, of a man by his strongest. Thus estimated, Edmund Kean was incomparably the greatest actor I have seen, although even warm admirers must admit that he had many and serious defects" (p. 1). . . . "Kean was not only remarkable for the intensity of passionate expression, but for a peculiarity I have never seen so thoroughly realized by another, although it is one which belongs to the truth of passion—namely, the expression of *subsiding emotion*. Although fond, far too fond, of abrupt transitions—passing from vehemence to familiarity, and mingling strong lights and shadows with Caravaggio force of unreality—nevertheless, his instinct taught him what few actors are taught—that an emotion, after discharging itself in one massive current, continues for a time expressing itself in feebler currents. The waves are not stilled when the storm has passed away. There remains the ground-swell troubling the deeps. In watching Kean's quivering muscles and altered tones you felt the subsidence of passion. The voice might be calm, but there was a tremor in it; the face might be quiet, but there were vanishing traces of the recent agitation" (p. 9).

Of Rachel Mr. Lewes says that her expression was perfect within her limited range; late in her career "she grew careless; played her parts as if only in a hurry to get through them, flashing out now and then with tremendous power, just to show what she could do; and resembling Kean in the sacrifice of the character to a few points" (p. 24). "Rachel was the panther of the stage; with a panther's terrible beauty and undulating grace she moved and stood, glared and sprang. There always seemed something not human about her. She seemed made of different clay from her fellows—beautiful, but not lovable. Those who never saw Edmund Kean may form a very good conception of him if they have seen Rachel. She was very much as a woman what he was as a man. If he was a lion, she was a panther" (p. 23). In Macready Mr. Lewes saw a man of talent (but of talent so marked and individual that it approached very near to genius) who achieved greatness by incessant study. The remark (p. vii.) that "people generally overrate an actor's genius and underrate his trained skill" applies with particular force to Macready, who, according to Mr. Lewes, "would have made an excellent clergyman or member of Parliament; but there is absolutely no evidence that he could have made such a figure either in the church or senate as would compare with that which he made upon the stage" (p. 50). In Frédéric Lemaître, even in his best days, Mr. Lewes detected something offensive to good taste—"a note of vulgarity, partly owing to his daring animal spirits, but mainly owing, I suspect, to an innate vulgarity of nature." This occasional bad taste, which found its apotheosis in a colossal caricature, Robert Macaire, would never be suspected by a reader who judged the actor solely from the dithyrambic rhapsodies of Hugo and Gautier. It is to be regretted that Mr. Lewes has omitted any mention of Mme. Dorval, who shared with Frédéric in many of the triumphs of the palmy days of the romantic drama, bearing bravely in Hugo's "Angelo" a supreme test of dramatic excellence—*i. e.*, playing at the Comédie Française side by side with Mlle. Mars.

The chapters on Natural Acting and on Shakspere as Actor and Critic are the best in the book, producing indeed an effect of rounded finish which is lacking in many of the others. The reader of the 'Life of Goethe' who remembers the author's love for Hamlet will meet in this volume with further illustration of his delicate and discriminative insight into Shakspere's art. In short, although this book lacks the homogeneousness to be justly expected from the author of 'Problems of Life and Mind,' yet it is valuable, first, as the record of the impressions produced upon a mind of singular sensibility by many actors of renown, and lastly, indeed chiefly, because it formulates and reiterates sound opinions upon the little understood principles of the art of acting.

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*Deutsche Geschichte von* 1815–1870. Von Luise Büchner. Zwanzig Vorträge gehalten im Alice-Lyceum zu Darmstadt. (Leipzig: Theodor Thomas; New York: Westermann).—Germany, the land of advanced ideas, is looked upon with disfavor by many of our *émancipées* because of the aversion it has shown to treating the education of women as a fit subject for radical innovations. In no other leading country is woman debarred so rigorously from sharing in the benefits of the best methods and apparatus of training. This may appear unjust, yet it has at least the merit of consistency. Opinion in Germany having been pronounced in favor of woman's "subordination," it follows, by logical deduction, that she should be excluded from those institutions whose especial mission it is to qualify their pupils for filling the controlling positions in society. Whether this state of opinion will be permanent, or is destined to speedy modification, are questions which do not concern us here. This much at least is certain: although Germany withholds from its girls and women the very highest education, the education that it does give them is very good and very thorough. In fact, a perfectly impartial comparison might show us that our own system, notwithstanding its seeming liberality and the specious generosity with which it throws open the doors of the professions, is after all less robust, less productive of good results than the German. Of this Miss Büchner's recent work is an evidence. Not that we praise it unqualifiedly as a model text-book. The professional fault-finder could pick more than one ugly flaw in it, and even the sober critic must admit that it leaves much to be desired. Yet, with all its defects, it is what it purports to be, the earnest, well-sustained effort by one not a professed historian to sketch in a moderate-sized volume the strange story of the foundation of modern German nationality, and to make it at least intelligible to the reader possessed of ordinary information. The time has not yet come—and the authoress would be the first to admit it—for a thoroughly scientific history of the German uprising. The waves of passion still run too high, the chafings of the French and Austrian yoke are too recent, to permit of calm judgment. We must await the Ranke or Von Sybel of the second, possibly the third, generation. Yet it is important that the young growing minds of the present generation should have a clear and connected account of the principal events in that epoch of German history which begins with the Prussian uprising against Napoleon in 1813, and ends with the establishment of the new German Empire.

This account Miss Büchner has undertaken to furnish. A careful examination of the work has inspired us with sincere respect for the writer and also for the young ladies in whose behalf it was written. Truly, the pupils of the Princess-Alice Lyceum of Darmstadt must be of a different order of mind and disposition from the *habituées* of Madison Avenue and Gramercy Park, to be fed thus with six hundred pages of substantial history, unrelieved with fiction, undiluted with watery moral axioms. Although written by a woman for women, it may be characterized as a

"manly" work, in that it goes straight to the point, and compresses a great deal of valuable information within narrow limits, without trying to make it directly palatable to the so-called female mind. We have not the space for even an abridged statement of its contents, but must be satisfied with the general announcement that the reader will find every prominent event since 1815 discussed, or at least mentioned, in its bearings upon the drift of European affairs.

Miss Büchner's views are not always sound; for instance, her strictures upon Metternich are not justified by the authority that she has followed. Sprenger (in his 'Austria,' I. 137) says expressly that the charge of bribery can *not* be proved against Metternich. A more serious defect is the writer's disposition to represent the so-called Restoration period as one of universal gloom and depression. Quite to the contrary, Europe has seldom enjoyed a period of greater prosperity in letters, the arts, science, and commerce than from 1815 to 1840. Despite Laibach, Verona, the Spielberg, Metternich, and Nicholas, Europe was progressing rapidly in every department; the germs of human rights sown by the French Revolution were bearing rich fruit. We doubt if the present of Europe, with its colossal armaments, its sharply drawn lines in nationality and church, wears so attractive, so humane a mien. We object also to the writer's animosity towards the French. So long as German unity hung in suspense, mistrust and bitterness were perhaps not out of place; but at present, after unity and even supremacy have been achieved, we feel called upon to remind the Germans that it becomes the victor to be temperate.

The book has, furthermore, one or two defects of execution. The misprints are numerous and some of them are serious, and there is no alphabetical index of places, persons, and subjects. It seems as if the Germans, so prolific of helps to knowledge, would never learn the usefulness of indexes. The works of some of their best scholars, such as Ranke, Droysen, Springer, etc., lose half their value for want of such aids to reference. In a work for the use of young scholars the omission is inexcusable.

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*Personal Reminiscences.* By O'Keeffe, Kelly, and Taylor. Edited by Richard Henry Stoddard. Bric-à-Brac Series. (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1875.)—The present volume of this series contains what Mr. Stoddard calls the "anecdotal substance" of three old books—O'Keeffe's Reminiscences, which appeared in 1826; Kelly's, which appeared in 1825; and Taylor's, which appeared in 1832. They were all English books, however, and probably not very well known out of England, except to thoroughly read persons of æsthetic tastes. And, indeed, if we may infer anything from the case of M. Taine, one of these books, which seems to have escaped that writer's notice altogether, might be profitably studied even now by those who desire to make themselves and their fellow-creatures thoroughly acquainted with the history of English literature and the English stage. Taine's object in his 'English Literature' is, to be sure, rather critical than historical; still it is strange that in writing his brilliant account of Sheridan's career he should have taken the popular tradition as to the circumstances of his death, without consulting such an authority as Michael Kelly, who was intimate with Sheridan, and fifty years ago had published a flat contradiction of the popular stories on the subject. Taine gives this picture of the close of Sheridan's life:

"At last a bailiff arrested the dying man in his bed, and was for taking him off in his blankets; nor would he let him go until threatened with a lawsuit, the doctor having declared that the sick man would die on the road. A certain newspaper (the *Examiner*) cried shame on the great lords who suffered such a man to end so miserably; they hastened to leave their cards at his door. In the funeral procession two brothers of the king, dukes, earls, bishops, the first men in England, carried or followed the body—a singular contrast, picturing in abstract all his talent and all his life, lords at his funeral and bailiffs at his death-bed."

This contrast, however, is not more striking than that between the account given by M. Taine and that given by Mr. Kelly. The latter says that "the reports industriously circulated" that Sheridan, in his latter moments, "was left in want of the common necessaries of life" were "groundless, and fabricated for the most atrocious purposes of scandal"; that two hundred pounds were sent him by an "illustrious donor," but were actually returned by Sheridan (those who are fond of contrasts may find one of the strangest on record in this simple act), because he was in want of no assistance; and finally, that he, Kelly, sent, a few days before Sheridan died, for "his own man," who was in attendance, and faithfully attached to his master, and that he was assured by this man, in reply to an entreaty for the truth about the stories then in circulation, that he need give himself no further anxiety, for Sheridan was in want of nothing, and that the stories were libels. It should be observed, too, that this is, antecedently, far the more probable version, for Sheridan was the last man in the world to have been forgotten in extremity by his friends.

This is a small matter, but it shows how little books like those here extracted from become generally known that the popular tradition should, in the face of such explicit denials, have still a vitality vigorous enough to obtain for it a foothold in a philosophical history of English literature. The story about the death-bed *capias* is true, as we learn from the extracts from the reminiscences of John Taylor, but *capiases* were an everyday affair in Sheridan's life, and they had long ceased to have any terrors for him. It is the deserted death-bed of the brilliant author and man of pleasure that Taine wishes to introduce us to, but the desertion, which is the main point, was made out of whole cloth.

In looking over not only the reminiscences of Michael Kelly, but those of O'Keeffe and Taylor as well, the reader cannot fail to be struck with the impression that most of the contents, if not always very instructive or even amusing, does at least seem new. The volume contains reminiscences, we may almost say, of everybody who flourished in the latter part of the last century or the early part of this, from Garrick down to "Monsieur Tonson" and the original of "Jeremy Diddler" in the farce of "Raising the Wind," who was no other, the reader may be glad to know, than a decayed gentleman named Bibb, commonly known to his contemporaries as "Half-crown Bibb," and reputed to have borrowed two thousand pounds in half-crowns.

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*Man and Beast Here and Hereafter.* By the Rev. J. G. Wood. (New York: Geo. Routledge & Sons.)—Concerning the hereafter of beasts as of men, Mr. Wood knows as much as the rest of us and no more. His aim is, in this respect, to show by an examination of Scriptural texts that a future life is not denied the brute creation in the Bible, or, if it is, it is also denied to man. "We have no right to pick and choose which passages we are to take literally, and which symbolically, but must apply the same test to all alike, and treat all in the same manner." He then illustrates, by means of a great number of original anecdotes, the possession by the lower animals of reason, language, memory, a sense of humor, and a capacity for tyranny, generosity, duplicity, jealousy, pride, sympathy, conscience, love of master and of offspring, etc. And finally, he cites a number of distinguished men and women who have believed that for brutes as for man there is beyond this existence another opportunity of life, development, and compensation; and argues that if this be not so, it is difficult to see what becomes of divine justice. The negative arguments in favor of this view—or of the view that the spirit in man and in beast has a similar destiny, whatever that may be—will certainly always outweigh the negative arguments against it, like that of the objector who wrote Mr. Wood that "he would never condescend to share immortality with a cheese-mite." They will continue to gain in force the more the lower animals are studied with a view to their intellectual or spiritual likeness to man. This likeness Mr. Wood sets forth in a popular way, with cumulative evidence of a sort to which there is no end. Those who have read him should go for a scientific and exhaustive discussion of the subject to the chapters on the "Comparison of the Mental Powers of Man and the Lower Animals" in Darwin's 'Descent of Man.' The question whether the difference is one of degree or of kind turns upon the origin of the moral sentiments in man, and this too Mr. Darwin discusses. According as it is answered will be our belief in "that equal sky" of Pope's "poor Indian."

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* |
|---|---|
| Art-Journal, October, swd | (D. Appleton & Co.) $0 75 |
| Bezold (Dr. E.), Die Gesetzgebung des Deutschen Reiches: Deutsche Bankverfassung | (E. Steiger) |
| Black (W.), Marriage of Moira Fergus, swd | (Wm. F. Gill & Co.) 0 25 |
| Cornell (S. S.), Intermediate Geography, Revised | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Droz (G.), Les Etangs, swd | (F. W. Christern) |
| Eichberg (J.), High-School Music Reader | (Ginn Bros.) |
| Felter (Prof. S. A.), Intermediate Arithmetic | (Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) |
| Family Record | (Henry Holt & Co.) 5 00 |
| Görlach (W.), Prince Bismarck | (Henry Holt & Co.) 1 25 |
| Hamerton (P. G.), Portfolio, September, swd | (J. W. Bouton) 1 00 |
| Hill (Rosamond and Florence), What We Saw in Australia | (Macmillan & Co.) 3 00 |
| Houssaye (A.), Life in Paris | (Wm. F. Gill & Co.) 1 25 |
| Holyoake (G. J.), History of Co-operation, Vol. I | (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) |
| Hudson (Rev. H. N.), Text-Book of Poetry | (Ginn Bros.) |
| Lewis (Rev. T.), Nature and the Scriptures | (New York) |
| Lawrence (P.), Comstock's Elocution and Model Speaker, new ed | (T. B. Peterson & Bros.) 2 00 |
| Lawrence Speaker | (T. B. Peterson & Bros.) 2 00 |
| Lloyd (W. W.), The Age of Pericles, 2 vols | (Macmillan & Co.) 8 00 |
| MacEvilly (Rev. J.), Exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul, 3d ed. 2 vols | (W. B. Kelly) |
| Macmillan's Reading Books, I.–V | (Macmillan & Co.) |
| Marthens (J. F.), Typographical Bibliography, swd | (Pittsburgh) |
| Mérimée (P.), Lettres à une autre Inconnue, swd | (F. W. Christern) |
| Morse (Prof. E. S.), First Book of Zoölogy | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Railroad Scenery of Pennsylvania | (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) |
| Satchel Series, Vol. I., swd | (Wm. F. Gill & Co.) 0 50 |
| Schmitz (Prof. J. A. & H. J.), German Grammar | (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) |
| Schnorr (I.), Workshop, swd | (E. Steiger) 0 50 |
| Southworth (A. S.), Forty Thousand Miles of African Travel | (Baker, Pratt & Co.) 3 50 |
| Spruner (Dr. K. von), Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte, Part 12, swd | (L. W. Schmidt) |
| Stieler (A.), Hand-Atlas, Part 28, swd | (L. W. Schmidt) |

# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE President made a speech at a late reunion of the Army of the Tennessee which took the country a good deal by surprise, both because of his dislike of speech-making and of his somewhat singular choice of a subject. His discourse was very brief, and after the usual compliments to the soldiers and the now usual friendly and conciliatory allusions to the South, he announced that when the next contest occurred the dividing line would not be Mason and Dixon's, but between "patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other," and this he followed by a denunciation of sectarian schools and a commendation of "a common-school education unmixed with pagan, sectarian, or atheistic dogmas." He also advised that religious education be left "to the family altar, the church, and the private school," and that the church and state be "kept for ever separate." It is difficult to understand from this whether the President really fears that the patriotic and intelligent people are going to have a physical fight with the superstitious, the ambitious, and the ignorant; but if so, it is as well to say that that fight has been going on for a long time, and is being waged at this moment with varying fortune in all parts of the civilized world, and that on the whole "the superstitious, and ignorant, and ambitious" get the worst of it, and are now undergoing imprisonment in great numbers and performing forced labor at the hands of the cruel victors. From all we hear and see, there is no immediate prospect of a cessation of hostilities, though they have raged ever since Cain killed Abel. General Grant's interest in the school question is apparently greater than most people supposed, and his advice, if not needed, will undoubtedly be well received.

The Republican Convention at Worcester which took place on Wednesday of last week was, as will be seen from the description which we publish elsewhere, a thoroughly harmonious and satisfactory meeting. The resolutions are in great measure satirical and denunciatory of the Democrats; congratulate the Republicans of Massachusetts that nothing in *their* record makes it necessary for them to give pledges of any kind as to the settlement of the war, slavery, and debt questions; promise to support none but fit men for office, and "invoke the condemnation of the ballot-box" upon any unfit man of whatever party; declare the Republicans in favor of civil-service reform at whatever cost; also, that while not recognizing "privilege of class," nor any "antagonism between labor and capital," but deprecating any attempt to "fetter" either, they will try to "develop the resources" of both, "stimulating one and diffusing the other into channels of common prosperity," and will support "all measures that regard the promotion of temperance, education, good morals, and the equal rights of all American citizens irrespective of sex," the maintenance of order, economy in government, and reduced taxation. The party further congratulates itself on the reduction of national expenditures; thanks General Grant for his "independence, courage, and good sense"; hails with "exceeding joy" the evidences on all sides of a renewal of a fraternal spirit North and South; declares against a third term, and, in emphatic language, denounces an irredeemable currency and insists on the speediest possible return to specie payments. The nominee for Governor, Mr. A. H. Rice, is a respectable man, and as between him and Mr. Gaston there is not much to choose. The most remarkable thing in the proceedings was the steady voting for Mr. Adams, the only one of the three leading candidates who had not a body of workers and wire-pullers behind him. It begins to look as if the support of Mr. Adams was really, after all, among "the masses." We understand that Mr. Henry Wilson broke down towards the end of the day, and showed such signs of physical exhaustion that as a Presidential candidate he is looked upon by the party leaders as out of the question.

Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., has been delivering a lecture on the railroad question to the Grangers of Oshkosh which must have somewhat startled his hearers. Mr. Adams is, as he says, the senior railroad commissioner of the country, and it may be said for, if not by, him that he is almost the only railroad commissioner in the country of any weight or authority, and therefore what he says is important. He now tells the Grangers of the West what we have always maintained in these columns, that the only amelioration that can be brought about in the railway system of the country will be not through penal legislation but through publicity, public accounts, public enquiry into grievances, and public applications for redress. Mr. Adams shows some indications of a lingering belief that in the very distant future the consolidation of the railroads will end in their being absorbed by the Government; but his future of Government railroads is so remote that he does not himself think it worth while to provide for its approach, while he admits explicitly that all his own former dreams of managing the railroads with a strong hand have been dissipated by experience, and that in Massachusetts the establishment of a commission with merely advisory powers has proved so effectual in the remedy of abuses and the introduction of reforms that his own regret at not having more power has disappeared. The amenability to an enlightened official opinion shown by the Eastern railroads in the introduction of such reforms as the cheap workmen's trains running into Boston, show that the monopolists are not quite such tyrants and foes of liberty as they have been represented. Besides the arguments brought forward by Mr. Adams, we may mention, as conclusive against any tendency to absorption of the railway system by the Government, the large number of Constitutional Amendments adopted within the past half-dozen years totally forbidding States, counties, and towns to engage in railroad construction, railroad management, or even railroad loans.

The Fall River troubles have come to an end, most of the mills having already obtained hands enough willing to sign an agreement supposed to be sufficient to guard against trade-union difficulties. The uprising in New York which was to have been headed by Mr. John Swinton and other promising Communists did not come off, owing to the refusal of the Park Commissioners to let them have Tompkins Square for the object in question. This refusal will of course be regarded as an act of gross tyranny by Mr. Swinton and his friends, but really amounts to no more than the advice nowadays given so frequently to public men who bore the public, to "hire a hall." This Mr. Swinton and his fellow-reformers will no doubt be able to do provided they can obtain the funds, and these they may very likely be able to procure from Mr. John Morrissey and the anti-Tammany reformers, who have declared it to be their purpose to have "no more one-man power" but to "let the people rule." Whether the Fall River operatives will be kept out of the reach of the trade-unions by a simple agreement is very questionable, but the agreement will have the good effect of bringing the relation of the capitalists on one side and the laborer on the other with the unions under the cognizance of the courts. Many if not most of the scandals and outrages which have arisen in connection with the unions have come from their extra-legal character, and the disposition which has been shown to treat their really enormous moral power as non-existent. The only way they can be dealt with is to admit their power over the workingman, and make them responsible for the proper exercise of it.

It is not surprising, for various reasons which we need not enumerate, that Mr. Theodore Tilton should make his appearance once more before the public as a moral philosopher, and offer instruction on the conduct of life, for a very small fee. What surprises us is that newspapers which have not only recently exhausted the ordinary English of the day, but have tried to invent words, in order to describe his folly and his baseness, should be now both reporting his sermons and criticising him and them in highly commendatory language, in fact, presenting him to the public as a teacher well worth listening to. Things of this sort naturally lead plain people to ask whether newspaper moralizing is anything more than the patter of a street vender of small wares, or whether any editor's judgment of either men or things rests on anything better than the market demand of the moment for a certain kind of article, and whether newspaper offices do really contain a standard of right and wrong. If Tilton was last spring what the papers said he was, his advent as a preacher on "The Problem of Life" is a piece of fatuous impudence; if he was not, their attacks on him were shameless and atrocious libels. There is one other point on which a good deal might be said, and that is the readiness on the part of a portion of the public, revealed by the large audiences which even men in his position can draw, to treat all connection between character and oratory as of little or no consequence, and to pardon everything to anybody who can manage to be "brilliant" or "entertaining." This weakness has created and keeps afloat a crowd of rhetorical charlatans, who discourse by the hour on morality, religion, finance, and what not, without the smallest pretence to any particular knowledge of any of them, or without any admission of any responsibility for anything except the amusement of the crowd for the allotted hour. The result is the gradual approximation of oratory to music, and the reduction of articulate propositions to the ethical level of do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si.

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The Bank of California successfully resumed payments on Saturday. A large amount of coin had been accumulated—sufficient to meet all possible demands, and, besides, it was known that there was a guaranty fund of $7,000,000. Such was the confidence in the permanency of the resumption that deposits were made on the first day to the amount of $700,000 in excess of what was drawn out. The bank stopped payment August 26, and its suspension was followed by that of other institutions, of which the chief were the National Gold Bank and the Merchants' Bank. All these have since resumed business, and the San Francisco Stock Exchanges or Mining Boards have since been opened. In fact, San Francisco may be said to be on its feet again, and to have exemplified the truth that, while there may be speculative expansion, collapse, and panic when specie is the currency, the recovery is quick and certain. The mining capitalists who made war on the Bank of California opened their bank on Monday. It is called the Nevada Bank, and has a cash capital of $5,000,000 in gold, with a right to increase to $20,000,000. The bank was organized several months before the panic under the general laws of California. The owners of the Nevada Bank and their followers form probably the wealthiest "clique" on the continent, it being estimated that they have property to the amount of nearly $100,000,000.

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While San Francisco has during the week bounded into the position it was in before the breakdown of the Bank of California, the paper-currency States have been making slow and uncertain recovery from a panic which occurred more than two years ago. Wall Street is in the condition of a patient recovering from a low fever. Confidence returns slowly, and the speculators, who are as willing to depress as to advance securities, still find it easier to work on the fears of the people and induce them to sell stocks than to encourage them to buy on the faith of a general improvement in the trade of the country. That trade has improved and is still improving is indisputable, but there are enough failures to keep the public constantly expecting some astounding disaster. The price of gold has been as high as 117⅛, the rise reflecting only the small supply. The banks now report but about $6,500,000, an amount insufficient, if it were easily obtainable, for the easy working of the foreign-exchange market. This amount is under control, and can only be borrowed at high rates—from 1½ to 2½ per cent. per month. Mr. Bristow undoubtedly appreciates by this time the error of buying up silver to take the place of fractional currency (not redeemable or exchangeable for silver) and of redeeming five-twenty bonds on a forced construction of the law respecting the Sinking Fund, by which gold has been driven out of the country, until there is so little left that it is a question whether some other means will not have to be temporarily adopted in the settlement of exchange operations between bankers and the importers on one side and the exporters on the other. Gold must else be imported in considerable amount. Every steamer brings some, but not enough has yet arrived to give relief. Grain and cotton are beginning to move to the Atlantic ports, and it is important that there should be no obstacles to a free outlet. The money market has changed but little, call loans being nominal. The indications are of firmer rates in the early future. At noon on Saturday the value of $100 currency was $85 47.

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England is in the middle of the dull season, and the public attention is still concentrated on the swimming of the Channel by Captain Webb and the loss of the *Vanguard* iron-clad. Testimonials, both substantial and unsubstantial, continue to flow in on Capt. Webb, who is honored, not undeservedly, as having furnished unmistakable proof that man is fully holding his own, if not gaining, as an animal. The doctors cannot tell how it was that he did not become chilled by his long stay in the water, and he can throw no light on the subject himself. He says, however, that he thinks being smeared all over with porpoise fat did him no good, but acknowledges that this point could only be settled by an attempt to swim across without the fat. The doctors testify to the great width and capacity of his chest, but throw some discredit on the received maxims of the art of training by declaring that his muscular apparatus is not particularly prominent and is tolerably well covered with adipose matter. In short, he is not to outward appearance in what a trainer calls "condition," but looks like an ordinary but well-developed citizen of modern height, who eats what he pleases and takes only moderate exercise. His feat is naturally producing crowds of imitators, most of whom have to be taken into a boat in an hour or two in an exhausted condition, while one or two have sunk before rescue.

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The sinking of the *Vanguard*, an iron-clad of the first class, after receiving a tap from the ram of the *Iron Duke*, a ship of the same class, in a fog, is by no means as pleasant a subject of contemplation as Webb's feat. In the first place, the captain has been dismissed from his command by court-martial for changing his course and lowering his speed without properly signalling the rest of the fleet; but then the signalling arrangements seem defective, and there is a strong opinion that the Admiral is to blame for the high rate of speed at which the fleet was going in a dense fog. These are, however, small matters. What has produced most sensation is the light which the affair throws on the conditions of naval warfare. Here is a ship, it is said, of size and power so great that one officer, writing to the *Times*, calls her the equivalent of an army corps—say of 30,000 men, and yet she is sent to the bottom in thirty minutes by a single blow. He asks, therefore, who would consent to command an army, if a whole corps could be swept out of existence at any moment by a chance shot of the enemy? And yet it is under conditions somewhat similar that an admiral will now go into action, for it appears that the projecting ram or spur of the present man-of-war will strike an iron-clad where she is just as vulnerable as an old wooden liner. The hole made in this case was fifteen feet long by four broad, and it was incurable, in spite of water-tight compartments. It looks as if quick and agile manœuvring would hereafter be of even more importance at sea than the thickness of the iron plates or weight of the guns.

In France, the usual source of excitement and comment at this season—the session of the Permanent Committee of the Assembly which watches over the Republic during the recess—is wanting, as perfect peace reigns in that body. The newspapers occupy themselves with the speeches at the dinners of the agricultural societies which occur at this season in various parts of the country. It depends on the prefect, however, whether political topics shall be touched on or not, and the prefects for the most part prohibit it, so that there have been a series of rows between these functionaries and orators who wished to talk politics. The most notable topic of discussion of late has been a rumor that the Orleans princes had given in their adhesion to the Republic, or, in other words, had abandoned the "fusion" with the Count de Chambord and had made up their minds to be plain citizens. Their organ, the *Journal de Paris*, neither confirms nor denies the rumor, but says that its friends are men who know how to reconcile themselves to accomplished facts and to wait with patience for whatever the future may bring forth. A workingmen's conference in Paris in favor of the settlement of international differences by peaceful arbitration has, as far as the French are concerned, been a failure, few being willing to declare openly that they would sooner give up all hope of recovering Alsace and Lorraine than fight for them; but this does not prevent Emile de Girardin, who was one of the maddest advocates of war in 1870, from publishing a series of letters recommending France to disarm and give up all pretence to being a first-class military power, and devote herself to commerce and industry. It is a curious sign of the times that these letters are favorably received, and that there is a total lack of interest in military questions, and a strong disposition on all sides to acquiesce in the retirement of the country from the military arena. At the same time, its material progress is something wonderful. Kelley, the Pennsylvania Sage, will be surprised to hear that although there is a steady contraction of the blessed paper-money, and although there is not a 3.65 bond in the whole country, and nothing is done by anybody "to keep the volume of the currency up to the demands of business," business grows apace. The taxes during the past year have outrun the estimates by $12,000,000. The exports have increased over $33,000,000 during the first eight months of this year. The foreign trade of the country, which amounted to $1,120,000,000 in 1870, amounted last year to $1,520,000,000, and yet the people have no means of drawing out money from the Treasury when they want it. Why does not Kelley carry his 3.65 plan to France, and take Mr. Wendell Phillips and Gratz Brown with him to explain it?

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The text of the circular sent by the Papal Nuncio in Spain to the bishops has come out by the last mails, and it would be useful, if the matter needed any further elucidation, in illustrating what Catholic prelates mean when they talk about "religious liberty" and "equal rights." The Nuncio claimed peremptorily the execution of the Concordat of 1851. By the new constitution, freedom of religious opinion and religious worship is allowed, but the Catholic religion retains its place as the religion of the state, and all public ceremonies or manifestations on the part of other denominations are forbidden. The Nuncio is not content with this, and claims the execution of the first clause of the Concordat, which forbids the open profession of any other creed; also of the second clause, which provides that "*all* instruction in public and private schools shall be in conformity with the Catholic faith, and the bishops shall be charged with watching over the purity of faith and morals in the schools"; also of the third clause, which provides that the bishops "shall have the help of the secular power every time they shall have either to oppose the malignity of men who try to pervert the souls and corrupt the morals of the faithful, or to stop the printing, introduction, or circulation of bad and perverted books." This, it will be perceived, gives the bishop the use of the police in exercising a censorship over all literature, and enables him to prescribe the mode in which every child shall be taught; for it makes him supreme in private as in public schools. Yet if this Nuncio were transferred to the United States, and were to engage in the school controversy here, he would put on a bland, liberal, and "broad" look, pretend he never had heard of the Spanish Concordat or the Inquisition, treat the stories of Papal intolerance in European countries as mere inventions of infidel and Protestant writers, and declare that what the Church sought was only fair play and "equal rights"; that what she sought here was not the right of interfering with the education of the Protestant children—God forbid—but simply and solely the right of using the Catholic share of the school-tax in her own way. The circular closed with something very like a threat that if the Concordat was set aside, the Church might have to throw in her lot with Don Carlos—that is, give him her blessing, and begin cursing Don Alfonso.

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The Pope has been delivering an address to some French pilgrims who paid their respects to him at Rome, in which he gave an account of the state of Christendom which must fill every right-minded man with the deepest pain. He says "the modern Pharisees," not content with despoiling the Church and persecuting her ministers, are "establishing a monopoly of evil teaching." There is also, he says, "a perfidious league" which is trying to prevent the ordination of the clergy, and is giving protection to apostates, with a view not only to using them as stumbling-blocks, "but as means of corruption." The same horrid state of things prevails in all parts of the globe. Russia is acting in an outrageous manner towards the Church, so is Switzerland, and in South America there are most atrocious attacks on bishops, priests, and nuns, though there is there one good Republic where she gets her due, but then "the impious" even here "darkly congregated together" and murdered the President. In fact, whichever way the Pope turns his eyes he sees sectarian schismatics, Freemasons, and other bad characters vieing with each other in rascality. The only consolation he has in all this is that the number of saints is all the while increasing through these very enormities, and he advised the pilgrims to be patient and hopeful, and imitate Daniel O'Connell, and all would come right in the end.

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The news from Herzegovina is merely a kind of clearing up of the earlier reports. It is now acknowledged on all hands that the insurgents never achieved any success whatever; that whenever they stood to fight they were slaughtered or dispersed easily by the Turkish troops; and that, as we said last week, the great difficulty of the Commission composed of foreign consuls which started out to mediate was to find anybody to negotiate with. Of course there has been a great deal of plundering and burning, and crowds of fugitives have crossed the border into Dalmatia and Servia, but there has been no war. The rising, such as it is, has been fully as much directed against the Mohammedan landlords as against the tax-gatherers. The exactions of the former are constant as well as searching and oppressive, while those of the latter are only occasional. Servia's talk of interference can hardly have been more than talk. Her regular army only musters 4,000 men, and her militia, which is a mere levy *en masse*, without drill or discipline or officers or commissariat, is only 50,000 men on paper. It has to be remembered that in old risings against the Turks in Eastern Europe the insurgents and the troops were about equally well armed and equipped. But all the recent improvements both in small-arms and artillery have helped to raise even the poorest regular force far above any hasty gathering of civilians, and the collision of a body of peasantry, armed with smooth-bores and yataghans, with Turkish regulars with breech-loaders, is and can only be a massacre, if the peasantry are really brave. The affair will probably end, however, in some attempts at reform; and already the news comes from Constantinople that the Christians are to be more fairly represented in the local councils, and that they are even to be invited to send up notables to some sort of assembly at Constantinople which is to represent them before the supreme government. But the difficulty which lies behind all these changes of machinery is the indomitable scorn and sense of superiority of the Turks and the cowed submissiveness of the Christians.

## POLITICAL "CAPITAL."

A GOOD deal of the current Republican comment on Governor Tilden's dealings with the Canal Ring must recall to many people President Lincoln's mode of dealing with the charge of drunkenness against General Grant in the earlier and better days when the latter was winning victories in the West—"that if he only knew what brand of whiskey it was that Grant used, he would send a barrel of it to every general in the army." Republican newspapers have told us frequently that Mr. Tilden is doing what he is doing, not through sincere hatred of corruption, or through any particular love of reform, but merely for effect, or, as the phrase is, "to make capital," and that his real design in assaulting the "Canal thieves" is to help himself in his race for the Presidency. Now, "making capital" is by no means in itself an illegitimate process. All peaceable men pursuing an honest calling are "making capital"—that is, producing a favorable impression on observers as to their character and aims. It is only when a man is pretending to do something, or to be meaning to do something, which he is really not doing or does not mean to do, that "making capital" becomes at all objectionable or disreputable. When a politician, for instance, shams emotions he does not feel in his speeches, or repeats in public cries which in private he laughs at, or makes promises which he has no intention of performing, he is "making capital" fraudulently, and deserves corresponding treatment. And the reason why "making capital" has in political parlance acquired an odious sense is that the last-named mode is unhappily so much more common than any other. In fact, to say now that a man is doing a thing in order "to make capital" out of it is the equivalent of saying that he is trying to secure the good opinion of his countrymen by some species of fraud or humbug; and the phrase has even received an extended significance, in which it is applied to Mr. Tilden's case, which makes *all* methods of securing popularity in which there is any sign of personal ends, *per se* mischievous or discreditable.

Its application to him in a bad sense, however, on the part of his political opponents, under present circumstances, shows a very marked misconception of the state of mind of that large body of voters who, though much interested in politics, are not at all interested in the distribution of offices, which, to the politician proper, lends the game all its excitement. It is difficult for an experienced politician to believe it, but it is nevertheless true, that people are in a very puzzled and despondent state of mind about the political situation, and have got beyond the point at which they look for the appearance of the ideal statesman, uniting the purest motives with the highest ability. They can get the pure motives, and they can get the high ability; but somehow, owing to no matter what circumstances, to get a man who unites both into a leading place in the Government is a work of such difficulty that most people have given it up as (for the present, at least) a bad job, and are willing to content themselves with any man who, for whatever motive, will do good work. It so happens, too, that the work to be done at this moment is not work which calls either for the highest order of genius or the highest aspirations. A man may do it very well without being a Moses or a Washington—without, in short, being either a prophet or a hero. He has neither to lead a race out of captivity nor call a nation into existence. The task before the American politician of to-day is the simple and somewhat homely one of preventing public officers from stealing and dividing the public money, and of preventing the Government from cheating its creditors; and when a man offers himself for this work, there is no general disposition to ask whether he is a statesman of the first rank, or whether his political judgment has always been sure, or his voice been always heard on the right side. Republicans have been making a serious mistake on this point. They have flattered themselves that as long as the Democratic party produced no saints or martyrs, their own supremacy could not be endangered. But they have forgotten that, while they were relying on this hypothesis for a continuance of their power, politics was rapidly becoming a department of criminal jurisprudence, and the public was perforce turning its attention from the question of how best to promote its happiness to the far lower one of how best to secure its property from spoliation. Now, when you call a policeman in to secure a burglar, you do not question him as to the state of his heart or his views on the basis of morals; you ask him whether he is able and willing to catch the thief; and, having satisfied yourself on this point, you refuse to be disturbed by the information that he is now an infidel or was formerly a gambler, especially when the objection emanates from an irreproachable and philanthropic gentleman who has locked himself in a room on the top story of the house, and offers to succor you by reading a pamphlet to the thief showing the injury inflicted on society by protracted and successful housebreaking. We need not make an application of this little parable. The point of it is obvious.

As regards corruption, which is, after all, the evil against which, in various forms, we are fighting, it must also be said, in explanation of Mr. Tilden's success, that people are tired of hearing it described and declaimed against. With its nature and wickedness they are, unhappily, only too familiar. What they need now is not to understand it better, but to be rid of it, or have it in some manner abated. Mr. Conkling has told us how it is "a pestilence that wasteth at noonday," an animal "with a stealthy creep, a leprous touch, and deadly breath, which wastes and rots fair fabrics," and "a sea-bird which blasts trees by building its nest on them." Other gifted orators have described it as "a upas-tree," and as "slime" and "mire" and "a canker" and an "open sore" and "a turbid stream" and a "vortex"—in fact, there is no end to the imagery and epithets which have been expended on it, and apparently not without effect. You could not from Maine to California find a man who would defend corruption or approve of it, or refuse to join in denunciations of it. In short, it may be said that the American people is, and has been for many years, fully satisfied that corruption is a bad thing. It has been, therefore, for some time increasingly trying to the temper of the average man to find Republican orators rising steadily, day in and day out, year after year, to offer a few remarks showing its dangers and evils, and giving reasons why Republicans ought not to be guilty of it, and then pooh-poohing the idea that any Republican *is* guilty of it, and resisting all attempts to discover whether he is or not. What the country demands now is the detection and punishment of the persons who make corruption. Nobody's rhetoric has yet succeeded in persuading people that corruption is really a plant or a bird or a fish or a river. They know perfectly well that corruption is a certain species of conduct pursued by certain men, and they know that if the men could be reached and punished corruption would cease, and they are willing that anybody who will try to reach and punish them should "make capital" out of it. In fact, they go so far as to say that to make capital in this way is a good thing to do, and they wish all politicians to engage in it. They are ready to forbear all curious enquiries into the motives or antecedents of men who will undertake to put an end to cheating and stealing. In fact, the voters of the country are sticking notices up offering the highest offices in their gift, and "no questions asked," to anybody who will bring in a few plunderers of the state. Mr. Tilden has achieved his present success simply owing to his having before anybody else of his class understood the exact nature of the situation. He perceived sooner than his competitors that the time had come to stop preaching and to begin making arrests and drawing up indictments. He now finds, and his competitors find, that his acuteness has rendered him the highest service, and his enemies actually play into his hands. While the Republican press is questioning his motives, he is actually putting the leading members of the Canal Ring on trial, and explaining to the public their way of working. While Republican conventions are passing eulogistic resolutions in honor of the friend and companion of Boss Shepherd, the Democratic candidate is handing the New York "Bosses" by the half-dozen over to the police. In fact, he is "making capital" in a way in which the country desires "capital" to be

made, and assuredly, unless his opponents receive a sudden and great access of wisdom, he will have his reward.

## THE NEXT CRISIS IN EUROPE.

COLONEL CHESNEY, the well-known English military author, has recently been writing an article in *Macmillan's Magazine*, which undoubtedly expresses the current belief of the higher military circles on the Continent, and if well founded, as it probably is, furnishes the key to a good deal that has been puzzling in the recent history of international relations, and will probably make some situations yet to come seem a good deal plainer than they would otherwise be. What he says is in substance this: that the recent little breeze of war, which unquestionably blew from the Prussian staff, was ostensibly due to alarm at the rapid increase of French armaments; but in reality the alarm was not caused by French armaments at all. The French army, as has been abundantly shown by a well-informed observer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, whose statements have attracted much attention in France, but have met with no contradiction, is in reality by no means ready for war, or likely to be, even if the military laws are fully carried out, for nine years to come, and is, therefore, neither formidable now, nor likely to be formidable to Germany for a long time, except in one contingency, which is constantly present to the mind of General von Moltke and his assistants, and to guard against which they thought of fastening a quarrel on France last spring. This contingency is an offensive and defensive alliance between France and Russia, which is the only possible military combination that now gives the Prussian staff any anxiety. Of their ability to overthrow any single European power, or any two powers except those we have named, Colonel Chesney does not think there is any doubt at the Prussian headquarters. They would enter on a war with Russia feeling as certain of their ability to dictate peace at Moscow as, in a war with France, they would feel of dictating peace in Paris; but if they had, while marching on Moscow, to meet also an attack on the side of the Rhine, even from a foe they despise as much as they despise the French, the crisis would, they freely admit, be a grave one. Their information, of course, about all European armies is almost perfect. They know, it is safe to say, as much as anybody knows as to the disposable force of every European power, as to its drill, armament, organization, morale, transport, and commissariat service, and they view foreign armies without the illusions bred and kept up by patriotism or national vanity. Colonel Chesney, indeed, truly says of this Prussian staff, "that it is the most highly trained in the world's history, and if the body of officers it controls are not the men of science they are popularly imagined, they are, within the strict limits of their profession, more efficient than any power has possessed since Rome conquered the world. If she [Germany] has no leader yet named specially as fit to wear the mantle of the veteran whom age must soon unfit for the duties of the field, the system he will bequeath is so perfect in its working that it can afford to dispense with the aid of specially great genius."

We described, during the Franco-German war, the process by which this remarkable body of officers is recruited. We cannot again go into the details; but it may suffice to say that the chance of entering the staff is open to all the officers of the army on condition of passing a peculiarly searching examination, and that, after this has been passed, the candidate spends either six months or a year doing all kinds of work on probation, and being all the time the subject of close though silent scrutiny, both as to bodily and mental powers, attainments, character, and capacity, and at the end of this period goes back to his regiment entirely ignorant of the impression he has made. If he has not come up in all respects to the required standard, he hears nothing more. If he has come up to it, he finds himself some fine day suddenly summoned to Berlin again, and there he remains for good. When it is considered that the men thus selected are picked out from a remarkably studious, highly-trained class of the most highly instructed community in the world, and are animated by a devotion to the profession and government such as one meets with now nowhere else, and that all their powers and accomplishments are applied to bringing German powers of offence up to the highest point of efficiency, it is easy to see that the German staff is probably the most formidable weapon ever wielded by any government. One result of its capacity is that the opinion of one of General von Moltke's officers about the condition of any European army, or its composition, is probably more valuable than that of any of the officers of the army itself. Some people may perhaps imagine, with the memory of Napoleon's great failure in their minds, that the notion that the Germans could march to Moscow is chimerical. But it must not be forgotten that the railways and telegraphs have so changed the conditions of modern warfare that they have completely deprived Russia of the impenetrability which in 1812 she derived from her vast distances, and which constituted her strongest defence against invasion. In fact, there can be hardly a doubt that the German staff has already figured out the number of cars and locomotives necessary to supply the German army during a march on Moscow and a winter's occupation. What was Napoleon's greatest difficulty is, in fact, no difficulty at all to them. The problem they have to solve is simply the defeat of the Russian army in the open field.

But why should Germany and Russia fight? Why should there be any danger that the latter will call on France to aid her in an attack on the new Empire? This is a question which can hardly be answered at the end of an article, if indeed it could be answered in a dozen articles. Perhaps to people who do not know the passion for military supremacy which history, tradition, social organization and great armaments keep alive on the Continent of Europe, it cannot be answered at all. There are certain political ideals which have a powerful hold on the European imagination which can hardly be successfully described to an American audience, so far have we drifted away from them in thought and deed; and yet an explanation of the causes of Russian and German hostility would require a discussion of them, as well as a summary of the history of Eastern Europe during the last century. The rise of Germany into a united military power of the first order is, to put the matter in as brief compass as possible, a sudden, unexpected, and formidable obstacle to the successful pursuit of a policy which has now for several generations fascinated the Russians. It makes their further progress southward for the first time since Catharine the Great seem doubtful. It makes the ultimate fate of Constantinople very doubtful also, and, in fact, takes away from the Czar that final word in Eastern difficulties which has been so long his prerogative. For this the late progress in Central Asia is no compensation. That the Russian people will accept this exclusion from control on the Danube, or, in other words, lay aside the dreams and ambition of more than a hundred years, is very unlikely; that Germany will abate one jot or tittle of any pretensions she now has, is more unlikely still. In that very entertaining series of articles on Bismarck and his policy which M. Julian Klaczko has been publishing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, he describes the Prince as saying on one occasion that he left England out of his calculations in dealing with Continental politics from the time she gave up the Ionian Islands to Greece, "because a nation which ceases to take and begins to surrender is lost." That the spirit of this speech thoroughly animates the New Empire, that Germany believes thoroughly in her own mission to be the controlling influence, the civilizer and organizer of Eastern Europe, and will now never allow any one to share the function with her, there can be little doubt, and just as little that this view of her destiny will some day, and probably soon, bring her into collision with Russia. For that collision those Frenchmen who still dream of vengeance are undoubtedly waiting; so that the cloud which hangs over the German future lies not in the prospect of a collision with France alone, or Russia alone, but with France and Russia united, and what the Prussian staff debate with themselves is, whether it would not be better to put France *hors de combat* before the fighting begins.

The troubles in Turkey naturally increase the interest of the problem, and the delicacy of the relations of the two great powers accounts also in the main for the exceeding reluctance of all parties to bring any pressure to bear on the Porte apropos of the recent troubles in Herzegovina. Nobody likes to precipitate what may be the most tremendous crisis in European affairs since the French Revolution, and least of all the two parties most interested, for neither is ready. All are still busy with their army organization, their fortifications and their armaments; and their absorption in the work throws a strange light on the labors of the jurists and philanthropists who are now trying to draw up a code of international law at the Hague.

## THE REPUBLICAN FAILURE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

WORCESTER, September 29, 1875.

THE Convention which has just adjourned was rather more remarkable for the respectability of its general behavior and the representative character of its delegates than for anything else. In this respect it was very different from the noisy and excited bodies which, during the Butler period, used to congregate at this time of year in Mechanics' Hall to nominate a Governor. There was no outside crowd of "poor boys" and "soldiers"; the candidates were not running about the floor of the Convention urging on their followers, or drumming up new recruits, or voting on their own behalf. The Convention was presided over, during part of the day, by the Vice-President of the United States; there were no unseemly contests over the seats; the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions was one of the two senators of the State; and there was no disorder of any kind, if a speech made by a slightly intoxicated lobbyist be excepted, and to that the Convention listened with good-nature, apparently because it is really so difficult to distinguish between the rhetorical excitement caused by the fumes of wine and that induced by an access of "politics." As a delegate remarked to me, it was a good representative Massachusetts convention, and "it was not likely that *these* representatives of the people had been picking the pocket of Vice-President Wilson on their way in the cars." Nevertheless, though the Convention wanted that sort of interest which Butler had succeeded in giving to those in which he had been the prominent figure, it had an interest of its own from the attempt made to nominate Mr. Adams, and the light which the proceedings seemed to throw on the present condition of mind of the Republican party in the leading Republican State.

It was, in the first place, clear enough that the nomination of Mr. Adams might have been secured by his friends, for the Adams vote was not, as might have been expected, thrown by aristocrats, bondholders, and "blear-eyed pedants," but was a vote made up by delegates from all parts of the State, and in great measure from the western counties; and, if a conjecture may be hazarded, the popularity of his name in these counties was due to the same causes that have made him such a prominent newspaper candidate at various times—his character, his family reputation, and the general distinction of his career. The western part of Massachusetts is, of course, much more genuinely democratic and rural in its character than the eastern, where wealth has brought a separation of classes in its train; and it is curious to notice, therefore, that it was exactly in this more primitive, and in a certain sense more American, community that Mr. Adams's strength lay, while the Boston delegation, who of course were the most "aristocratic" and "exclusive," and of the class which demagogues would make out the natural confederates of men like Mr. Adams, voted almost solidly for Mr. A. H. Rice. In other words, it was clear that the Adams movement was, exactly what no one would have supposed it to be, a spontaneous movement of an extremely popular character. The politicians were, generally speaking, dead against it. As a curiosity in politics, it may be mentioned that the most prominent leader of it, who worked most prominently on behalf of it, and fired the hearts of the Adams party the night before, was a Cambridge professor—a kind of champion who, any one versed in Massachusetts politics would have told you, would be more dangerous than the bitterest enemy; and yet, after this damnable conspiracy between the Adams party and Harvard College was made manifest, the Adams vote, which was estimated at about a hundred on the day before the Convention, actually swelled to 236 on the first, and to 260 on the final vote.

To a looker-on at Worcester, it was comical to see how deeply the politicians felt the necessity of doing something to "bring the party up to a higher level," and how utterly devoid they all were of any idea as to what was to be done. One thing they were determined to do, and that was to follow strictly the advice given by the venerable presiding officer, to be "harmonious," not to "alienate," not to let "discord" and "bickerings" "rend the counsels of the party," and to "open the doors." All these objects were achieved. Harmony reigned supreme throughout the day. There was not in the opening speech of Mr. Wilson a single sentence at which any mortal man, or woman either for that matter, could take offence; all the speeches made were harmonious. The Rice men all shouted harmoniously for Rice when they voted, and the Loring men all went harmoniously over to Rice as soon as they became convinced that Loring was not going to get the nomination. It was with entire harmony that the Convention made Rice's nomination unanimous, and in the platform there is not an unharmonious line. Indeed, to show the admirable spirit which presided over all the details of the day's work, it may be mentioned that even in the secret conclaves of the Committee on Resolutions there were no bickerings; but as three different sets of resolutions had been drawn up, they were all harmoniously adopted, and worked together into a platform which harmoniously triumphed not only over mere party divisions, but over grammar and intelligibility as well. Fears were entertained that over the third-term question discord might break forth; but even here harmony was preserved by the insertion of an anti-third-term resolution with one hand and a gratitude-to-Grant plank with the other, and so nicely were they mortised together that the enthusiasm over the protest against General Grant's ever being President again was only surpassed by that which burst forth at the mention of his glorious services in the past seven years. Indeed, it is an interesting evidence of the "magnetism" of General Grant that this resolution should have brought out more applause than any other which was read, while the plank introduced by the injudicious Mr. Dawes, advocating the reform of the civil service (now definitely abandoned by General Grant), was received in dead silence.

On only one subject did the Convention show any signs of a disposition to neglect the advice of Mr. Wilson, and that was when Mr. George F. Hoar of Worcester made a speech from the platform, in which he declared that it was now time for honest men to speak boldly and say what they thought; that the reason why the Republican party was reduced to its present pass was because it had neglected to walk in the strait and narrow path, that great principles had been neglected, little men put forward, and good men neglected; and that therefore he, standing there alone and unterrified, was ready, at the sacrifice of all he held most dear to him, to "lift the party up" by moving once more that eleven members at large be nominated by the presiding officer to the State Central Committee. The committee was now forty in number; let eleven more be added "at large," or let the party sink into the quagmire of humiliation and defeat. The storm which this proposal brought out was terrible to see. A shade rather of sorrow than of anger passed over the features of the venerable president as a delegate jumped upon his feet, denounced the proposal as one intended to enslave a free people, and suggested that the eleven members at large were already agreed upon, and now in the hands of the Chair or Mr. Hoar; and for a few minutes discord threatened to prevail. But the motion was carried, and no bad effect will probably ensue, though it seemed at one time as if a permanent blight was likely to be thrown over the career of the mover of the resolution by his reckless sacrifice of everything to the higher interest of the party.

If complete harmony, mutual admiration, and self-satisfaction be the objects of a party's existence, the Worcester Convention was an eminent success. There was but one voice among the delegates, and that was one of thankfulness and congratulation that everything had passed off so well. To an outsider, this was the most singular thing about the Convention. There is now a calm confidence of victory on the part of the Republican politicians of the State which is almost startling. I asked one of the chief officers of the Convention what was the Republican explanation of the election last year of a Democratic Governor in a State which had been known to go the other way by seventy thousand majority. He said very frankly that it was the dissatisfaction of the Republicans with the behavior and character of leading men of their own party, but nevertheless he felt certain that this year no such causes would be operative. The effect of the nomination outside the State did not seem to have suggested itself to the leaders at all. The question of prohibition and license (which may decide the election, inasmuch as the State Temperance Alliance is opposed to Rice, and the liquor-sellers are in favor of Gaston) was simply ignored, and it was impossible not to feel throughout that the delegates were all possessed with a harmless monomania that the Republican party, whoever it nominates, *is* the State of Massachusetts. And yet not a single one of the questions which will really decide the election—the liquor question, the labor question, the disgust with the jobbery, fraud, and peculation at Washington, and weariness of Grant himself—was even discussed in the Convention,

or, I am willing to add, noticed in committee-rooms. Indeed, not to put too fine a point upon it, the Convention as a whole struck an observer who was there simply as a looker-on as a sort of Fools' Paradise, the happy denizens of which had made up their minds that the troubles of life were over provided they only unanimously and harmoniously shut their eyes to them.

Perhaps this frame of mind was shown as well in the other nominations as in the principal one. It was plain that, having put up a mediocre man for Governor, and disheartened and disgusted the friends of a distinguished man, and thrown cold water on the hopes of many of the best friends of the party outside the State, shrewd managers would have made a point of filling the other places on the ticket with the best names they could possibly find—particularly as General Bartlett, well known to have considerable popularity in the western part of the State, and indeed throughout the whole of it, and that, too, among Republican voters, had just been nominated by the Democrats. But this did not seem to have occurred to any one. Most of the officers nominated were men of no particular weight, and in the case of Secretary of State a most amusing performance came off. The office is chiefly a clerical one, requiring a man of education and presentability to fill it; for the past seventeen years or so it has been filled by Mr. Oliver Warner. In a moment of weakness or confusion, Mr. Warner, who was also member of a commission of some kind on the State-House furniture, first as commissioner had condemned, and then as a private person and householder removed, a State-House carpet and appropriated it to his own use. It was of course impossible for a party of purification and reform, which was going to "lift itself up to a higher level," to renominate such a man; and here was evidently an opportunity to show the Democrats what "reform within the party lines" really meant. To do this, then, up rises General Coggswell of Salem, and in stentorian tones nominates for the place Henry B. Peirce, of Abington, on the ground that he is a young man—"an element," as the General beautifully observed, "too often neglected in our earnestness"—and a "soldier." When we add to these remarkable qualifications for a clerical office the fact that Mr. Peirce's proposer is, rightly or wrongly, generally spoken of as an old "Butler man," it is easy to see what a tower of strength his name will be to his party. Of course he was nominated without the slightest difficulty.

I may mention in conclusion that I have called the attention of several Republicans to these peculiarities of the proceedings, and they agree with me in my view of them; but when I ask them who is going to be the next Governor of Massachusetts, they say with one voice: Alexander H. Rice. Whether he is or not, I do not myself prophesy, preferring to follow the advice given on such matters by that astute statesman, Hosea Biglow, who laid it down as a general rule: "Don't never prophesy—onless ye know."

## OUR FINANCIAL PROBLEM AS SEEN ABROAD.

[THE following letter from Mr. Latham, now a director, and from 1859 to 1863 deputy-governor and governor of the Bank of England, was addressed to Mr. Collet, a brother director, and has come into our hands, with permission to publish it. As the opinion of a leading foreign financier on some topics which are now interesting our public in the highest degree, it is well worth perusal.]

LONDON, June 8, 1875.

MY DEAR COLLET: The dissertation of Mr. David A. Wells on gold and paper, or, as it is entitled, 'The Cremation Theory of Specie Resumption,' is most interesting. I am much obliged to you for giving me the opportunity of reading it, as I have done more than once, and very carefully.

I believe, indeed, I might almost say I know, through my correspondence with the late Mr. Samuel Hooper, that when Mr. Chase, for the support of the war, advised the issuing of the greenbacks, and the declaring them to be "lawful money," it was his intention that at the return of peace they should be not only reduced in amount, but, as soon as practicable, entirely redeemed, so as to render the national-bank notes, in common with coins of gold and silver, the only "lawful money" of the United States.

Mr. Wells, I observe, in all instances employs the term "legal tender" as if it was synonymous with that of "lawful money," whereas they are very different things. Mr. Chase was lawyer enough to know that to declare a piece of paper to be "lawful money" in such sense as to vest it with the power of discharging debts previously contracted in gold and silver (against the will of the creditor) was rather a despotic act. I do not mean that it was not justified by the extraordinary emergencies of the moment, such as the antecedent suspension of specie payments, in defiance of the law, by all the banks, the absence of any adequate machinery for raising and collecting taxes, the urgent want of immediate funds for war purposes, and so on; but it was a strong measure, in comparison with which the measures of Mr. Pitt in 1797—that is, the Order in Council which restricted the Bank of England from paying its notes in specie, and the legislation which afterwards gave to them the quality of "legal tender," were of a much milder nature—less arbitrary, less impolitic; and, consequently, at the end of the war the expediency of resuming payments in specie could be more easily established in Parliament, and Sir Robert Peel's Act of 1819 disposed of all questions simply by removing the restriction on the Bank of England of 1797, and by reconstituting the national money of time past.

The right interpretation of the term "legal tender," as it is applicable to this country, was brought out in a debate in the House of Lords on the 27th of June, 1811, as may be found in the 'Annual Register' for that year, pages 80 to 88. It means, and did mean, no more than this: that in a suit between creditor and debtor, if judgment went against the debtor, he was allowed to plead a tender of bank-notes in arrest of execution, but he could not claim that the notes should be forced upon the creditor in discharge of the debt. In certain cases of old contracts, Lord King had refused to accept bank-notes at their nominal value, and in so doing he contended "that he had not only acted legally [for of that there was no question] but according to every principle of equity and justice," and he carried his point. It is well not to lose sight of this peculiar distinction between our paper-money when it was at its worst and the paper-money of all other countries, not omitting that of our cousins across the Atlantic, who are prone to tell us that they had only done that which we had done before them.

In Greville's 'Memoirs,' Vol. III., page 271, a remark of the Duke of Wellington is mentioned not inappropriate to this subject. In allusion to the Spanish War, he said "that no doubt the army had been much in want of money, but that this was not the fault of the Government; it was a great mistake to suppose that any advantage had been derived as to obtaining funds from the Bank restriction; certainly, the raising of loans was facilitated by it, but the war would have been much less expensive without it."

As the enlightenment of the American public is the chief aim of Mr. Wells's essay, it might aid his purpose somewhat to point out to his countrymen the enormous advantage in character and in wealth which this country has derived by a course of monetary legislation exactly the opposite of theirs—that is, by resuming specie payments according to the ancient standard of value, no matter at what cost, and by afterwards maintaining them with fidelity so inflexible, that when a few years ago it was proposed by Mr. Lowe to strike off a single grain of gold from the sovereign, the good sense of the nation was instantly aroused to indignation, and most rightly—for the sovereign, which is the pound sterling, is our money; it is the measure, the radix, not only of transactions of the butcher and the grocer with his customer, but of the transactions, antecedent and to come, of foreign governments with their creditors, who have always refused to be talked to in dollars or francs. They say, "No, you must express your bonds and your coupons in pounds sterling payable in London; then we know what we are about." Again, what supercargo or shipmaster could pass a bill in China, India, or Australia on a merchant in New York, to any advantage, unless expressed in English money payable in London? Thus, therefore, in relation to affairs abroad, may a people be said to be "sent to Coventry" through the errors of its government, and its undertakings in trade are made chargeable with a toll in London because that is the only place where a true measure of property and debts can be relied on. A source of profit this to the London merchants and bankers, a source of pride perhaps to the British legislature; yet it is no slight stigma on those governments which compel their own subjects to submit to so unnecessary a *tax*—and what else is it?

It occurs to me that there must be other losses, not mentioned in Mr. Wells's essay, to which the American nation must be subjected by the continuous debasement of its money—for undoubtedly it is debasement; a circulating paper money that cannot be refused in payment of debts is just as much debased by its own excess as a coin of gold or silver would be by an extra infusion of brass. The customs duties, I am aware, are paid in gold; but the Government, which is in fact the state, must suffer in the notes they collect for the excise or internal duties, and still more for the sale of the public lands. In local taxation it must be the same; and, worst of all, in every variety of contract between man and man, the at first progressive depreciation and afterwards repeated fluctuations in the currency—that is, paper money—of the United States must have wrought an enormous amount of injustice.

Mr. Hooper sent me many of the speeches, especially of Mr. John Sher-

man and of Mr. Carl Schurz, which are excellent, in the Congress of 1873–74. The President's Message to the same Congress it is rather painful to read, because, while he recommends an early resumption of specie payments, he strangely wanders from his own advice by saying that the currency, based as it was on the credit of the country, had been proved by the experience of the panic to be the best that ever was devised, and he adverts with peculiar delight to the merit which a circulating medium derives from its quality of elasticity; just as if any public good could be achieved through the lawful money of the country being affected by frequent and sharp changes in its degree of debasement, which is absurd. So much is the contrary the fact, that every new debasement of the notes is a fraud and robbery upon those who hold them. There is, to be sure, a species of elasticity in all composite moneys of metal and paper, but the merit of such elasticity belongs exclusively to the metallic portion, in respect of the facility with which gold or silver leaves a country, or returns to it, according to the condition of its commercial relations with all other countries.

Mr. Wells puts the whole matter of the "greenbacks" with more clearness as well as brevity than that of the Presidential Message, where he says "the thing to be done is simply to pay off and extinguish an overdue debt of $382,000,000." That, no doubt, will set the Government right with the people, but there will still remain the task, if I am not deceived, of setting the people right with relation to the national banks in their, as we should call it, issue department.

Over and above the 382 millions of greenbacks, it would appear, by Mr. Wells's paper, page 13, that there are 368 millions of national-bank notes circulated all over the Union by, I believe, not less in number than 1,800 banks. Am I right in assuming that by the theory of "free banking" now distinctly announced by the President, these banks may be increased in number, and that any one of them may increase its issues, provided the requirements of a certain law are observed, to the effect of lodging state [national] securities with the Government officer, who gives in exchange the legal proportion of notes in blank, stamped on the back in a manner to signify that such law had been complied with?

In Mr. Wells's paragraph on the future of the national-bank issues, page 12, it is said that, "in proportion as the volume of legal tenders (greenbacks) is diminished by cremation, the banks must have gold with which to redeem their notes." Now here it is, and here only, that I find myself at issue with Mr. Wells, as the argument seems to assume that all the greenbacks are held by the national banks as their reserves. Many of them, no doubt, they must hold, just as our country bankers must hold some sovereigns and some Bank-of-England notes to answer to the holders of their own notes, or to their depositors; but I am inclined to think that, as the greenbacks are extinguished, the likelier event is that their place will be occupied, to a great extent, by an abundant outflow and expansion of the notes of the national banks, and that the tendency of "free banking" such as this will be to bring about loans at high interest, both of note-money and deposit-money, until the fabric of credit will again collapse, and a new suspension occur of specie payments, through a concerted action of the national banks. That is just what had nearly happened here in 1825, in spite of the Act of 1819, and might have happened again and again afterwards except for the Act of 1844, when all banks of issue were fastened to a maximum, once and for all. Since then our mixed money has been continuously on the mend from the larger introduction of the gold element, and the partial expulsion of the paper element through failure or withdrawal of the issuers. It is true that the tax and the deposit of security to be taken from the national banks will act as some restraint, but not enough. It will go to raise the price of loans, but a rash speculator or a needy trader seldom higgles much on that score, and too often the relations between banker and borrower are such that the new loan must be made as a choice of evils.

Did it belong to me to make a suggestion, I should be inclined to say that a surer and a better way of maintaining the tenure of a large amount of gold and silver within the country would be to attach a high minimum to the denomination of all bank-notes whatever, as was done in France by the able legislators of 1803, or thereabouts, after the collapse of the assignats. In my own recollection, the lowest denomination of Bank-of-France notes was 500 francs, or £20 sterling; and I have often thought that if the lowest denomination for bank-notes in England were to be £10, in place of £5, it would be all the better. In any country, no matter where, if it is wished to retain coins of gold and silver at home, more dependence is to be placed on the hoards and pockets of the people than on the coffers of the banks. Bankers will not keep adequate reserves.

I remain, my dear Collet, faithfully yours,

ALFRED LATHAM.

## THE UNIVERSITY OF STRASBOURG.

PONTRESINA, August 31.

I RECEIVED my classical education in Strasbourg, and having lately spent a few days in that city, I had the curiosity to enquire into the actual state of its university. The conquerors were not content with building a long circle of forts round the old walls, in order the better to defend their conquest, they were anxious to introduce into Strasbourg what they proudly call German culture, and much money has been lavished on the new university. In the days when Strasbourg still belonged to France, there was a so-called *collége*, a huge building, which is in the shadow of the great cathedral. It is now called a gymnasium, but is not much altered in its appearance. It still bears the conventual look of all French colleges. There I spent the days of my childhood, looking often from my window on the proud spire of the cathedral. The venerable oak which is in the centre of the court is still there; the rooms are the same; the long corridors, the dormitories, the refectory, are not altered.

After a boy had gone through the college course and passed his examination for bachelor of arts, he used to follow the lectures of some faculty in the university. The buildings of the university are across the Ill, not far from the citadel, in a deserted quarter. They have been a little improved, but have not changed much in their appearance. Great laboratories have been built; more room has been given to the mineralogical and botanical collection; but the principal addition of the new German university has been the beautiful palace built on the square of the cathedral, in the eighteenth century, which was for a long time the episcopal palace. Nothing can be imagined more beautiful than this square, though the styles of architecture are somewhat incongruous. On one side is the nave of the cathedral; on another, the old massive Lyceum; on the third, the episcopal palace, adorned in the style of the eighteenth century with *rococo* statues; and in the same line the *Œuvre Notre Dame*, a house, half Gothic and half Renaissance, which is the property and the headquarters of the corporation that spends its large revenue (something like £8,000) in the repairs of the cathedral; the fourth side is filled with a new building, which has been made the German post-office. The episcopal palace has become the centre of the German university. The city of Strasbourg, in order probably to throw off the burden of its repairs, had made a present of it to the young Prince Imperial during the days of the Second Empire, and the Germans have appropriated it for their new university.

The lectures of the university take place, some in the old academical buildings, some in the episcopal palace, some in the buildings annexed to the great hospitals of the towns. I was very curious to know what had become the standard of German culture since the days that I spent at Heidelberg in my youth, when I was innocently singing German songs in the *Kneipe* of that famous town, little thinking that some of these songs would be the death-knell of my poor country. I was not much surprised to find that *Theologie* was still holding its own, as you will judge by the programme of the lectures delivered in the winter months of 1874. Here are the items of this theological repast: "Special introduction to the Old Testament; explanation of Isaiah; history of the literature of the New Testament; history of the canons and of the text of the New Testament; Catholic epistles; lesser Paulinian epistles; history of the dogmas of the Church in the sixth century; history of the Church since Innocent III. to the nineteenth century; Christian archæology; history of the Protestant theology; dogmatics, second part; ethics; homiletics." Then come the *privatissimæ* lectures of a so-called theological society, a dogmatic seminary, and a homiletic seminary. For all these public and private lectures there are as many as ten professors.

A second series of lectures goes under the name of law and state-sciences. The law lectures embrace the following subjects: "Philosophy of law; introduction to the study of law; study of the laws of the German Empire; the Pandects; study of the law of inheritance as a part of the Pandects; the law of inheritance under the Romans; history of the Romano-Germanic law to Charlemagne; history of the civil procedures of the Romans; history of the German law; the law of contracts in Germany; commercial and maritime law; French civil law; Prussian civil law; criminal law; German public law; international law; church laws in Catholic and Protestant countries; on political parties and their connection with the laws; private lectures on Roman law; *privatissimæ* lectures on Roman and Prussian laws." The state-sciences afford the following programme: "General politics; practical national economy; history of the development of the Prussian state from 1640 to 1850." There is, besides, a law seminary, where the professors study "the interpretation of the Pandects; the practice of civil procedure; the practice of the Pandects;

the exegesis of Gaius"; and a seminary of state-sciences, at which lectures are given on "national economical subjects" and on "statistics." I find on this list as many as sixteen professors. The medical sciences are represented by forty-nine series of lectures, the list of which would be tedious to your readers. Then come what the Germans call, after the old denomination of the Middle Ages, the *humanities*, which relate to philosophy, philology, history, and art. As this part of the programme may be considered as more especially representing German culture, I will give you an idea of it. A young student who has a taste for philosophy can follow lectures on "the basis of the theory of knowledge; on psychology; on the history of modern philosophy; on Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibnitz; on the objections made by Herbart, Schopenhauer, and J. S. Mill against the theories of Kant; on the philosophy of Kant; on pedagogical science since the age of Pericles; on Goethe's Faust, considered in its philosophic aspects." The philologist can plunge into Arabic, Arabian classics, Arabian geographers, into Hebrew, Persian, Syriac, Sanskrit, Pali, Greek, Latin, Romanic languages, French, Italian, Scandinavian, Old German, etc. There are as many as forty-nine courses of lectures under the single heading of philology.

I have heard it said that some of the privates of the German army carried Sanskrit books in their knapsacks during the late war; and I could not help asking what lessons of humanity they found in their "humanistic" recreations. Science, after all, is only a means to an end; and I can imagine a nation stuffed with Syriac and Pali and wanting in those delicate qualities which were the attributes of Hellenic civilization, and which are in our day the blossoms and fruit of a truly Christian civilization. A young coxcomb, if he knows the Syriac or Pali grammar, may think himself too decidedly superior to the rest of mankind; and what is there, after all, in Syriac and Pali? The young King of Bavaria, who may be said to have culture enough in him for ten kings, went the other day to Rheims incognito; he wished to see the old church where the kings of France received the holy ointment. Was this visit only a caprice, and would the young and poetical vassal of the new Empire show that he knew there was something after all in the civilization which had covered France with palaces and churches, and which had found its expression in the most admirable language that the world has known since the Greek and the Latin? I wonder if the Sanskrit students have well understood the teachings of Buddha, and perceived that they were only to the teachings of Christ what a nightmare is to actual life? I would not be unjust to German science; but I cannot help thinking that there is a little too much pedantry in it. Schiller and Goethe were essentially human in their aspirations, and so was Beethoven; but modern German culture seems to envelop itself with an armor of words, of theories, and to be ready to fight all mankind. The professor who explains the Peloponnesian wars thinks he is helping Moltke; the commentator of Polybius and Tacitus is in partnership with Herr Krupp of Essen. The whole nation is uniformed and drilled and dried up.

The historical and geographical lectures are numerous; a good place, of course, is left for the wars of religion, for the wars of Prussia. The lectures on art are so numerous that the want of artistic feeling in Germany can be hardly understood. Everything is studied too much from an historical point of view; the genuine æsthetic feeling is absent. Art, after all, is not so much the fruit of mental labor as of moral and intellectual delicacy. You can write thousands of pages on the Italian painters and sculptors and have no true artistic feeling. The fifth section of the university is devoted to mathematical and scientific studies. Here the peculiar faculties of the German mind have their full scope. I could cover pages with the mere programmes of this series of lectures. Let me say a word about the organization of the various faculties. Each one has ordinary and extraordinary professors. The faculty of theology has six ordinary and two extraordinary professors. The faculty of law and social science has ten ordinary professors, three extraordinary professors, and one Privat-docent. The faculty of medicine has thirteen ordinary professors, one extraordinary, and four Privat-docenten. The faculty of philosophy has fifteen ordinary professors, one honorary, seven extraordinary professors, two Privat-docenten, and two *Lectoren* (lecturers). The faculty of mathematics and of natural sciences has ten ordinary professors, five extraordinary professors, and one Privat-docent.

No academical staff could be more numerous, and in many respects more excellent, than the staff of the new German University. I find, however, on its list no name of European reputation. Such a man as Helmholtz or Hoffmann would probably not have liked to establish himself in a newly-conquered city. The real man of science is not like the hungry functionary who comes from Pomerania to lead a more luxurious life in a beautiful and rich country. The work of conquest has so many painful sides that a sensitive mind would shrink from the contemplation of it. The students at first flocked to Strasbourg from all parts of Germany; but they also have found it unpleasant to live in a place where they saw an enemy in almost every human being. There is much pride and folly in youth; there is also a natural generosity which finds no satisfaction in the spectacle of a down-trodden people. I doubt if the German University will grow on the unfavorable soil on which it has been planted by the force of arms.

# Correspondence.

## PRIESTS AND MINISTERS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In a recent article on "Priests and Ministers" you argue that it is "a very narrow and one-sided and misleading view" to maintain "that the interference of the Catholic clergy in politics, such as has been recently witnessed in New Jersey, was fair and unobjectionable, because the Protestant clergy did the same thing." This view is alleged to be misleading, because priest and ministers are not pastors of the same sort. The latter are American citizens, and privileged to speak on political topics. The former (by inference and antithesis) are *not* American citizens, or their citizenship is in some unexplained way so veiled as to be almost swallowed up and lost. If this be not the drift of the argument, it is difficult to understand the *logic* of conclusions such as the following: The State should not pay attention to Catholics asking for "religious liberty and equal rights." Should a Catholic ecclesiastic protest that he does not regard "the whole of our political and social fabric, our Government, etc., as a monstrous and beastly revolt against God," do not believe him—his language is Pickwickian.

As an American and a lover of impartial justice, the writer begs to sift the arguments on which the disloyalty of priests and bishops is based. First, then, the priest or bishop is the subject of a foreign prince, who claims, under certain conditions of which he alone is judge, to decide absolutely on the morality of every question of human interest.

A Catholic would reply, first, that it is false that the Pope claims this power of universal judgment; secondly, that it is false that he alone is judge of the absence or presence of the conditions necessary for dogmatic teaching. The authority for these statements is Pius IX. himself, in the dogmatic definition of the Vatican Council. The rest of the argument resolves itself as follows: Priests and bishops are subject to the Pope, in matters of faith and morals, etc., *granted;* to the exclusion of civil allegiance due to their country, *denied.* The Gladstone controversy, and the verdict of the British press generally as to the ex-Premier's complete discomfiture, are proofs of this denial.

Secondly. It is urged that the bishop or priest has no fixed domicile—is here to-day and may be off to Patagonia to-morrow; is a celibate, and therefore has diminished civil rights. By the way, Paul the Apostle was a bachelor, he traversed many countries and had no fixed abode, yet it stands recorded of him, "I am a Roman citizen."

In point of fact, where ecclesiastical law prevails, it just happens that a parish priest, once appointed, remains (except for grave crime, etc.) a fixture for life. Even where canon law does not obtain, a priest may, for reason, be removed from his parish, but not to China or Japan. He cannot be sent out of his own diocese. Thus, *e.g.*, a priest of New York City cannot be ordered to Jersey City or Brooklyn, much less Patagonia.

As to celibacy, it is historically false that it was enjoined for political purposes, simply because it prevailed before the Roman Church had any temporal power. That every lightest word of a priest, his "obiter dicta," are taken almost as hints from heaven, is very good as a *joke* but very bad history. The late New Jersey elections disprove it. Hence the old axiom comes into play: "Contra factum non valet argumentum." Logic.

[We publish the above as a matter of fair play and out of respect to the source from which it emanates, but we think we can say with all modesty that it does not call for any reply, except that upon the question of the bishop's power over the priest our correspondent speaks with an authority which we cannot dispute.—Ed. Nation.

# Notes.

A GERMAN translation of Prof. Chas. K. Adams's 'Democracy and Monarchy in France' has just appeared (Stuttgart; Auerbach). It makes a neat volume of 400 pages, the foot-notes, as we judge, having been somewhat curtailed. In his preface, Mr. Adams remarks upon the fact that the first Franco-Prussian war-maps in this country showed the Rhine and Germany instead of France and the Rhine, as proof of the general expectation that the French would carry the day. A more rational explanation seems to us to be that France was notoriously the aggressor, and therefore bound to attempt the invasion of Germany. For the latter country a purely defensive policy was not impossible, and, in the then divided state of Germany, was fairly enough assumed as probable by foreigners.——G. P. Putnam's Sons have bound up in one convenient volume 8vo, under the title of 'Library Atlas,' their several student's-atlases of Modern, Historical, and Classical Geography, the letterpress (pp. 208) being by Drs. James Bryce, William F. Collier, and Leonhard Schmitz respectively. The three place-indexes follow one another at the end, and are quite copious. While the maps are of no very high order, they answer the usual purposes of reference and study.——Hurd & Houghton have in press a new edition of the letters of Mrs. John Adams to her husband during the Revolution, to which their grandson, Charles Francis Adams, has added the corresponding letters of John Adams, and notes to the whole.——J. W. Bouton will publish next month 'Monumental Christianity; or, The Art and Symbolism of the Primitive Church as Witnesses and Teachers of the One Catholic Faith and Practice,' by John P. Lundy, Presbyter. The work is illustrated by numerous cuts and plates.

—Mr. John Eglinton Bailey, to whom, as our readers know, we are indebted for a very exhaustive and scholarly 'Life of Thomas Fuller,' has now in the press the sermons and other less extensive writings of that famous old divine. These will make up two volumes, the price of which to subscribers is fixed at a pound and five shillings. Mr. B. M. Pickering, London, is the publisher. The 'Sermon of Reformation' (a thoroughly characteristic production, by the bye) has been issued separately, as a specimen of the forthcoming work; and, in these days of tormenting typography, the bold, clear letter which is here to impress the most honest of paper is a refreshment for which the many admirers of Fuller cannot fail to be thankful. That Mr. Bailey, in his capacity of editor and annotator, will discharge his functions with conspicuous ability, may be reckoned on confidently.

—We have received from the Surgeon-General's Office the bulky report on the 'Cholera Epidemic of 1873' ordered by the Forty-third Congress. It consists of three parts—the first two freely illustrated by maps, viz.: the history of the epidemic in the United States, for the year mentioned, by Dr. Ely McClellan, U.S.A.; the history of the travels of Asiatic Cholera, by Drs. McClellan and John C. Peters; and the Bibliography of Cholera, by Dr. John S. Billings. The second part is a most valuable abstract of the whole history of the cholera—complete as far as it concerns the United States, and as complete as may be in the case of a disease which, as Dr. Peters says, is "one of the most ancient of which distinct descriptions exist," there being "few disorders respecting which such an uninterrupted chain of evidence has been preserved." The bibliography, though it does not profess to be complete, is of surprising extent, especially when it is considered that only those works or articles are named which relate mainly or entirely to cholera. It is classified, even to the special treatment of the disease (as *arsenic*, *calomel*, *phosphorus*, etc., etc.), and covers more than three hundred pages. The well-known industry of the compiler was never more strikingly manifested. A separate reprint has been made of the introductory paper, on measures for preventing the introduction of epidemic cholera in the United States through the agency of the mercantile marine, by Dr. John M. Woolworth. The yellow-fever epidemic of 1873 is described by Dr. Frank W. Reilly in the 'Report of the U. S. Marine Hospital Service for 1874,' just issued. The report is otherwise remarkable for being the first to contain, in addition to the customary statistics and comments thereon, a number of papers contributed by the corps. They are all instructive, and many of them afford matter for serious thought to those who have the welfare of society at heart.

—A work of no little usefulness and even importance has been quietly undertaken by Henry Holt & Co., being nothing less than an 'Abridgment of the Debates of Congress.' The formidable task of extracting the pith of Congressional proceedings from the tangled verbatim report of the *Congressional Record* has been successfully executed by Mr. Charles H. Jones, whose condensation of Richardson's 'Clarissa Harlowe,' and more lately of the narratives of African exploration, has furnished proof of unusual capacity for such labors. It is, indeed, no slight boon to those who desire to trace the course of a measure consecutively or to refer to a given stage of it, to have it freed from the interjections and dislocations of actual parliamentary practice, and the discussions over it stripped of verbiage and buncombe, while still preserving the exact language of the speakers; and all in a volume of some 700 pages 8vo. This has been done with judgment and impartiality by Mr. Jones for the second session of the Forty-second Congress, when the currency, specie payments, the use of the army in Louisiana, and the right of that State to self-government, and its rightful representative in the Senate, the government of the District, civil rights, the tax and tariff bill, the case of Arkansas, the admission of Colorado, the counting of electoral votes, the equalization of bounties, were the subjects of more or less honest, earnest, and intelligent debate, with results generally known to the voters of the country. It is surprising how much is given of the speeches in spite of all pruning. The volume closes with lists of acts passed, both public and private; and with the full text of the President's special messages and proclamations, the majority and minority reports of the Committee on Louisiana affairs, and an index of persons and topics. The convenience of this Abridgment to Congressmen themselves is so obvious that we do not doubt they will be the first to avail themselves of it; after them will come the editors, the public and State libraries, and, let us hope, the aspiring politician of the better sort. One great good that we may expect from it in these days of tergiversation is the increased facility with which trimmers can be detected and exposed. To hold the mirror up to Morton and Sherman and Boutwell and Thurman by overhauling their past "record" will be easier hereafter, and it is only to be regretted that Mr. Jones did not sooner put them in his index. But he is in time for the long political campaign on which we are now entering.

—Another venture of Mr. Holt's which deserves mention is a handsomely printed and bound volume called 'Family Records, in Blanks Classified on a New System.' The need of some substitute for the 'Family Bible' has been long felt. Its awkward size has, in the multiplication of cheap and handy Bibles, caused it to obey the law of the survival of the fittest, and it is now less and less regarded as an indispensable article of domestic furniture. We suppose such a thing never happened as that half-a-dozen of these ponderous tomes fell by chance or in the natural course of inheritance into the hands of a single pious descendant. Any one who has ever attempted in a large family connection to discover the 'Family Bible' of the second or third preceding generation, knows how hopeless the task is, and is convinced by experience of the impolicy of linking the fate of the family records with that of a single book, however revered or time-honored. Mr. Holt's book invites and, in a measure, compels copying from it by the several members of a family of children, for in regard to these it aims to preserve not only the date and particulars of birth, which can easily be remembered, but incidents of growth and education which each will wish to hand down to his own children. On this side the record trenches to some extent on Professor Fonssagrives's 'Mother's Register' (G. P. Putnam's Sons), to which the compiler refers those who wish for more complete and scientific and, we may add, private annals of health, sickness, and physical development. The genealogical pages afford room for as many facts and as great a display of skill in arranging them as the owner of the book possesses. Here the plan would be much improved if it were practicable to introduce between the same covers Mr. Whitmore's 'Ancestral Tablets,' with their ingenious economy of space and tempting array of blanks to be filled with yet undiscovered ancestors. These tablets once filled out as far as possible, might be deposited in some historical or genealogical library in lieu of a printed account of the family, and would be just as useful to an investigator. A few pages are devoted to "heirlooms and other possessions," and a few to "domestic economy"; but the chief space is allotted to autobiographical details and to "miscellaneous items." The compiler's prefatory explanation of the several departments is couched mostly in a jocular vein; but one may also take a serious view of any family record as a moral instrument of no slight value to society.

—A member of the New York bar writes us:

"We hear much nowadays about the extreme impropriety of criticising judicial judgments and opinions. A decision is a precedent, and we must all be dumb, say they. I have just come across a precedent for plain speech upon such subjects, and beg leave to cite Rex *v.* Wilkes, 2 Wils. 151—a matter in which it was contended that an alleged libeller should give bail for good behavior. Lord Camden says there is only one authority for the proposition contended for, and remarks concerning it that it is 'the case of the seven bishops, where three judges said that surety of the peace was required in case of libel; Judge Powell, the only honest man of the four judges, dissented, and I am bold to be of his opinion and to say that the

case is not law. Upon the whole, it is absurd to require surety of the peace in the case of a libeller.' It seems that the lawyers and editors who venture to criticise judicial opinions are not without 'authority.'"

—Mr. R. G. White, who has now for a year or more been at peace with all the philological world, shows signs, in the present series of articles in the *Galaxy* on English pronunciation, of a desire for a renewal of hostilities. In the subject which he is now engaged upon there is room for a very pretty quarrel, inasmuch as it deals, like so many linguistic discussions, with questions about which no two persons are able to agree. In the current number of the magazine, Mr. White does for himself what Professor Whitney had already done for himself in his 'Elements of English Pronunciation'—*i.e.*, he analyzes his own "peculiarities of utterance," giving at the same time a sort of phonological autobiography. Until Professor Whitney was sixteen years old he lived in Northampton, Massachusetts, which he describes as "a shire town of long standing," which in his youth "had not lost its ancient and well-established reputation as a home of 'old families' and a scene of special culture and high-bred society." To characterize this society by a single trait, "the proper distinction between *shall* and *will* was as stoutly maintained, and a slip in the use of the one for the other as rare and as immediately noticeable and offensive, as in the best society in London." His father was a "merchant and banker, not himself a college-taught man, but a son of a graduate of Harvard"; his mother "from the shore of Connecticut, her father a clergyman and a graduate of Yale." Better conditions than these for the nurture of good English speech Mr. White admits there "could not be"; and so he in turn, before criticising Professor Whitney's "peculiarities of utterance," says that he will "set it," as well as his "heavy-weight antagonist," and show the conditions under which he acquired his speech. He gives them as follows:

"To begin then at the beginning, although born and educated in New York, I am the first of my family that was so; my forefathers, for about two centuries previous, having been in the habit of getting themselves born in and about Middletown, Connecticut; this on my mother's side as well as my father's. Both my grandfathers were graduates of Yale; and my paternal grandfather, a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, with whom I passed a great deal of my boyhood, spoke, I think, the finest and richest English I ever heard. There was a slight tinge of the old days about it, given chiefly by his pronunciation of such words as 'angel,' and 'danger,' which he sounded *an-gel, dan-ger*, and by his distinct but gentle roll of the letter *r*, which however was never very marked except when he was reading prayers or from the Bible. I will add that, much as I was in Connecticut in my boyhood, I never heard, under my grandfather's roof, or that of any of his friends, that sound, best but not perfectly indicated by *aou*, which is regarded as a peculiar trait of Yankee speech. The first person among our acquaintances from whom I heard it was a lady born and bred in Philadelphia, of one of the most cultivated families there, and who was then the wife of a very eminent prelate. I was not more than eight years old at the time, but I shall never forget the impression made upon me when this refined and elegant person whined out something to my mother about 'aour caou' (our cow). My teachers, before I entered college, were both Massachusetts Yankees, one of them, I believe, from Northampton. My associations have been chiefly with New England people, or those of New England stock. I have heard English spoken more or less all my life by well-educated and well-bred Englishmen, but chiefly after I reached full manhood; the only difference that I remarked between their utterance and that of my own kinsfolk and friends being set forth in 'Words and their Uses.' I venture to think that Professor Whitney's opportunities and mine in respect to the learning of our mother tongue have been very much the same."

Notwithstanding all this, Mr. White is "surprised to learn from Professor Whitney" that "the leading orthoepists" now require a flattened sound, like the vowel sound in *fat*, or one between the sounds of *far* and *fat*, in the following words: *calm, calf, halve, aunt, alas, pass, bask, path, lath, laugh, staff, raft*, and *after*, while Mr. White himself says that he does not hesitate to declare that among all the best speakers, both of English and American birth, that he has ever met, these words all have the broad *ah* sound of *a* in *far* and *father*. This is, of course, only one instance in many, and it certainly shows the difficulty of an agreement among "leading orthoepists" as to the English vowel sounds; but we are somewhat startled by the dignified personal prelude with which the article begins, and almost fear that it is of the awful character of the calm which in nature sometimes precedes the most terrible storms, and that in the next number or so there will be terrible work among some of the leading orthoepists.

—In the other magazines there is about the usual degree of interest. *Scribner's* makes up in variety what is wanting in quality, and Dr. Holland begins to show signs of bringing his "Story of Sevenoaks" to a somewhat unnecessarily delayed end. In the *Atlantic*, the article which has probably attracted most attention, throughout New England at least, is that on "Drainage" by Mr. Waring, who is, if not an authority, a diligent reader of authorities on the subject. No better months of the year could have been selected for the appearance of these articles than September and October. Now is the time when the New Englander begins to complain of queer feelings, and calls on the doctor, and wonders what the reason is that his children and his wife sicken or die, and learns that they are having the "typhoid," or "typhoidal," or "malarial," or "intermittent" fevers; and quiet New England villages which have their drains out of order begin to get a bad name; and the correspondents of the city newspapers begin to write letters describing the symptoms of the Milhaven, or the Welboro, or the Draintown, or the Cesspool Centre fever. The Massachusetts Board of Health have investigated the subject thoroughly, as have certain reformers in England, and it has been shown conclusively that these diseases come, in nine cases out of ten, from defective drainage, from the communications between drains and wells, and from foul air escaping from drains. The fevers have nothing to do with localities, except as localities are affected by these causes, and it has been proved by the English statistics of mortality that the death-rate can be immediately and effectually reduced by the introduction of proper drainage in a given town. The Massachusetts Board of Health calculate that $50,000,000 could be sunk in drainage by Massachusetts without loss, from the greater effectiveness of labor which would be caused by the generally improved tone of health.

—With Catholic and Confederate text-books for the right instruction of youth we are not unfamiliar. Has the Holy Farmer been equally alive to the necessity of outplanting in the common schools the pernicious tares of the railroad bondholder? If not, let him take a lesson from the Inflationist also. We have before us a leaf or two from a 'History of the United States, prepared especially for schools on a new and comprehensive plan,' by John Clarke Ridpath, A.M., Professor of Belles-lettres and History in Indiana Asbury University. Its publishers profess to have branches in Cincinnati, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago, Memphis, and Atlanta, and evidently count upon its having a wide circulation. Southern readers have their susceptibilities saved by such an account of Charles Sumner as that he succeeded Webster in the Senate in 1850, and "retained this position until the time of his death, speaking much and powerfully on all the great questions that agitated the nation. His last days were spent in considering the interests and welfare of the country." Here neither slavery is mentioned nor the civil war. But on the subject of the currency our Indiana professor, as in duty bound, is not mealy-mouthed. The panic of 1873 he traces neither to the railroad speculator, nor to the Granger baron, nor to the paper dollar. Here is his simple explanation of it in full (p. 470). A child can understand it:

"In the autumn of 1873 occurred one of the most disastrous financial panics known in the history of the United States. The alarm was given by the failure of the great banking-house of Jay Cooke & Co. of Philadelphia. Other failures followed in rapid succession. Depositors everywhere hurried to the banks and withdrew their money and securities. Business was suddenly paralyzed, and many months elapsed before confidence was sufficiently restored to enable merchants and bankers to engage in the usual transactions of trade. *The leading cause of the panic was the scarcity of money occasioned by the contraction of the national currency*, which had been reduced from six hundred and ninety-nine millions of dollars in 1865 to three hundred and forty-seven millions in 1873."

In the second edition of this precious text-book it would be well to state in a foot-note to the above passage that the legal-tenders alone in 1873 amounted to $356,000,000, while the sum of legal-tenders, national-bank notes, and fractional currency exceeded $740,000,000, against somewhat less than $629,000,000 in 1865. Meantime, we call the attention of the government of the university to this gross blundering, and suggest that it calls for some action on their part.

—The well-known series of 'Geschichte der europäischen Staaten,' edited by Heeren and Ukert, has been resumed after a suspension of some years, and is to be pushed vigorously forward under the editorship of the distinguished historian Giesebrecht. The thirty-sixth instalment, published this year, contains the fifth volume of Carlson's 'History of Sweden' and the fourth of Caro's 'History of Poland.' Carlson's work (a continuation of Geijer) reaches the death of Charles XI. (1697). The 'History of Poland' has also changed hands in its course. The first volume, by Dr. Richard Roepell (1840), ranked as one of the very best of the series; it ended with the year 1300. After his death, this work was suspended until 1863, when the second volume was issued by Dr. Jacob Caro, of Breslau, who has since followed it with the third and fourth. The present volume embraces the period from 1430 to 1455—the closing years of Ladislas II. (Jagiello), the reign of Ladislas III., and the commencement of the reign of Casimir IV. The somewhat arbitrary date of its close (1455) is selected as being that of the death of Cardinal Zbigniew Olesnicki, whose career, says the historian (p. 470) "marks a disastrous turning-point in the history of Poland." This man appears to have been a great turbulent prelate of the

class of Dunstan and Becket, and his policy is characterized as "the emasculation of the royalty, whose vigor perhaps no nation, from its natural position, needed more pressingly than the Polish." The merit of "schoolmastering" kings was, he remarks, cheaply got when these kings were "mild and benevolent like Ladislas Jagiello, pious and enthusiastic like Ladislas Warneńczyk, and noble and kind-hearted like Casimir." The volume treats largely of Lithuanian affairs, largely also of the contemporary disturbances in Bohemia; its central incident is the battle of Varna (1444), against the Turks, in which the zealous Ladislas III. lost his life.

## NADAL'S IMPRESSIONS OF ENGLAND.*

MR. NADAL'S subject is interesting and suggestive, and might be made an occasion for discussing a great many things. His opportunity, too, for making himself acquainted with it appears to have been enviable—he was, we believe, attached to the American Legation in London. London society is a very vast and complex affair, and an observant American, steeped in it for a couple of years, can hardly fail to gather a number of impressions which are worth being formulated. There has lately been a good deal of ratiocination upon "society" in America—a discussion which has not advanced so far that it may not be illuminated in some degree by the testimony of other climes. It has not yet even been settled whether we possess the thing so called; opinions vary, but the negative view seems to be found most convenient. It is, however, rather dolefully held by most of its advocates, who think that the melancholy void in question should be filled up with all possible speed. All definite information, then, as to the characteristics of a society which is acknowledged to be a very ripe and substantial specimen of its genus should be welcomed and pondered, so that we may be either consoled or enlightened; instructed as to what to aim at and as to what to avoid. "One felt," says Mr. Nadal, "that here was company which, however it might be in Saturn or Jupiter, no set of tellurians at least could affect to despise. You enjoyed this sensation. All round this wide planet, through the continents and the islands of the sea, among the Franks and the Arabs, the Scandinavians, the Patagonians, and the Polynesians, there were none who could give themselves airs over this. The descendants of Adam, the world over, could show nothing better." This expresses a feeling that the stranger in England feels it no disgrace to confess to, and it makes the reflections of the returning sojourner almost to a certainty worth listening to. Mr. Nadal's volume is entertaining rather on this general ground than in virtue of any remarkable acuteness of its own. It is graceful and agreeable—it is what one would call a gentlemanly book; such a book as it is becoming for a gentleman who has been attached to a legation to write, if he is disposed to remain within the limits of decidedly light literature. It is in excellent taste, and wholly free from indiscreet allusions and betrayals. The author has had an eye to style, and, indeed, like most of the young American writers of our day, he is rather inclined to be finical—to be too susceptible to the charm of words. Mr. Nadal's observations, however, rather lack incisiveness, and strike us occasionally as vague and ineffectual. They are too often not put into a form to which the reader can say positively yes or no; he is left wondering what the author would be at. We get an impression of an unsuccessful attempt at subtlety—as, for instance, when Mr. Nadal speaks of the men at the clubs: "The few men who are literary and intellectual make perhaps the weakest impression. The thin wash of opinion which forms their conversation evaporates, and leaves a very slight sediment. They have that contagious weariness I have noticed in the agricultural population along the water-courses of Illinois and Missouri." And he proceeds to develop the analogy between the clever young Englishmen and these dismal products "of fever and ague and the long eating of half-baked bread." The reader, however, has some trouble in perceiving it, and suspects that Mr. Nadal sometimes pays himself, as the French say, with mere conceits.

It must not be inferred from the words just quoted that Mr. Nadal's criticism is generally of a hostile kind. It is, on the contrary, very friendly and sympathetic, and the author has the faculty of frank yet not intemperate admiration. For the women and young girls he has nothing but good words. "That 'young English girl' who is the theme of the novelists and magazine bards and artists, easily merits all the admiration she receives. Does not all the world know, is it not an impertinence to say, that for dignity, modesty, propriety, sense, and a certain soft self-possession, she has hardly her equal anywhere?" Mr. Nadal's appreciative spirit does justice even to the preoccupied dowagers at the parties. "Some large and listless mother whose eyes are following her charges over the field, and who has asked you for the fourth time the question you have already answered for the third—to go on discoursing to such a person as calmly and fluently as Cato does to the universe, is a great and difficult thing. There is not a pleasure in it, nor indeed a rapture, but there is real growth and building-up in a certain amount of it." This is excellent, and Mr. Nadal touches many other points no less happily, and, it may be added, in the same inconsequent order in which one encounters them in English life. One is struck, however, in reading his remarks with the essential difficulty of making sound final generalizations upon foreign manners and customs. There is never an example of a tendency which cannot be matched with an example of a directly opposite one; and who shall say which is the more characteristic? The gentleman who, on Mr. Nadal's endeavoring to sound him as to the extent to which Englishmen were bullied, in behavior, by public opinion, answered briefly, "Oh, I don't know; we do about as we please"—this typical Briton, whether or no he affirmed a truth, at least administered a not unwholesome snub to the analytic spirit. The English, we think, are especially impatient of this kind of social and psychological analysis; they have little natural genius for it; and the more delicate it pretends to be, the more they feel the instinct to shake themselves free of it. We suspect that the most valuable book that could be written upon "London social life" would be a mere collection of anecdotes—of facts from the writer's observation—arranged under heads, but not made to support conclusions. Of things said to him, samples of conversation overheard, incidents observed, and so on, a discriminating observer might present a very curious array. Mr. Nadal errs in giving too few examples and too many generalizations. He comments very justly upon the fixed limits in which talk generally moves in England—the way in which a certain pitch is taken, so that it produces a discord to sound a note outside of it. "Certain things are set apart as good for men to converse upon—the races, horse-flesh, politics, anything, in short, provided it is not discussed in a definite or original manner. No man should say anything which might not be very well said by any one else." Every American who has been in England knows the meaning of this, and yet he is puzzled to reconcile it with the equally incontrovertible truth that in the London world there is an unlimited amount of original opinion propounded, and that radicalism of thought may be observed at London dinner-parties to be in a far more mature and highly organized condition than is suggested by its usual presentation here. It is a seeming inconsistency that Mr. Nadal should go on to say that "the freedom and gaiety which are not uncommon in the parlors of Americans of the best class will be hard to find in the drawing-rooms of English fashionables. They *talk*, professedly." Does Mr. Nadal mean that the "fashionables" *converse*, according to our American term? We rather imagined that we possessed the monopoly of this accomplishment (though, indeed, it is perhaps not most common in the somewhat mysterious class to which Mr. Nadal alludes), and that from this particular reproach the English were conspicuously free. Their small-talk is certainly more amorphous than that of other nations, and we suspect that, by the same law, conversation of the better sort is less declamatory. Here and there (sometimes in very minor matters) Mr. Nadal is a trifle fallacious—as, for example, when he says that "the genteel English think it common and snobbish to dress much on Sunday." His adjective sets us rather adrift; but if we are right in supposing that he uses the word "genteel" without irony, we should say that on this momentous point his memory had betrayed him. Certainly, the aspect of English society at eleven o'clock on a Sunday morning is a lively testimony to the idea of wearing one's "best." We appeal to the memory of any one who has assisted at an English Sunday breakfast, and has seen the ladies gracing this meal in the evening-dresses of the night before.

About the innumerable picturesque aspects of England Mr. Nadal says some very charming things, and in this matter he seems to us at his best. He says, indeed, that, if the man of society be unselfish, and be careful to retain his sanity, "its chief good [that of London society] is in what it offers him to look at—the carriages flashing back and forth at the dinner-hour, looking like caskets or Christmas-boxes, with the most wonderful lining and furniture (the drapery and lace almost floating out of the windows), the balls and parties, the acres of fair-armed British maidens through which he may wander as in a wilderness, the odors of the midnight gardens, the breath of the dawn, and the first flush of sunrise over Hyde Park as the drowsy cabman wheels him home to bed." Mr. Nadal feels the English background sensitively, and is able to say with evident sincerity that "the 'decent church' (inimitable adjective!), when, for the first time, on the road from Liverpool to London, one sees it crowning a well-clipped, humid hill-top, softly returns to the imagination as something known in

* 'Impressions of London Social Life. With other Papers suggested by an English Residence. By E. S. Nadal.' New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

infancy and forgotten." In speaking of the general appeal which the Church of England makes to the imagination, he says felicitously that "with us it is always the particular church, say, at the corner of Moyamensing Avenue and Eighteenth Street, which attracts or repels one. Is it a good place to go to? Do we like the clergyman and do we like the people?" The author makes a good point, in his admiration of English scenery, in lamenting the absence of rail-fences—on which to sit and enjoy the view. A rail-fence, as we understand it here, is not a beautiful object—and for no small part of its prettiness the English landscape is indebted to the absence of this feature—and yet remains always, most distinctly, a picture that one has to stand up to look at. When after a long and lovely English walk, he has felt disposed to linger awhile longer in the twilight, the American pilgrim has often found it an irritating reflection that he cannot sit upon a hedge. To sit upon a fence for æsthetic purposes is, we take it, not criminally vulgar. We may quote in conclusion a very graceful allusion to a suburban garden which the author used to frequent:

"I sat alone upon a broken, dirty, iron bench—(I beg the T——'s pardon for calling their bench dirty)—and under an old pear-tree. It was a long narrow patch of sod and flowers. The brick walls were rent and decayed, and, except where the peach and vine covered them, were green with moss and black with age. The neighboring gardens I only knew by the tops of the pear and May-trees. No sound came from them save the rustle of their greenery, which now and then disturbed the heart of the quiet hour. Of the children who played in them, of the maidens who knelt among their flowers, I knew nothing. The same sunshine and yellow haze filled them all, the same Sabbath silence. From out their narrow plots all looked upward to the same blue sky. I used to think that the gardens never ended, but lay side by side the island through, and that the sea washed them round."

That last is quite exquisite, and exactly hits the fancy that the charmed American is apt to have in England concerning almost any green place in which he may find himself.

## GERMAN PESSIMISM*

THE German intellect is a far more complex affair than the English intellect, and *à fortiori* than the French or Italian. From sensualism to mysticism, from fatalistic quietism to the most ruthless practicality, there is hardly a mental quality or tendency which one will not find better represented in Germany than elsewhere; save only one, and that is the quality of *naïveté* or spontaneity. Every subject of King William is, *ex-officio*, reflective and self-conscious, unable to surrender himself to any sentiment, however simple, till he has reflected on it and woven it into a systematic theory, or in other words transmuted it from an impulse into a principle. Whatever the German feels or does, he does with malice prepense; he *justifies* himself, by showing that the act or thought must rightfully flow from one in his position. Whether the position be that of a citizen properly filled with *Nationalbewusstsein*, of a competitor in the egoistic struggle for existence, of a subject of the Categorical Imperative, or of a *Moment* in the *Weltprozess*, is all one—we find everywhere that same cold-blooded self-corroboration and merging of the personal deed in universal considerations which, more than material spoliation and Draconian discipline, exasperated the French during the late invasion, and have made them call the Germans "hypocrites" ever since.

Perhaps as striking an illustration of this overweening tendency to theorize as can be found is afforded by the popular German school of pessimistic philosophy, of which Professor Pfleiderer's pamphlet is the latest and one of the ablest criticisms. In other countries, aristocratic misanthropes, dyspeptic pleasure-seekers, and unappreciated geniuses have existed, and their utterances never passed beyond the sphere of splenetic or pathetic individuality. Souls with an unassuageable love of justice and harmony have also existed, and their utterances, like Leopardi's and Shelley's, have been lyrical cries of defiance or despair, which perished with them. It was reserved for Schopenhauer to show his countrymen that the cursing and melting moods could be kept alive permanently, and extended indefinitely by making proper theoretic deliberation; and Schopenhauer's disciple Hartmann, whose work, the 'Philosophie des Unbewussten,' has met with one of the greatest literary successes of the time, and carried the new gospel into regions where the torch of metaphysics had never yet begun to glimmer, has made everything so simple and perfect in his system, that all who have a quarrel with destiny, whether peevish or tragic, can be housed there side by side, without altering their mode of life or losing any of their "home comforts" in the process of cure. For it would be unpardonable in these philosophers to preach disgust with life unless the disgust were likely to lead the way to a cure. Existence being of course the original sin of that substance or essence of things which Schopenhauer calls "Will," and to which Von Hartmann gives the name of "the Unconscious," annihilation or *nirvana* is of course the cure. And in both philosophies this may be attained through the thorough and final intellectual persuasion of the vanity of all the goods of life and the consequent extinction of every desire.

But here begins the divergence. The aristocratic master has no hopes of the human or any other race as a whole, and his *nirvana* is restricted to the few who are ascetics and saints. In the witty words of Pfleiderer, the battle-cry with which he plunges into life's fray and rallies his followers about him, is the well-known "sauve qui peut." The pupil, on the contrary, equipped with a Berlin education and imbued with notions of evolution and progress which to Schopenhauer (who wrote before Darwin) were profoundly distasteful, provides for a collective salvation, based on no less a performance than a unanimous resolve on the part of all sentient beings, penetrated at last through and through with *tedium vitae*, and despair of gaining anything by fighting it out on the line of existence—*to stop*, and back out of it, when *this* world will cease at any rate. Whether there will ever be another world depends wholly on whether the wicked old "Unconscious" chooses again to emerge from its state of mere potentiality; and as it is a being without rhyme or reason, a mere *brutum*, the chances for and against that unlucky eventuality are just even, or expressed in mathematical language by the fraction ½. Schopenhauer's philosophy, says Hartmann, is one of despair. So far is this from being the worst of all possible worlds, that it is the best, for it tends invincibly to the *summum bonum* of extinction. Let no man then desert the ranks, but each labor in the Lord's vineyard, sneering, lamenting, and cursing as he pleases, getting indigestions himself, and begetting young, to inoculate them with a disgust greater than his own, and co-operating so with the grand movement of things which is bound to culminate in deliverance. Above all, let us have no standing aloof and trying prematurely to save one's individual self, like Schopenhauer's ascetics This delightfully unselfish submission to epicurean practice in the midst of pessimistic theory is Hartmann's cleverest stroke. As in Béranger's song:

> "Nous laisserions finir le monde
> Si nos femmes le voulaient bien!"

Schopenhauer was truly a bungler. But, joking apart, the reader can easily see how little living seriousness Hartmann possesses. He seems to us to have a clever journalistic mind, with a Prussian education, ready for any paradox which will make a sensation, and without a grain of that *auctoritas* which belongs to the sombre and impressive genius of his teacher.

The latter is assuredly one of the greatest of writers. When such a one expatiates upon the texts of *Homo homini lupus* and Woman the focus of the world's illusion, he will have all the cynics with a taste for good literature for his admirers. And when he preaches compassion to be the one cardinal virtue, and morbidly reiterates the mystic Sanskrit motto, *Tat twam asi*—This [maniac or cripple] art thou—as the truth of truths, he will of course exert a spell over persons in the unwholesome sentimental moulting-time of youth. But the thing which to our Anglo-Saxon mind seems so outlandish is that crowds of dapper fellows, revelling in animal spirits and conscious strength, should enroll themselves in cold blood as his permanent apostles, and feel as sorely when their pessimism is attacked as the fabled old dead inmate of the almshouse did when, not good enough for heaven, she was also shut out from hell, and sat on the road and wept that she should have to return to Tewkesbury.

For, however it may stand with Tewkesbury, in the world at large, practically considered, optimism is just as true as pessimism. These Germans can attain their absolute luxury of woe only by speaking of things transcendentally and metaphysically. As far as the outward animal life goes, the existence of a Walt Whitman confounds Schopenhauer quite as thoroughly as the existence of a Leopardi refutes Dr. Pangloss; and Hartmann's elaborate indictment of the details of life is precisely on a par in point of logic with the "wisdom and beneficence" philosophy of the most edifying and gelatinous Sunday-school orator. Common-sense contents itself with the unreconciled contradiction, laughs when it can, and weeps when it must, and makes, in short, a practical compromise, without trying a theoretical solution. This attitude is of course respectable. But if one must needs have an ultimate theoretical solution, nothing is more certain than this, that no one need assent to that of pessimism unless he freely prefer to do so. Concerning the metaphysical world, or the ultimate meaning of things, there is no outward evidence—nothing but conceptions of the possible. Distinct among these is that of a moral order whose life *may* be fed by the contradictions of good and evil that occur in the external phenomenal order. Those empiricists who are celebrating

* 'Der moderne Pessimismus. Von Dr. Edmund Pfleiderer.' Berlin: Carl Habel; New York: L. W. Schmidt. 1875.

nowadays with such delight the novel mathematical notion of a fourth or "transcendental" dimension in space, should be the last persons to dogmatize against the possibility of a deeper dimension in *being* than the flat surface-pattern which is offered by its pleasures and pains, taken merely as such. Now, if such an order in the world is possibly true, and if, supposing it to be true, it may afford the basis for an ultimate optimism (quite distinct from mere nerveless sentimentalism), there is no reason which should deter a person bent on having some commanding theory of life from adopting it as his hypothesis or working faith. He may of course prefer pessimism, but only at the price of a certain internal inconsistency. (We purposely neglect to consider dogmatic materialism here.) For pessimism is really only consistent with a strictly dogmatic attitude. It is fatalistic in the thorough Oriental sense, being by its very definition a theory from which one is bound to escape, *if he can*. Its account of things is confessedly abhorrent, and nothing but coercive outward evidence should make one stay within its pale. Now, a hypothetical door like that offered by the notion of a ransoming moral order "behind the veil" is better than no loophole of escape; and to refuse to give one's self the benefit of its presence argues either a perfectly morbid appetite for dogmatic forms of thought, or an astounding lack of genuine sense for the tragic, which sense undoubtedly varies, like every other, from man to man.

With transcendental optimism, on the other hand, it is just the reverse. If it is *true*, why, then, there is the deepest internal congruity in its *not* being mechanically forced on our belief. As a fatalistic *nolens-volens* creed, it would be devoid of all moral character. Or rather, we may not talk of its *being* true, but *becoming* true. Its full verification must be contingent on our complicity, both theoretical and practical. All that it asserts is that the facts of the world are a fit basis for the *summum bonum, if we* do our share and react upon them as it is meant we should (with fortitude, for example, and undismayed hope). The world is thus absolutely good only in a potential or hypothetic sense, and the hypothetic form of the optimistic belief is the very signature of its consistency, and first condition of its probability. At the final integration of things, the world's goodness will be an accomplished fact and self-evident, but, till then, faith is the only legitimate attitude of mind it can claim from us.

So plain is all this that the pessimistic controversy has far more of an ethnic than a philosophic interest for us. We are only sorry that, at this distance, the data are too few for us to see what its full ethnic import is. If it simply result in confirming in Germany the tonic creed that there comes a time when every good, however precious, is fit for nothing but destruction, for the sake of a higher good, and that passive felicity is a dream, it can do no harm. Dr. Pfleiderer's pamphlet, which takes substantially the same ground as we do, is both temperate and witty, and may be cordially recommended to those interested in the subject.

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*Shakespeare Diversions.* A Medley of Motley Wear. By Francis Jacox. (New York: Scribner, Welford & Armstrong. 1875.)—The author of 'Shakespeare Diversions' has a bit of pleasantry in his title, for it means that the reader is to be diverted *from* Shakspere as well as with him. He begins with some phrase of Shakspere, and thence diverts and diverges and divaricates. Many of his sections are in fact collections of elegant extracts classified under commonplaces—"Time the destroyer," "Time the vindicator," "To be and to seem," "Let well alone," "Sympathy learned in suffering," and the like. This, for example, is the heading of a section:

"Sweet Rose, untimely plucked:

"'Whom the gods love die young,' a disputed adage—Short-lived Virtue, long-lived Vice—Readings from Wordsworth, Dryden, Sainte-Beuve, Burns, Wesley, Byron, George Eliot, Southey, Caroline Bowles, Victor Hugo, Gibbon, O. Wendell Holmes, C. Reade, Ant. Trollope, Procter, Malherbe, Lytton."

The range of our author is not very wide for our encyclopædic age. Most of the matter is from the best of the wholesome poetry, novels, and essays of the day, or from those English and French classics which no gentleman's library should be without: Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson, Pepys, Gibbon, Joanna Baillie, Crabbe, and Walter Scott, with Corneille, Racine, Molière, Châteaubriand, and Boileau—the true old English gentleman's reading. There is little or no English before Shakspere; Chaucer is used only once or twice. There is little German; Goethe is used four or five times, and Schiller oftener. A good many Americans are cited. Hawthorne is a favorite, and Holmes; then Emerson, Lowell, Irving, Cooper, Prescott, Motley, Longfellow, Margaret Fuller, Poe, Mrs. Whitney, Artemus Ward, President Lincoln, and Colonel Mosby. These are as interesting, if not as imposing, as the same number of Sanskrit, Persian, and Chinese authors would have been. On the whole, we like the book; the tone is healthful and pleasant—that of a cultured gentleman with no hobbies and no nonsense; the material is pure, the language good book-English. The subjects are interesting. Besides the rather commonplace topics which we have referred to, there are historical studies and sensible Shakspere criticism, and now and then linguistic chat like that on *Hotspur* or on the difference between *vocation* and *avocation*. The effect of the book is quite different from that of a mere collection of elegant extracts; for the citations are introduced or accompanied with explanatory and critical remark which lets us into their meaning, and connects them with the topic they are brought to illustrate, so that they are woven into an essay, which flows or trips along without breaks or jars, like the talk of a full man in his own library to a receptive friend on a leisure day. Such a day with Sainte-Beuve or Emerson or Lowell has a flavor for the imagination like a night with Socrates. This is not that, but it has suggested it, and is a pleasant book.

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*The Child.* By Monseigneur Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans. Translated, with the author's permission, by Kate Anderson. (Boston: Patrick Donahoe. 1875. 12mo, pp. 294.)—Bishop Dupanloup begins his preface with these words: "Having, after long study and laborious experience, sought, by the most profound reflection, to discover what the two fundamental rules in education were, I have found them to be authority and respect"—respect, that is, for the pupil on the part of the teacher. Certainly, if these are not intrinsically the most fundamental rules in education, they are those most commonly neglected at the present day, and their principles are developed in this little book with great earnestness and eloquence. The treatise is, of course, addressed to Catholic parents, and the Catholic faith is assumed on every page. To such parents it may be unhesitatingly recommended, and most Protestant parents would not be the worse for having their attention called to this side of education, however different may be their point of view in the education of their children. The "triple concupiscence"—the three sources of "all the evils of human nature"—are, in the view of the bishop, pride, sensuality, and levity, and his discussion of these is excellent. But compare this with Sir Walter Scott's theory of education, who desired that his grandson should, like the ancient Persians, learn "to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth," believing that manliness and truthfulness will carry all other virtues with them. It is significant that Bishop Dupanloup hardly mentions truthfulness. It is noticeable, too, that he speaks of the dangers of society and of the [French] public schools in precisely the terms that the Catholics use in this country.

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*The Mirror of a Mind:* A Poem. By Algernon Sydney Logan. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875).—In the evil days on which we have fallen, to recommend a book, especially if it be poetry, for its simplicity is no faint praise. This is not the highest merit of Mr. Logan's verses, but it is the first which strikes a brain and ear wearied with the jar and jangle of modern minstrelsy. The simplicity is genuine; it is not quaint; it is not pastoral; it has no mannerism at all; the thought is distinct and natural, and so is the expression, except now and then where a 'prentice hand becomes slightly entangled in the difficulties of prosody. These have been increased by the choice of a metre which gives no respite, the volume consisting of a series of fragments in Spenserian stanza; yet it is managed with skill, and the verse is generally smooth and harmonious. Mr. Logan's muse has an old-fashioned quality of youthfulness truly refreshing after the precocious decay with which so much recent poetry is rank. The "mirror" reflects the phases of a mind too deeply imbued with sadness, but as free from the violence, cynicism, and paradox of which we have had so much, as the phrase is free from exaggeration and obscurity.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* |
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| Doe (C. H.), Buffets: a Tale, swd. | (Jas. R. Osgood & Co.) $0 75 |
| Everett (Dr. G. H.), Health Fragments. | (Chas. P. Somerby) 2 00 |
| Gillett (Rev. E. H.), History of the Presbyterian Church. 2 vols. Revised edition. | (Pres. Board of Publication) 5 00 |
| Greenwood (Prof. W. H.), Manual of Metallurgy. | (G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 50 |
| Jones (Maj. E. R.), Lincoln, Stanton, and Grant. | (Scribner, Welford & Armstrong) 3 00 |
| Library Atlas. | (G. P. Putnam's Sons) 14 00 |
| Latouche (J.), Travels in Portugal. | (G. P. Putnam's Sons) 3 50 |
| Nadal (E. S.), Impressions of London Social Life. | (Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 50 |
| Papillon (Prof. T. L.), Terentii Andria. A. | (Rivingtons) |
| Reemelin (C.), Politics as a Science. | (Robt. Clarke & Co.) 1 50 |
| Russell (A. P.), Literary Notes. | (Hurd & Houghton) 2 00 |
| Swinton (W.), Elementary Course in Geography. | (Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co.) |
| Scudder (H. E.), Doings of the Bodley Family in Town and Country. | (Hurd & Houghton) 2 00 |
| Schoepff (Dr. J. D.), Climate and Diseases of America, swd. | (Hurd & Houghton) 0 80 |
| Stevens (H. R.), Scripture Speculations. | (Newburg) 2 00 |
| Thackeray (W. M.), Thackerayana. | (Scribner, Welford & Armstrong) 3 75 |
| Townsend (C.), Analysis of Civil Government. | (Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co.) |
| Tafel (Prof. R. L.), Documents concerning Swedenborg, Vol. I. | (Swedenborg Society) 5 00 |
| Thalheimer (M. E.), History of England for School Use. | (Wilson, Hinkle & Co.) 1 50 |
| Thomas (J. J.), American Fruit Culturist, revised ed. | (Wm. Wood & Co.) |
| Trimble (E. J.), Chart of General Literature. | (J. M. Stoddart & Co.) 15 00 |
| Trollope (A.), The Way We Live Now: a Tale, swd. | (Harper & Bros.) 1 50 |
| Workshop, No. 2, swd. | (E. Steiger) 0 50 |

# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1875.*

## The Week.

OHIO has been carried against the inflationists. As we go to press this is all that can be positively stated; but the returns indicate a fair majority for the Republican ticket. The result is cause for profound rejoicing. The train of evils that might and certainly would have followed a triumph of the rag-money party could not be contemplated without the gravest anxiety, especially by those who, being on the spot, knew something of the inner counsels of that party, and of what reckless and unscrupulous material it was composed. While the campaign wore the appearance of a great argumentative struggle, the debate had but one side in which there was any show of a reasonable regard for facts, without which there is no such thing as argument. We doubtless owe the victory to the real power of public discussion of the currency question by a few honest and well-informed speakers, and to Mr. Schurz more than to any one else. It is not the first time, as Senators Morton and Sherman know, that repudiation and inflation have been fairly beaten by such discussion, but we must not deceive ourselves that it has now been done once for all. The closeness of the vote in Ohio, and the fact that the German voters alone probably prevented the defeat of the hard-money party, tell a very plain tale as to the condition of the popular mind, not only in Ohio but elsewhere. The schoolmaster is abroad; by no means let him yet be recalled.

The currency discussion has been marked during the week by an incident which is both serious and comic, but more comic than serious. Mr. Wendell Phillips wrote a letter to the "Legal-Tender Club" a week or two ago, marked by the now usual folly, inaccuracy, and ignorance of his utterances. We do not believe there is another civilized country in which it would have attracted any public notice from anybody who had any work to do. Here, however, he has been solemnly refuted in the leading newspapers, and by Mr. Hugh McCulloch, Mr. Schurz, and finally even by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, the English agitator. Mr. Schurz was evidently ashamed of his task, but excused himself by alleging the pressure put on him by friends, who feared the effect of Mr. Phillips's nonsense on the ignorant and unthinking. There is probably something in this plea, but then it has to be taken into account that Mr. Phillips cannot be silenced, for his trade, in so far as he has one, is to talk, and he cannot be overthrown in argument, because he does not argue. He has never had much reasoning power, and now has almost none. He is probably more unscrupulous than he ever was, more reckless in his use of what he calls authorities and in misquotation, and at the same time fully as fluent and abusive as he has ever been. He does not understand any system or theory of currency, not even Law's, has little or no acquaintance with financial history, and apparently only reads books to pick out detached sentences, in order to give sham points or glitter to his paradoxes. Doubtless, he has influence with shoemakers and the rest of the sedentary portion of the working-classes, whose nervous system is depressed and made morbid by want of exercise; but even this he owes in no small degree to the extent to which all classes have of late years aided in dissociating rhetoric from morals, knowledge, and even common-sense. We allow a man to make a handsome living by it, on the simple condition that he shall be "brilliant" and "spicy," and encourage him to believe that there is something finer in talking nonsense on the platform than talking it at the fireside. Mr. Phillips, for instance, attended a meeting of Boston merchants not long ago, called to consider the best mode of improving transportation from that city to the West. Everybody present was of course aware that he knew no more about transportation than any store-girl in Boston. Nevertheless, he was requested "to make a few remarks," and he arose and delivered a discourse of the utmost absurdity to this assemblage of mature business men, on their own subject, in which he made the truly kindergarten suggestion, that if they wanted easy and cheap communication with the West they should buy a railroad. In view of incidents of this kind, is it anything wonderful if what the Springfield *Republican* calls "the illiterate workingman" thinks him an authority on currency? He has replied to Mr. Schurz in a letter of which it need only be said that it is less insolent and abusive than the first one.

The election in Massachusetts promises to be a curious one. The Republicans are confident of being able to elect Mr. Rice, and point with great satisfaction to the reorganization of the State Central Committee. For some years now this committee, which procures funds and kindles enthusiasm for the campaign, has been composed of small local politicians, nominated by delegates in a loose sort of way at the annual convention. This year, however, eleven members-at-large have been added, from whose exertions and wealth a great deal is expected. As the Republican newspapers say, the issue in Massachusetts is not a paltry personal issue between Rice and Gaston, but the question to be decided at the polls is whether Republican ideas, principles, aims, and motives are to triumph, or those of the party which opposed the war, opposed Lincoln, opposed the abolition of slavery, and are now obliged to give "pledges" that they will not re-enslave the African and demand the payment of the Confederate debt. The "record" of the Democrats is certainly not very good, but whether the average voter can be properly frightened by it is still to be seen. Meanwhile, the Prohibitionists have held a convention and nominated an independent ticket, as well as the Labor Reformers, while the Woman-Suffragists are to be allowed to vote for any one they please. The "arithmetic men" will probably derive more profit from the problem than any other class.

The news from the South continues to be economically satisfactory. Everything points now to a cotton crop of some four and a half million bales, the largest ever raised; and when we reflect upon the annoying circumstances which have surrounded its planting and cultivation, we cannot but feel that the croakers and cynics who are always predicting evil to our country know little about her resources or capabilities. At the North we are accustomed to interruptions of industrial or agricultural operations from strikes, lockouts, and other difficulties between employers and employed, but we can probably form from these but a slight estimate of the embarrassment attending the production of a large cotton crop while the wholesale slaughter of the laboring population by their employers is going on. In Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and most of the other cotton States, the brutal and ignorant whites have been chiefly occupied during the most critical periods of the past cotton year in hunting down and massacring the faithful blacks. Congressional committees have found the soil of the South strewn with corpses, and the United States was forced to do something to save the crop by reorganizing the legislature of Louisiana. Slaughtered as he has been, however, the faithful negro has dragged himself back to the cotton-field, and hoed and planted and picked without a murmur. There are few more touching instances than this on record of the force of habit and attachment to the occupations of the past. As an economical feat the production of the crop of this year is probably unsurpassed, and it is curious to notice how strikingly the present condition of the South has been depicted in the lines of the New England poet (which have been thought so unintelligible) exposing the absurdity of the "red slayer" who "thinks he slays," and the slain if he "think he be slain."

Few problems in sociology or politics have of late years received so much earnest thought and attention from our branch of the

Anglo-Saxon race as that relating to the proper treatment of the Indians. Almost every plan has been tried at one time or another, but though by means of extermination, investigation, corruption, fire-water, missionary work, and colonization some headway has been made, the solution has not been quite reached. Even General Grant, who during the past seven years has devoted a large part of his time and attention to the subject, is not perfectly satisfied with the progress that has been made. The Indian investigating commissioners, however, are now engaged in writing their report, and it is confidently expected that the problem will be finally solved in about a week. Meanwhile, we must call attention to one peculiar feature of the present condition of Indian reform, and that is the fatal effect which the efficient discharge of the duties of any office connected with Indian administration has on a man's official career. It appears from the correspondence between General Grant and Mr. Delano that the latter was retained at the head of the Interior Department, on account of his great skill and fidelity, for six months against his own desire, because of the utter impossibility of getting any one half so good to fill the place. Mr. Saville the investigations of the commission have entirely exonerated from all the charges of fraud brought against him by Professor Marsh, and yet he is going too; and Mr. Smith, whom we know (from letters that we have received about him) to be a staunch friend of the Indian, and one of the purest men now living, is going too. What is to become of the poor Indian if his friends desert him in this way we hardly know, but there are evidently some dark points about the Indian problem still.

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The examination of Cheever, the lobby-agent who claims a quarter of the profits of Clews's Government financial agency, before the Registrar in Bankruptcy on Wednesday week, produced more discreditable revelations. It appears that Cheever lobbied for Clews for two years, "conferring" on the subject with nearly all the leading Republican Senators, showing that Clews, as "a wise, energetic, and trustworthy man," and as "a liberal friend of the Administration," ought to have the agency, explaining "the weakness of the other houses," and "calling attention to some errors of the Barings," and maintaining that it would not be proper to give it to Morton, Rose & Co., as "one of their partners, Sir John Rose, was a titled gentleman in England." He then, being further questioned, revealed the fact that Judge Dent, General Grant's brother-in-law, was to have one-eighth of the profits, the consideration being "his services as counsel in the matter," and "afterwards he was to act as counsel for the agency in Washington," and the worthy Clews "offered him $25,000 to come here to New York as counsel," but he (Cheever) did not know what services Dent had ever rendered. A letter of Cheever's was also put in, pressing for payment on the ground "that he had partners to share with him." It is worth notice that the James Van Buren whose name appears in the contract as one of Clews's partners is not known to Cheever or to anybody else, and cannot be found, and there is no doubt that the name is a fictitious one, intended to cover the interest of somebody who has good reason for keeping out of sight.

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We do not know what the powers of Registrars in Bankruptcy in the matter of summoning witnesses are, but we do know that no investigation of this transaction will be complete in which Mr. George S. Boutwell is not examined. The New York *Herald* has published extracts from the diary of a person evidently well informed, recording interviews with both Messrs. Seward and Boutwell in 1871, showing that the former highly disapproved of the change, and testified strongly to the manner in which the Barings had sustained the Government "during the darkest days of the war," and that Boutwell had assured them that there was no cause of complaint against them, but that it was felt necessary to give the business to two American houses recently established in London, "on account of their loyalty." Mr. Seward further said that the Barings had cashed drafts on the Government of Schuyler, Hartley & Graham, for $4,000,000, in 1862, when an account of $50,000 with the State Department, to which a correspondent refers in another column, was lying unpaid; and he informed Mr. Washburne during his visit to Paris that he had withdrawn his *exequatur* from Mr. Habicht, Clews's partner, when Swedish Consul in New York, for blockade-running during the war. The diary further relates that when the first bills from the Asiatic squadron drawn after the change arrived in London, and were accepted by Jay Cooke, McCulloch & Co., they were vainly offered for sale to the Bank of England and other banks, and were finally taken by the firm itself at nine per cent. discount; the bills of the Barings at the same time selling at three and a half per cent. It also adds that Mr. Boutwell likewise spoke in high terms of the Barings, and said "that he was not responsible for the change." Thus far, the indications are that the Simple-Minded, Sagacious Man at the White House, whom all the Republican conventions are eulogizing, had more or less to do with bringing it about.

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The Supreme Court at Washington has given a woman-suffrage decision which will set at rest all doubts as to the effect of the Fourteenth Amendment on woman's "right" to the ballot. The question presented by the case was, whether the plaintiff, a woman and a citizen of the United States and the State of Missouri, has the right to vote in that State, the constitution and laws of Missouri to the contrary notwithstanding. The argument on her side was that women, being made by the amendment "citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside," have the right of suffrage as one of the "privileges and immunities" of their citizenship which cannot be abridged by the State. There is no doubt, the Court says, that women may be citizens, but the Amendment did not add suffrage to the privileges and immunities of citizens as they existed at the time of its adoption, and suffrage has at no time been one of the necessary incidents of citizenship. The opinion, delivered by the Chief-Justice, is of course conclusive, and what will probably strike most lawyers about it, is wonder that the point should ever have been raised. Every one in the country knows that the Fourteenth Amendment was not adopted for the purpose of giving women the right to vote, and the argument made to support the claim is only a shade less puerile than that which is made by some women's-rights agitators from the Fifteenth Amendment abolishing "slavery and involuntary servitude." Considering the crowded condition of the Supreme Court docket, and the vast number of really important cases which are delayed by such suits as this, it seems as if a more peremptory way of dealing with them would be better, and as if giving up precious time to the consideration of such arguments as we have just referred to might possibly lay the Court open to the charge of a "delay of justice" provided against by a much older bill of rights than the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Amendment.

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Mayor Wickham has addressed a letter to all the Police Commissioners, recounting charges which have been made against them, and asking them to show cause why they should not be removed. There has been a sad dearth of news lately; and we cannot wonder at the excitement and interest manifested by the reporters, who have been watching for something of the kind since the attack made by General Smith on the Commission, when it came out that on Friday, shortly before noon, and just before the meeting of the board, the Mayor's messenger had "delivered a large envelope" to Messrs. Voorhis and Disbecker, and that it was believed that Mr. Matsell had received a similar one. The color of the envelopes was not mentioned, but it is admitted by the Commissioners that they were marked "personal." Matsell declares that after forty years' faithful service of the city he will never resign without a full investigation of the charges against him. The reorganization of the Board, and the character of the new appointees, will be a pretty good test of the virtue of Tammany, as the manipulation of the election returns will be in their hands. New York "politics" has received a new illustration during the week from the publication of a correspondence between Recorder Hackett and one of the

Tammany secretaries. The Recorder is one of the few judges in the city who is a terror to evil-doers, and has succeeded to a certain extent in remedying the laxity of the laws by the severity of his sentences, and has, we believe, kept his court quite clear from politics. Last year, however, he received a notification that Tammany would supply him with his subordinates in future. To this he replied by a peremptory refusal, and having been dropped from the Tammany ticket he has been taken up by the Republicans. The other important news in this city is a decision of the Supreme Court putting a stop to all dilatory proceedings in the six-million Tweed suit, and directing him to answer within a week. He has also been sued in another suit, in which bail has been fixed at a million, so that he probably now "represents" in one way and another a larger amount of capital than any statesman of the day. We learn from a published interview with one of his counsel that they are greatly pleased with the order requiring him to answer, and say that their answer will be in substance a general denial of "the whole story."

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The price of gold declined during the week 1⅝ per cent., partly because of the operations of the Syndicate and partly from speculative causes; moreover, gold began to arrive from Europe, $761,560 having come from London, and the equivalent of about $2,000,000 more having during the week been withdrawn from the Bank of England for shipment. The movement, too, as between this city and San Francisco has turned in favor of New York, and it is confidently estimated that at least $600,000 per week will be sent here from the San Francisco banks and bankers. Continued shipments from London are expected, as they entered into the calculations of the Bank of England directors when, last Thursday, they advanced the minimum discount-rate of the Bank to 2½ per cent. London, however, is losing gold not only to New York but to Holland, and particularly Germany; and there is reason for expecting that the Bank directors will find it necessary to advance their rate much further in the next sixty days. Foreign exchange continues feverish and fitful here, on account of the difficulties growing out of the small stock of gold in New York. These difficulties, however, have so far been removed that they must be classed as an embarrassment rather than an obstacle to the export trade. The money market is hardening, and lenders on call are generally getting 4 per cent. At noon on Saturday the value of $100 currency was $85 92.

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The English question of the last week is a little "tiff" between the Queen and the public—the first, we believe, that has ever occurred—arising out of the sinking of the *Mistletoe* yacht by the royal steamer *Alberta* in the Solent, when three lives were lost. When the first coroner's jury, which afterwards disagreed, was sitting, the Queen wrote a letter to Prince Leiningen, the captain of the steamer, and whose conduct was therefore at that moment the subject of judicial investigation, expressing her great satisfaction with the way in which he and his subordinates had behaved at the time of the accident, and this letter he, by permission, read aloud and published. This was at the time considered an act of considerable indiscretion on Her Majesty's part, but it drew forth no comment. The jury came to no decision, though they simply differed as to the degree of blame which should be cast on the officers of the royal yacht. A second inquest was held on another body, and in this case a verdict was rendered directly censuring these officers for going at too high a rate of speed in a narrow and crowded channel, and for keeping an insufficient lookout. Indeed, it appeared clearly from their own defence that they went as fast as they could, and that they had no continuous lookout, and, as to the *Mistletoe*, took it for granted, not as rules of the sea require, that she would hold on her course, but that she would sheer off and make way for the steamer; and they insinuated that she had approached the steamer for the purpose of obtaining a view of the Queen, which the owner solemnly denied on oath, and for which in fact there appeared to be no foundation except the belief or knowledge of the Queen's officers that other yachts had done so on former occasions. The Queen then, after the verdict was rendered, caused a letter to be written to the president of the Cowes Yacht Club, expressing her desire that members of the club should be warned against approaching too near the royal yachts for the sake of getting a view of the Queen. As this implied that this practice not only existed, but had something to do with the loss of the *Mistletoe*, in spite of the evidence, and seemed a sort of defiance of the verdict of the jury, it has caused a great deal of public irritation, and has called out much discussion in the papers as to the proper limits of royal expressions of feeling and opinion on topics of the day. The relations of royalty to the state are now delicate, and rest so much on mere sentiment and mere understanding that slight things become important. A curious illustration of the courtier state of mind was afforded in the announcement in the *Court Journal* that "the Queen spoke to Miss Peel," whose sister had been lost, and who had herself been dragged half-drowned on board the royal yacht. To the outside world this seemed a simple act of humanity, but to the Ladies and Gentlemen in Waiting it doubtless was an event which would figure in history.

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The Ministry in England have got into another scrape not unlike the Plimsoll affair. The Admiralty has issued a circular letter of instruction to the commanding officers of war-vessels cruising in the waters of slaveholding countries, with regard to the treatment of slaves which may take refuge on board. They are told that slaves must "not be misled into the belief that they will find their liberty by getting under the British flag"; that slaves must not be permanently received on board any description of ship under the British flag, except to save their lives, for otherwise the practical result would be, "in the first instance, to encourage and assist in a breach of the law of the country, and, next, to protect the person breaking that law." In foreign ports and harbors, too, a slave must not be allowed to remain on board after it has been proved that he is legally a slave; and if on the high seas a slave escapes on board a British ship, he must, when the latter returns within the territorial limits of the country to which the ship from which he has escaped belongs, be surrendered on demand being made. As all this is a complete reversal of the policy pursued by the English navy ever since Lord Mansfield's decision in the Somerset case, and is almost certainly opposed to the principles of law laid down by the English courts in a long course of decisions, the circular has excited the greatest indignation, and will undoubtedly have to be withdrawn. For instance, a slave getting on board an English ship on the high seas becomes or is free, *ipso facto*, by well-settled law. The Admiralty, therefore, can give the commanding officer no authority to surrender him subsequently as a slave.

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The only new feature in the Herzegovina troubles is the appearance of a letter from the Sultan to the Grand Vizier announcing that there must be reforms in that province, commanding the tax-gatherers to stop extortion and cruelty, and the judges to stop taking bribes and rendering unjust decisions. The Servian Skupshina, or assembly, has, as already announced, left the question of peace or war in the hands of the Prince by a majority of 71 to 43; so there will certainly be no interference in that quarter, and it is just as certain that there will be none in any other. But it is said that though the Turkish Government has escaped this time, it is well aware that the present régime in its western provinces cannot be allowed to last. The attempts at reform made during the last thirty years have not produced much effect anywhere, but in Bosnia and Herzegovina less than elsewhere owing to the number and fierceness of the Mohammedan landlords, whose exactions are even more dreadful than those of the state. An effort will now be made with a large military force to introduce a better state of things, but with such a civil service as that of Turkey it is sure to fail. The prevalent impression in Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, as well as in Paris and London, is that the insurrection, futile as it has proved, has revealed clearly that the Turkish Empire is near its end. No one now pretends that it has any future.

## COMMERCIAL HONOR.

THERE is a widely-received and by no means unjustifiable opinion, either that a large number of the recent failures were unnecessary, or that a large number of those who failed might have paid, had they chosen, better dividends to their creditors. It is said—though of course it cannot be said with anything like certainty or accuracy—that it is no uncommon thing for persons who have been making a good deal of money for many years past, and have drawn out the profits of their firm and invested them on their own individual account, to throw up their business when they find it unprofitable, offer their creditors a composition made up of the few remaining assets of the partnership, and then retire and live handsomely, or begin anew on their private fortunes, which they treat as if they are not and ought not to be affected by their commercial liabilities. Whatever be the nature of the process, it is certain that bankruptcy has now few terrors for business men; that the name among us is not surrounded by the dismal concomitants with which the literature of the Old World has made us familiar; that to many of our traders it means not ruin but relief, not an increase but a diminution of care, and is not by any means attended with permanent loss of credit.

Some of those who are commenting on it are, however, making a mistake in supposing that this state of things is anything new, or is a special product of the present crisis, or argues any recent or serious deterioration of commercial morals. On the contrary, men's readiness to fail and the slightness of the reprobation with which failure is visited, have been a striking feature in American commercial history ever since the beginning of the century; and they took their rise not in any special depravity in our traders, but in the economic condition of the country. One of their most prominent causes has been the constant effort to substitute paper-money for gold and silver, which began in colonial times and has lasted down to our day, and which necessarily, owing to the number and variety of the schemes resorted to, gave business an aleatory character, and made unfortunate and inevitable failures so common as to render the distinction between them and voluntary or fraudulent failures very hard to make. Another has been the stimulus given to speculation by the settlement of the West, which began vigorously after the invention of steamboats, and diffused and often justified the most extravagant hopefulness with regard to the future, and made it very difficult to decide whether a bankrupt had been trading on rational or chimerical expectations. Another still has been that disinclination to cry over spilt milk which is so marked a feature in the national temperament, and is doubtless a necessary product of a long and successful struggle with the trials and difficulties of colonial life in a new country. An American is restrained from making a great fuss over his debtor's bankruptcy, and enquiring curiously into its causes, by much the same philosophy which forbids his sitting down in despair if his house is burnt down or if he loses his fortune. He regards the failure of those with whom he deals as one of the calamities of life which he is sorry for, but has no time to weep or swear over. The debtor may be dishonest, but he is unwilling to spend time investigating him. The more he has lost by him, the more precious his own time has become, so he lets him run, and thanks God he is rid of a knave. To make a great noise over him, and see whether a few dollars more cannot be extracted from him, he thinks imprudent as well as unmanly.

The moral duty of hunting down the fraudulent bankrupt sits lightly on him, too, partly because of the difficulty, which we have already mentioned, of drawing the line between honest anticipation and reckless or knavish speculation in a state of business which was at best highly speculative; and partly because of the strong disinclination to assume a position of moral as well as other superiority to one's neighbors which came in with the Jeffersonian Democracy. The hostility to all forms of social and political superiority could hardly last long without producing more or less hostility to all claims to moral superiority also. Men became as chary about saying or thinking that they were holier than their neighbors as about saying or thinking that they were more valuable socially or politically; and getting into a rage over one's neighbor's transgressions is necessarily an assumption of greater holiness. It is tantamount to saying that, under the same circumstances, you would not have done the same thing, which is something a good Democrat does not like to say. The work of moral reprobation and denunciation therefore became largely professional work. It was done in the pulpit, and as long as aimed at an abstraction called "the sinner" or "the corruptionist" was not resented, but anybody who attempted to direct it against A or B was apt to be accused of giving himself airs.

And then the sentiment of equality brings with it a strong sympathy with the trials of life, and a strong sense of one's own exposure to them, which make an American unwilling to sit in judgment on a man with whom life has not gone well, and who, whether by folly or fault, has failed in doing the thing he set out to do. The bankrupt, it is true, may be more of a knave than anything else, but popular feeling is, on the whole, readier to have many knaves prosper than to press hard on one honest man when in difficulties. So that, in one way or another, our bankrupts get on very well; and the more dishonest they are, the better for them, as creditors are almost invariably willing, and have been willing for a long time, to accept their statements as to what they can pay. The good old stories of the man who said "he *always* paid twenty-five cents on the dollar," and of the man who said his assets would produce that amount for his creditors and "that if they did not he would make it up out of his own pocket," are not by any means stories produced by the late panic or by the war or paper-money. They are at least fifty years old, and draw their humor from a state of morality which is older still. And yet it must not be inferred from the lightness with which bankruptcy is and has long been regarded among us that commercial dishonesty is more prevalent here than in Europe. On the comparative honesty of the two regions the statistics of failures or compositions with creditors would afford us little or no information, and, in fact, this is a matter which might well be used as an illustration of the way imperfect statistics may deceive. To ascertain the condition of morals in a trading community, we have not only to examine the lists of those who do not pay their debts, but to ascertain the extent to which credit is granted on mere character or parole assertions. There is no question whatever that it is thus granted here four or five times more freely than in England or on the European continent; that a young man starting in business here finds it four or five times easier to borrow capital than he would find it in London or Paris or Berlin; and a man of any age, who has broken down, ten times easier to obtain help and encouragement in beginning anew. The amount of business done—that is, of money and goods parted with—in American trade on mere impressions or on general confidence in human nature, would probably appall an English or German banker or wholesale dealer, even in the present reckless days. In fact, the very peculiarities of temperament, whether we call them virtues or defects, which make an American loath to deal hardly with a bankrupt, make him ready to give credit without much enquiry or on unsatisfactory evidence of good faith. The temptations, therefore, to which a man of easy virtue is exposed in this country are very great, far greater than those with which his European brother has to contend. In the first place, he gets funds with far less difficulty and on a shorter and more doubtful "record"; in the next, he knows in case he fails the penalty will not be serious. It will probably not strip him of all he has, or involve rigid enquiry into his mode of doing business, or injure his reputation among his friends. But even if it does, he has the habit of changing his abode, or is used to the spectacle of frequent migration, and has a vast continent before him where, without encountering "new skies" or "strange vegetation," and under the shelter of his own flag, he may try his fortune once more. Considering, in short, the conditions of trade among us, and the strange elements which enter into our population, the great variety in educational antecedents which mark it, and the numerous differences in its standards of morality, the wonder is that the American Bank-

rupt is as honest as he is. That he should so often pay twenty-five cents on the dollar, and should so frequently of late have shown a disposition to concede even thirty-three and one-third, we look upon indeed as a remarkable proof of his magnanimity and tender-heartedness. He *need* not pay over five cents, and could by a little firmness make ten cents seem liberal. Under these circumstances, there is to us something infinitely pathetic in the care with which he invariably leaves *some* assets for his creditors to sit on and appraise. There is something, too, very touching in the way in which the creditors turn them over and contemplate them, as if they really were all that a sternly virtuous and eminently prudent and heroic man could have saved out of the wreck of his enterprises, and in which they clap him on the back, after he has agreed to pay his dividend, and wish him success in his new ventures.

## THE MEETINGS AT THE HAGUE.

THE recent meetings at the Hague of the two associations for the consideration and reform of international law, do not seem to have been as productive of practical results as could have been wished. We say as could have been wished, for, in the case of a meeting of jurists, philanthropists, and reformers who expect by their deliberations to produce results in practical affairs, the suspicion and disfavor which failure brings with it tell with an unfortunate effect upon the reforms advocated by them, whether good or bad, and, by a natural reaction, upon reforms and reformers in general. The conferences at the Hague would perhaps have been more valuable had they been confined to the members of one body of reformers only; but, as there has been a double series, one held by the Institute of International Law, and the other by what is known as the Association for the Reform and Codification of International Law, the general difficulties of any agreement on the disputed points of the law of nations seem to have been gratuitously increased by the absence of any final authority capable of arriving at a settled decision, even of a theoretical character. The great difficulty with the reform of international law is the absence of what lawyers call a sanction, or, in other words, a penalty for the non-enforcement of its rules regularly enforced by some competent tribunal. As if to parody this defect, we find the Institute and the Association entering with full sovereign powers on the reformatory field, very much as two sovereign states do on the actual field: both with equal powers and rights, both founded at about the same time, both seeking to reform international law, both holding annual meetings in the same places about the same time, and neither possessing the final right to decide anything. It is all well enough as long as they agree, but if they differ, who is to decide between them? The Institute has adopted in the main the "three rules" of the Treaty of Washington. As to whether the Association agrees to this we are still left in doubt, which is not at all cleared away by the fact that the two governments which adopted them have never yet been able to agree upon their meaning, while two or three of the Continental powers are understood to be opposed to them, except on conditions which to maritime powers would be inadmissible. Again, the new war code brought forward by Russia (the object of which is to place Providence definitively on the side of the heaviest battalions, by outlawing, and placing beyond the pale of moral approval, all partisan levies and irregular troops which have the audacity to take arms for the defence of their country against a foreign invader armed and equipped in the orthodox manner) has been approved by the Institute but apparently rejected by the Association, while the English members of the Institute have protested against a resolution in favor of the general inviolability of merchant vessels in time of war, on the ground chiefly that on land an invading enemy has, in the right of "requisition," a means of plunder and oppression compared with which the right to capture merchant vessels is a mere bagatelle—and that this right of requisition is by recent practice firmly established, and will be very likely, in the next European war, to play a part hitherto undreamt of in deciding the contest. Of the two, the Association holds itself out as the practical working body, and yet, beyond the passage of a resolution "rejoicing in the fact" that so many national legislatures have "sanctioned the principle of arbitration," we cannot make out that the Association has accomplished anything.

It is not, however, for the purpose of discussing unsettled points in the law of nations that we now refer to the meetings at the Hague and their failure, but to call attention to the fallacy which usually underlies such attempts, and will always be apt to lead to such failures. The mistake which the philanthropists, jurists, and reformers who are now engaged upon this subject make is that they seem resolutely determined to close their eyes to what the law of nations really is. They always approach the subject as if it were a body of rules, generally admitted, recognized, and acted upon, but which, through the merest inadvertence, our ancestors had neglected to provide any means of enforcing. It is, however, no law at all, in the sense in which the word is familiar to us, because though it is, in the old-fashioned phraseology of Blackstone, a "rule of action prescribing what is right and prohibiting what is wrong," it is not a rule of action issued by any one as a command who has power at his back sufficient to enforce his commands. It has no legislatures, no statutes, no courts, no sheriffs, no *posse comitatus*. It is merely a body of opinion and custom which has grown up through the modern intercourse of nations, which has no sanction or penalty attached to its non-enforcement, except the public opinion of civilized mankind. The rules of international law which are laid down in Grotius or Wheaton have grown up with the gradual rise of modern states and the amelioration of morals and manners; and down to within a recent period no attempt whatever has been made to invent or prepare in caucus beforehand international rules, and then persuade nations to adopt them as being in themselves intrinsically good and "advanced." The gradual change from the barbarities of mediæval warfare to the humanity of the modern battle-field, with its hospital-tents and sanitary commissions and scientific surgery, has come from the general amelioration of manners and the general disappearance of cruelty and bloodthirstiness. The modern recognition of the right of expatriation has come from the modern custom of emigration induced by the general introduction of safety and ease in travelling and the opening of new countries to settlement, and to the same cause we may perhaps attribute the disappearance of the once hotly-contested "right of search," which, on abstract grounds, is as right—or as wrong—to-day as it ever was. The modern opposition to privateering, the disappearance of the right to poison wells and clothing, the humane treatment of prisoners, have all come from a general increase in the spirit of humanity, just as distinctly as the immense development of the rights of neutrals has come from the immense extension of modern commerce. In other words, the rules of international law, as they have arisen, have grown gradually out of a changed condition of facts and the application of an improved system of morality to those facts. The fundamental doctrine of international law—the equality of sovereign states—without which the science, as it is called, would have no existence, would yet be unknown to the profoundest thinker on such subjects, were it not that this equality began as an actual fact, and was merely recognized as a fact by those who first began to consider the rights and duties of nations.

International law is, indeed, nothing more than a public branch of morals, and the same general body of opinion is the only final authority in one as in the other. Now, in ethics it would be at once recognized as somewhat of an absurdity for a body of distinguished clergymen, leading fathers of families, and editors to get together and hold a convention for the study and reform of morals over the world. Yet there is really much greater reason why this should be done than that a number of jurists and philanthropists should undertake to amend and codify the law of nations. It would be beginning at the fountain-head of all reform, and would immediately and directly affect international law, without the necessity of Vattel's "falling on any one's toes." A convention in mediæval times

which should have discussed the question whether it was necessary to do unto others as we would be done by, and got the world to adopt their conclusions, would have made the custom of sacking cities in times of war an absolute impossibility; and a convention which should have formally adopted the love of one's neighbor as one's self as the basis of its operations, and secured its ratification in daily life by the leading mediæval governments, would have sent international law forging ahead, so that Wheaton would probably have been written early in the XVth century, and there would be, by this time, hardly any open questions left in the "science," except perhaps here and there such a one as, for instance, whether it is allowable to use deceit for the concealment of military operations, or whether it is fair to take advantage of superior force on the field of battle. No such attempt as this was ever made, because, in those modest days, it had not occurred to any one that, by putting the cart where the horse ought to be, the progress of civilization would be at all advanced.

To put the matter in another way—the persons upon whom international law is brought to bear are governments and their servants. Governments, and their ministers, and generals, and ambassadors, and consuls require to keep them in order very strong forces, inasmuch as they are very powerful themselves. Thus far only two things have been found sufficiently strong to affect them—war and, in modern times, public opinion. Now, it is the intention of the philosophers and professors who have taken the matter in hand to do away with the first and substitute for it arbitration, and of course, if this is to be done, the power of the only remaining substitute must be very much increased in order to render it at all effectual. There are, to be sure, some subjects on which civilized mankind has made up its mind so thoroughly that no government can resist it. The slave-trade, for instance, could not be revived in Europe or America by any government, however strong. But on the great number of topics of international law there is no such agreement, and it is precisely such unsettled points as these that the professors and jurists meet to discuss. On these there is no public opinion, and the settlement arrived at amounts to nothing more than the individual sentiment of a number of public-spirited gentlemen. That such men as Gortchakoff and Bismarck, or General von Moltke, will be governed by their decision is simply a delusion. To take a single instance: Russia has proposed a new war code which rules out of any future wars all irregular troops. It makes no sort of difference whether this is approved or disapproved by any association or number of associations, because the first country which finds it inconvenient will disregard it. No government having a large number of able-bodied men who can be turned let us say into "minute-men," will, on being invaded, throw up its hands and exclaim, "What a pity that the 49th rule of the 3d article of Dr. Miles's code prevents us from using them! If we only could use them, we might beat"; but will, on the contrary, drill every man it can find, and beat if it can. The abolition of privateering, it will be remembered, broke down on the very first occasion—the war of the Rebellion—on which it became important for a government to use privateers; and the rule of "free goods, free ships," solemnly laid down at Paris in 1856, seems likely to disappear in the first war in which a maritime power is engaged.

If there were any signs in politics of a disposition on the part of the leading modern powers to abandon the resort to force as the ultimate method of deciding international disputes, this would be pretty clear evidence of a distinct change in the condition of public sentiment. It might then fairly be said that, the world being about to enter upon a period of peace and good-will, the settlement of all difficulties and the reconciliation of all conflicting interests must be brought about by discussion, by agitation, by congresses and associations for the reform of international law. But there are no such signs. On the contrary, all the facts point the other way. With an exception of the United States, which is fortunate enough to be isolated by its position from the rest of the world, all the chief modern powers are exhausting their energies and ingenuity in preparations for war on a gigantic scale; and these preparations are made in such a way and on such a scale as to make war in the future much more popular and general than ever before. In the last century there were, it is true, standing armies, but now all Europe is a standing army. The most active minds, too, of the present day are engaged, not upon the problem of doing away with war, but of making war more terrible by overwhelming combinations, while a great part of the inventive genius for which the age is so celebrated, instead of being bent on turning swords into ploughshares, is devoted to the discovery and perfection of new engines of war. Under these circumstances, the notion that there is any tendency among nations to submit themselves to an international code, or that if they did they would abide by it, is absurd.

We say all this without the slightest desire to throw cold water on attempts to reform international law. But, in the main, any improvement which does not have behind it an immense weight of public opinion will necessarily be nugatory, because the force on its side will be insignificant by the side of the selfish and interested forces against it. The growth of public opinion must be slow, and agitation of it may be overdone. The danger of associations for the reform of international law is that, having no power except what they may derive from the support of governments, they will, instead of guiding, be guided, and, like so many other bodies organized for public purposes, will end by being "captured" by some of the very governments which undertake to support them. The great interest shown by Russia in these conferences, together with her remarkable professions of humanity and philanthropy, point, it has been said, in this way, and we fear that a suspicion of this kind will be likely to do the same kind of harm to the cause that suspicion of the "capture" of reformers by the "corruptionists" does in domestic politics.

## THE CERTOSA OF PAVIA.

DIJON, September 24.

THE history of Italy has never been so well told as by Sismondi. The title he gave his work was 'The History of the Italian Republics.' But the Italian Republics had little in themselves of true republican institutions or principles. I have always thought that the history of Italy would be more living, more true, more dramatic, if it were condensed in a series of histories of some remarkable families. Take, for instance, the Medici in Florence. How can the history of Florence be better told than by showing the progress and the downfall of the great family which, sprung from an apothecary's shop, rose so high finally that it could put the French *fleurs-de-lys* on its coat-of-arms, together with the round pills which still spoke of its modest beginning? Such histories of great races would be also the history of art, for the memory of the Medici can never be severed from the magnificent work of Michael Angelo in Florence. The Visconti are another and perhaps an even more extraordinary typical family. Their lives would illustrate the history of Italy better than dry accounts of facts, battles, and treaties. History, thus written in the biographical form, would not only give us the true value of the Darwinian theory in the field of human thought and action, it would really represent the state of Italy after the Middle Ages, when, in the absence of any great centralizing power, individual thought and action became predominant.

I look in vain in history for such a patron of art as this Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who planned and executed three monuments like the Duomo of Milan, the Certosa of Pavia, the Great Hospital of Milan. How could he find the means to undertake such gigantic works? He must have spent untold sums of money in order to realize his admirable dreams. I was looking a few days ago, at Turin, at the manuscripts of the library, which used to be the Royal Library when Turin was the capital of Piedmont. Among the manuscripts bought by Charles Albert there is one made for this same Gian Galeazzo which is the gem of the library. It is most exquisite, and contains as many as three hundred miniatures. At a public sale such a book would now fetch a fabulous price. Visconti was a devotee of art, an inspirer; and wherever he looked you will find some *chef-d'œuvre*. Nothing can exceed the original beauty of the Certosa of Pavia, which may be said to be his work, as he was in constant communication with the artists who planned and executed it. It was the fashion for all the great families to have a sort of Saint Denis. The Dukes of Burgundy had their Chartreuse outside of Dijon, where their magnificent tombs were under the guard of the friars. The Dukes of Milan had their Saint Denis

near Pavia. The Visconti were originally the lords of Pavia. Gian Galeazzo made a donation to the Church of a part of the park of Mirabello, the same in which was fought, later, the famous battle of Pavia, where François I., after a long struggle, was obliged to surrender. He laid the first stone of the new church in 1396, and in his will, written in Melegnano in 1402, he confirmed his donation.

It is very easy to go to the Certosa from Milan ; the railway brings you in less than an hour to a station called the Certosa ; ten minutes' walk brings you then along the high wall of the convent to a curious door, covered with frescoes, which are not quite defaced yet, though they have lost much of their original freshness. This door leads into a sort of gallery, which is also covered with frescoes. There are two of great beauty, which are the work of Bernardino Luini. It is impossible not to recognize at once the works of this painter, who forms with Leonardo da Vinci a school remarkable for some permanent traits, such as the ideality and mysterious character of the faces, a peculiar method in shading them which produces a sort of semi-chiaroscuro, the great nobility and distinction of the attitudes, and the simplicity of the draperies. There is great pleasure in arriving at such a close acquaintance with a painter as to be able to say at once, when you see one of his works, This belongs to him. You can hardly form such an acquaintance out of Italy. Luini and Leonardo must be studied in Lombardy, as Bellini, Veronese, and Tintorello in Venice. Borgognone cannot be known out of the Certosa of Pavia. This great man, born at Fossano, and known under the names of Ambrogio da Fossano or of Borgognone (which was evidently only a surname), was at the same time a painter and an architect. As a painter he was not without merit ; he has a certain dryness ; but his color is good and his drawing full of energy and of life. His best pictures are to be seen in the various chapels of the Church of the Certosa ; the best, in my opinion, is one representing Saint Syrus, the first Bishop of Pavia. Borgognone painted a great quantity of the frescoes which cover the vaults of the church, but he surpassed himself when he drew the plans of the celebrated façade, which is one of the gems of the artistic world. When you pass the great porch and enter the huge court, the façade rises before you, and you are struck at once by the beauty of its proportions, the elegance of its windows, the majesty of the principal door. Time has thrown a sort of pink tinge (by decomposing the iron, I suppose) over the beautiful Carrara marble of which the whole façade is made. The monotony of the white color is broken by the shadows, by many incrustations of precious stones, red and green porphyries, and the little bronze medallions which have been stuck here and there. The more you approach, the more you are struck by the richness and abundance of the details ; but the great art of the architect is shown in the fact that the details never destroy the character of the whole : they never conceal the style of the monument.

No description can do justice to the marvellous beauty of this sculptured façade ; it is a world of its own. The eye, wherever it looks, falls on what might be called a picture in stone, and each of these pictures has the grace of a Fra Angelico. You are struck everywhere by the curious contact of Christian beauty and of pagan recollections. This façade marks the very beginning of the Renaissance, the time when Italy married the Sibyls to the prophets, when she took pride in all the memories of antiquity without ceasing to be Catholic. In some medallions in stone you see scenes which may be called purely Roman, naked forms of men struggling, and so on ; while in others the human form is still enveloped in the costumes of the Renaissance. A series of medallions, quite on the lower part of the monument, represents the series of the Roman warriors and emperors. I can hardly insist enough on this curious collision of classic memories and of Christian and ideal aspirations, as this marriage is characteristic of the school of art which produced in Italy the finest works. There are defects in what came before, other defects in what came afterwards ; all is perfect during the time of this curious union. The façade, in all its charming details, is, as I have said, a whole world. How many men have worked at it—Antonio Amadeo of Pavia ; Marco Agrate ; Agostino Busti, called Bambaia ; Cristoforo Solari ; the admirable Giacomo della Porta, one of the greatest sculptors of all times ; Cristoforo Romano, and others. Whoever would have at a glance a correct view of the Alps need only go to Chamounix and to Zermatt. Whoever would see the genius of the Italian Renaissance in all its perfection, need only stop an hour before the façade of the Certosa.

Inside of the church there are some parts which are also, so to speak, gems of the Renaissance inserted in the garment of the ancient architecture. There is, first of all, the tomb of Gian Galeazzo : this tomb is very famous ; it is all in white marble. The stern face of the great warrior-artist has not been much flattered ; you would recognize it amongst a thousand by its long, pointed nose and by the pointed beard. Visconti sleeps under the vault of a monument which has six bas-reliefs, representing the principal events of his life. The artists who achieved this monument were Amadeo of Pavia, Giacomo della Porta, and Cristoforo Romano. The other gems are two doors leading from the central part of the church into the old and into the new sacristy ; one has the medallions of seven Dukes of Milan on it, and the other bears the medallions of their seven wives. In the choir there are two magnificent marble walls on each side of the altar. These walls are sculptured, and represent many subjects, which form horizontal divisions, similar to the superposed stories of a house. The beauty of some of these marble pictures, for they are really pictures, is truly extraordinary.

How much more there is to admire—the font at which the priests wash their hands before saying mass, the doors issuing from the church into the two long cloisters, the cloisters themselves with their terra-cotta ornaments. From these cloisters (there are two, one small and the other very large) you see the architecture of the church to great advantage. How simple and beautiful it appears ! There are stories of arcades rising one above the other ; the materials of this part are simple—you see nothing but the white of the stone or the chalk, and the red of the bricks and the terra-cotta ; but the smiling sun casts charming shadows, and the whole scene has an indescribable harmony. The friars allowed us to take luncheon in one of the rooms of the buildings which surround the great square leading to the façade. We had brought our provisions from Milan, as there is no inn near the Certosa. Through the open windows we could see the radiant façade, with its delicate ornaments and its mystic beauty. Nothing in such a place speaks of the vanity of things, nothing of death, not even the tomb of Gian Galeazzo. There is too much beauty in this abode of art. The poor friar alone, with his emaciated face, he who lives, speaks of death. I had the same impressions in the Certosa of the Dukes of Burgundy. Of all the tours which I have made in Italy, I remember few which have given me as much satisfaction as this visit to the Certosa of Pavia. The place is so solitary that a few hours spent in it are like a leap into the past ages. I returned with regret to Milan and its busy streets, its new statues of Cavour, and its noisy gallery, where all the inhabitants seem to congregate every day—a pandemonium of noise, smoke, newspapers, and vulgar shops ; and I wondered, as I was lounging in the evening under the inevitable arcade, whether anybody in the crowd had in him the soul of a Gian Galeazzo.

# Correspondence.

## DE LUNATICO INQUIRENDO.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir :

"It ought to be . . . disgraceful and ridiculous in our day and generation for a grown man to go about . . . trying to persuade people that good money could be manufactured by a printing-press. . . .

"The impossibility of dispensing with gold and silver as a measure of value ought to be by this time settled as one of the . . . facts . . . which are only questioned in lunatic asylums."—*Nation*, Sept. 30, 1875.

I doubt not that sagacious men quite generally agree to oppose further inflation of our "legal-tender" currency, but I am not yet able to accept all the propositions by which the *Nation* and other strong writers lead up to and fortify this conclusion. I write as an enquirer, however, not as a controversialist.

Does not a valid distinction lie between a *measure* of value, like gold, and *legal tender ?* Agreeing that gold is the measure of value that has attained an almost world-wide acceptance, does it follow that gold should therefore be the only legal tender, and that all currencies or other debt-certificates of whatever kind should be "redeemable in gold" only ? I detect in the general flow of commerce phenomena which I will call closed circles —*i.e.*, circles of exchange within which the same currency may revolve for ever, independently of gold. Such circles are, indeed, little short of countless. Some of them are very small, as, for instance, the dealings of a grocer with his milkman ; the grocer taking five dollars' worth of milk-tickets and crediting the milkman accordingly, and the milkman redeeming his tickets in milk—gold meanwhile serving the use of a measure both of the groceries and the milk.

Am I safe in asserting that wherever a closed circle like this can be demonstrated there is need of neither gold nor silver as legal tender ? True, if either party die and the business be wound up by strangers, *then* must come in an outside currency. But so long as the milkman and the grocer

continue in their respective relations, have we not here a trade of say one hundred dollars a year in which milk-tickets serve all the uses of currency?

From this smallest circle step at once to the largest circle—a sovereign government like the United States Government, with an undisputed right to tax out of the people say two hundred million dollars a year. The people at large are to pay to the national treasury, in the course of a year, two hundred million dollars. The Government is to disburse precisely the same sum to the people. Have we not here a closed circle, foreign creditors excepted?

Where lies the fallacy, then, in asserting that any stable government may wisely meet its obligations by issuing its notes promising to pay, just as our greenbacks do promise to pay? And inasmuch as by the tax law every citizen must pay to the Government, and these notes of the Government by their very face are receivable for taxes, why not make them, for all purposes of internal commerce, legal tender, their volume to equal at least the amount of the annual budget?

The Treasury-notes thus issued are on a large scale what the milk-tickets were on a small scale.

If the Government have a legal right to take from citizens at large two hundred million dollars, I am not able to see that there is any unwisdom or injustice in requiring citizens to recognize Treasury-notes—which are legal tender to the Government—as legal tender also in the settlement of private accounts. Meanwhile, gold may be serving a use as a measure of value, but not as the only legal tender.

Incidentally, of course, so large a volume of Treasury-notes as two hundred million dollars, thrown out among the people at large, will be retarded on its road back to the Treasury, serving the uses of currency, or as a basis of other smaller currencies; and a sum something larger than two hundred millions may be wisely issued. *How large* this additional sum may be made, is the open question between the inflationists and the non-inflationists or contractionists.

I cannot deny that when the currency-metre—gold—indicates that the legal tender is from ten to fifteen per cent. below par, there is *too much* of the legal tender outstanding, and no more ought to be issued.

Is it necessary, then, in order to return to specie payments, so called, to re-enact what seems a demonstrable absurdity—that gold and only gold shall be legal tender? I say demonstrable absurdity, because at whatever time of disaster the people at large, losing confidence, begin to drive each other by suits at law, and debtors can satisfy judgment according to the letter of the law with gold only, it is demonstrable that there is not gold coin enough in the world to serve the purpose. Why, then, proclaim gold the only legal tender when at a glance it is obvious that gold *cannot* serve this purpose?

My authority is a very high one (Walter Bagehot) for stating that the notes of the Bank of England were legal tender during the very days when it was notorious that the gold reserves of the Bank were already exhausted. The consols held by the Bank were the basis of this over-issue.

I am not able to see, then, any fallacy in the statement which I now repeat, that any stable sovereign government may wisely furnish to citizens at large Treasury-notes something in excess of its own annual collections in the way of internal revenue, and, by receiving them in payment of all dues to the government, actually redeem them. And these notes, issued by law and collected by law, are, and of right ought to be, the only legal tender; while gold stands by, serving its use as a measure of the unit of currency—a dollar.

Repeating my first remark—that sagacious men generally agree to oppose further inflation of our currency—I ask of the *Nation* to point out the fallacy of the above theories, not by demitting me to an insane asylum, but by some gracious condescension to my limited understanding, which is more my misfortune than my fault.

THOS. K. BEECHER.

ELMIRA, N. Y.

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[In the case put by Mr. Beecher, the grocer credits the milkman with five dollars in groceries, and he takes tickets, not in payment of the debt, but as an easy mode of keeping the account. The debt is to be paid in milk, too, and not in money simply, as a mode of saving trouble to both parties. It saves the milkman the trouble of selling his milk to some one else, and carrying the money to the grocer; the grocer the trouble of selling his groceries to some one else, and carrying the money to the milkman. Mr. Beecher is quite "safe in asserting" that in this transaction there is no need of gold or silver, because it is a case of barter by special agreement, as when men swap horses or jack-knives. Such arrangements exist in great numbers in all civilized communities, and they are useful and possible as long as they are voluntary, but no longer. If Mr. Beecher will think the thing out, he will see that he is actually meditating legislation to compel the grocer to take milk tickets in payment for his groceries, whether he pleases or not, for this is what making a milk ticket "a legal tender" means. He will now probably ask, Where would be the harm of this as long as its value was measured in gold? To which we answer, that the only way of measuring the value in gold of a milk ticket, or of anything else, is by ascertaining how much gold you can sell it for or get in exchange for it. The grocer might, therefore, be willing enough to take the milk ticket if he knew its value in gold, and he could only ascertain this by trying to sell it for gold. If he found it would bring in gold what the milkman said on its face it would bring, he would take it, but in this case, as Mr. Beecher will see at a glance, the milk ticket would be simply redeemable currency, or paper convertible into coin at par on demand, which is always good money. If the milk tickets, on the other hand, were irredeemable, or, in other words, could not be converted into coin at par on demand, the grocer would not know what value to attach to them. He could not measure their value in gold; and if Mr. Beecher were to enter his store in the name of the law, and make them "legal tender," or, in other words, insist on his taking them whether he pleased or no, and allowed the milkman to pay in them all the debts he could contract, the grocer would incontinently shut up shop, while the milkman would run joyfully to the printer and order thousands of new tickets; "for now," he would say, "as I can pay all I owe in them, I will have as many as I please." Suppose, however, the milk tickets to be redeemable in milk only, the grocer would be no better off than ever. He would say: "I cannot tell how much milk I ought to get for my groceries, unless I have some common measure of value for both. I must, therefore, ascertain how much gold milk will exchange for before I can tell how much of it I ought to get for my tea. But the only way of doing this is by finding out what milk sells for in gold. I will, therefore, take tickets redeemable in milk if the milk is salable for gold at a steady price, but not otherwise"—so that in this case also, though by a more roundabout process, the tickets would be convertible currency; and what Mr. Beecher would gain by making them legal tender we fail to see. The little hallucination which lies at the bottom of his difficulty is the notion that he can use gold as a means of measuring the value of an article in any other way than by an offer to sell the article for gold to a person willing and able to buy it. This produces perhaps two-thirds of the schemes for dispensing with convertibility. If you really use gold as a measure of value, it must be the legal tender in the last resort. In Mr. Beecher's "closed circles," the use of the gold standard is suspended for brief periods, and in small transactions, as a matter of mutual convenience, but it is of course watched by both parties all the time, and any decline or appreciation in the value of the commodities dealt in would cause a change more or less prompt in the conditions of barter.

As regards Mr. Beecher's scheme of public finance, there is no fallacy in asserting "that any stable government may wisely meet its obligations by issuing its notes promising to pay," if it really means to pay, and mentions a time when it will do so. The objections to promises which are not meant to be kept, or which by their terms leave it in the power of the promisor to deceive the promisee as to the time when they will be kept, Mr. Beecher, being a clergyman, perceives as clearly as we do. Nor is there anything to be said against the receipt by a government of its own notes in payment of taxes. In this case, as we have stated it thus far, nobody need take the Government notes in payment of debts or the purchase of goods unless he pleases to do so, and thus nobody can be harmed by them. But if we allow them to be a legal tender "for all purposes of internal commerce," we find ourselves met at once by Mr. Beecher's little fallacy about the gold standard. "Meanwhile," he says, "gold may be serving a use as a measure of value." So it

may if the Government notes are redeemable on demand in coin at par, because then anybody who has them tendered to him knows at once what their value is. But if they are irredeemable they cease to bear any fixed relation in value to coin. Some days they will be worth more than others. If fresh issues are made by unscrupulous politicians, they will greatly decline in value as measured by gold. Now, suppose A sells B on the first of July goods worth one thousand dollars in gold to be paid for on the first of the following April, there being then $200,000,000 worth of Government notes afloat, circulating at par in gold. Suppose in the course of the winter that Kelley, Morton, Logan, and the like get possession of Congress, and conclude that the volume of the currency is not "up to the demands of trade," and procure the issue of $100,000,000 more notes, and direct that they shall not be redeemable in gold any longer, but that they shall be a legal tender as well as gold. They will then fall in value as measured in gold—say to 70 cents on the dollar. B will then rub his hands and say, "I will now sell my goods for $1,200 in gold; but although gold is a legal tender, so is Government paper: I will, therefore, not be such a fool as to pay A in gold. I will pay him in the cheapest legal tender I can get, and in this way shall have to give him only $700 in payment of my debt of $1,000, so that my total profit on the transaction will be $500, and A's loss $300, using the gold as a measure of value, which of course I will do." Mr. Beecher's citation of Mr. Bagehot has nothing to do with the matter. Issues of the Bank of England based on consols are the same thing as issues based on gold, because if notes were presented for redemption after the supply of gold was exhausted, the consols would be sold in order to renew it. $75,000,000 of the Bank notes are always based on consols. This is simply an arrangement by which, in effect, the Government agrees to see that a certain proportion of the Bank circulation is redeemed in coin on demand. But even if irredeemable Bank of England notes had ever been legal tender in discharge of debts, which they never were, it is obvious that as the world grows in financial experience it ought to grow in financial morality. Mr. Beecher does not need to be told, if we may illustrate from his own science, that the number of damnable offences grows in the ratio of the increase of light. Many a hardened repudiator and adulterator of the sixteenth century will get off with half the penalty that will be inflicted on Morton, and Logan, and Kelley, and Curtin, and Allen, and Carey unless they can plead lunacy. The objection, in short, to making irredeemable paper a legal tender is, that you at one and the same time remove the only check on the quantity issued and greatly increase the temptation to issue in large quantities. The contingency contemplated by Mr. Beecher, in which all creditors would sue their debtors for gold, is a favorite one with inflationists, but it is a creature of the imagination, and is of about the same value in argument as the old Democratic question: "Would you like your daughter to marry a nigger?" Man in society has always remained rational and patient in hard-money periods. It is under the irredeemable-paper régime that he grows frantic and irresponsible, and is ready to rush with his neighbor to ruin.—Ed. Nation.]

## THE BARINGS AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the last number of the *Nation* you say it is untrue "that the Barings unduly pressed the State Department for a small balance during the war."

In December, 1868, Mr. Benjamin Moran, at that time our Secretary of Legation at London, told Mr. George J. Abbot (then our Consul at Sheffield) and myself, in the office of the Legation, that it was *true* that Baring Brothers, as soon as the news of the breaking out of the war reached London, despatched a special messenger to the United States with a demand that the balance then due from the State Department (which, if my memory serves me right, was less than $100,000) should be paid at once. This messenger reached Washington on Sunday, and so urgent were the instructions of these alarmed creditors that Mr. Seward was not allowed his Sunday's rest, but was immediately importuned to make payment that very afternoon. Mr. Moran further informed us that, at the same time, Baring Brothers politely notified Mr. Dallas, our Minister, that his usual draft for the monthly salaries of himself and secretaries would not be honored.

When it is remembered that for more than a score of years the house of Baring Brothers had been reaping the large profits growing out of this agency for our Government—profits that had at that date undoubtedly reached an aggregate of millions—it is evident that their "pressure," whether "undue" or otherwise, showed just what amount of confidence they had in the stability of the Union.

William B. Hale.

Northampton, Mass., October 4, 1875.

[We are sorry to hear that Mr. Moran told our correspondent these stories, because, as we have said, they are untrue; only one of them has any foundation. They were set afloat in 1868, and called forth the following reply from the agent of the Barings, Mr. S. G. Ward, in the New York *Times* of October 15, 1868, as to the first:

"Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co., as bankers of the Government, keep accounts with the various Departments as separate as though they were so many different commercial firms.

"Of these the State Department account is the one involving the smallest amounts, being for the payment of diplomatic expenses chiefly. Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co. charge no commission or interest on this account, the understanding being the account will always be kept covered, so as not to involve a loss of interest to the bankers.

"In the autumn of 1862 this account had remained overdrawn for several months. The amount was not a large one, and was unimportant in comparison with the large transactions continually occurring with other departments. This state of the account was supposed to be, as doubtless it was, a mere oversight at the Department, and the gentleman from my office who had charge of the accounts, being in Washington on other business, was requested by me to call at the State Department and draw attention to it. Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co. knew nothing of the circumstance of the call, and I was not aware till years afterwards that any unfavorable construction had been put upon a proceeding so much a matter of course. When my attention was drawn to it I immediately made the above explanation, which was accepted by Mr. Seward."

Here we see that what happened to give color to this story did not happen as soon "as the news of the breaking out of the war reached London." The Barings did not despatch a "special messenger," and the messenger Mr. Ward despatched was not "special," and the account was an account on which no interest was charged, and payment of it was not demanded at once.

"The amount of confidence the Barings had in the stability of the Union" was testified to by Mr. W. H. Aspinwall in a letter to the New York *Times* of October 14, 1868, which was called forth by these same stories, and ran as follows:

"Rockwood, Tarrytown, Wednesday, Oct. 14, 1868.

"To the Editor of the New York Times:

"Having read in the *Times* of this morning the articles relating to the action of Messrs. Baring Brothers during the 'dark days of the war,' I think it due to them to mention a fact not generally known.

"When sent abroad with Mr. John M. Forbes, of Boston, with reference to the iron-clads then being fitted out by Mr. Laird, of Liverpool, we applied to Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co. for the means necessary to carry out the object of our mission. These gentlemen unhesitatingly authorized us to draw on them, at sight, for a very large amount—some millions—and on terms at once liberal and most considerate as to the time of reimbursement by our Government; thus showing a most exceptional degree of confidence and sympathy at a period when the public feeling in London was almost universally in favor of the South, and when United States five-twenty bonds were unsalable there, even at about forty.

"From motives of delicacy, no public mention has been made of this honorable act, which certainly no other house in Europe unaided could have or would have done; and it is now brought to your notice simply to counteract the statements of Mr. Stanton, who, I am sure, would not knowingly misrepresent any party who had co-operated with him in putting down the rebellion, and who could only speak as he did at Carlisle in ignorance of what had been done by the Messrs. Baring.—Very truly and respectfully yours,

Wm. H. Aspinwall."

We are afraid the story about the monthly pay of Mr. Dallas and his secretaries will hardly bear more scrutiny than that about the account of the State Department, particularly as it happened "at the same time."—Ed. Nation.]

# Notes.

THE Bunker-Hill effusion of good feeling towards the South is to be reciprocated on more ticklish ground by the Palmetto Guard of Charleston, who formally, in a well-written circular, invite all Americans to join

them in the centennial celebration of the battle of Fort Moultrie, fought June 28, 1776. This will involve forgetting a later incident associated with Fort Moultrie; but then we forgot last June that Toombs meant to call a slave-roll on Bunker Hill.——The *Atlantic Monthly's* "special attractions" for next year include very few new writers. Mr. Howells begins next month a New England story, called "Private Theatricals"; Mrs. Kemble's charming "Old Woman's Gossip" will run on; Mr. Charles Francis Adams, jr., will write with authority on Railroads, as Mr. Henry C. Lea will on Witchcraft. The magazine will continue to be a debating ground for opposite opinions on questions of public interest, such as free-trade, currency, the Catholics and the schools, etc.——The Rev. Edward D. Neill's latest brochure is an abstract, with notes, of M. Pierre Margry's articles in the *Moniteur Universel* on 'Sieur de la Verendrye and his Sons, the Discoverers of the Rocky Mountains' (Minneapolis). A native of Canada, this adventurer was the offspring of a marriage in which the wife was only twelve years of age.——Dr. James Read Chadwick has reprinted in an elegant manner (Riverside Press) his translation, which first appeared in the Boston *Medical and Surgical Journal* for June 17, of two letters on 'The Climate and Diseases of America' by Dr. Johann David Schoepff. The writer was eminent in his day among the medical profession, and came over to this country during the Revolution as surgeon of the Anspach-Bayreuth mercenaries. He was an unfriendly but an honest and capable observer, and these letters lead one to wish that his narrative of travels in the Middle and Southern States, published seven years later (Erlangen, 1788), were equally accessible to English readers. Dr. Chadwick's translation and illustrative foot-notes are of the best.——G. P. Putnam's Sons have in press 'The Philosophy of Religion,' by President John Bascom, of the University of Wisconsin; and 'Faith and Modern Thought,' by Prof. R. B. Welch, of Union College. In describing, by the way, the Messrs. Putnam's 'Family Atlas,' we stated but a part of the truth when we said that it was composed of the several student's-atlases already issued by that house. It really contains all their maps, and as many more which belong peculiarly to the 'Family Atlas'; and the letterpress has been considerably extended. It will, therefore, be found still more handy and valuable than we had suggested it would be.——The article on *Poker* in the new 'American Cyclopædia,' we observe, quotes Gen. Schenck as the standard authority. Another, but a Democratic, politician, Mr. S. L. M. Barlow, furnishes the article on *Piquet*.——J. B. Lippincott & Co. have in press a brief treatise on 'Punctuation,' by Prof. Joseph A. Turner; 'The Kiss: in History, Fiction, Poetry, and Anecdote,' by C. C. Bombaugh; 'The Prose Miscellanies of Heinrich Heine,' translated by S. L. Fleishman; and two volumes of poetry—'The Roll Call,' by George Johnson; and 'American Boyhood,' by Horace P. Biddle.——We learn that J. H. Coates & Co., Philadelphia, have engaged Prof. Henry Coppée, an old West-Pointer and well-known author of military works, to edit and annotate their forthcoming translation of the Comte de Paris's 'History of the Civil War.' The same house will shortly issue 'Lectures delivered in America in 1874,' by the late Canon Kingsley, edited by his widow.

—Additional announcements of English publications embrace a review by Matthew Arnold of objections to his 'Literature and Dogma,' in a volume bearing the more direct title of 'God and the Bible'; a new work in the series of biographical studies by John Morley, on 'Diderot'; 'Great Britain during the Reign of Queen Anne,' by F. W. Wyon; extracts, edited by Dr. Doran, from the correspondence of Sir Horace Mann and Walpole, called '"Mann" and Manners at the Court of Florence, 1748–86'; the prose works of Sidney Dobell, edited by Prof. Nichol; 'Forty Years' Recollections,' by Dr. Charles Mackay; 'Poems, Essays, and Speeches,' by the King of Sweden; 'Don Carlos and the Basques,' by Mr. MacGahan; and the following books of travel: 'Explorations in Australia'—the three remarkable expeditions of John Forrest, narrated by himself; 'Eighteen Months' Wandering in Western Isles and Eastern Highlands,' by Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming; 'Two Trips to Gorilla Land and the Cataracts of the Congo,' by Capt. R. F. Burton; and translations of Edward Mohr's 'Victoria Falls of the Zambesi' and of Lieut.-Col. Prezhevalsky's 'Travels in Mongolia,' with annotations by Col. Yule. Translations also of Von Reumont's 'Lorenzo de' Medici' and of Claretie's 'Camille Desmoulins' are announced—the former by Robert Harrison, the latter by Mrs. Cashel Hoey.

—A clergyman among our subscribers asks our aid in exposing an annual bore whose circular he encloses. This is none other than the "Great American Literary Association" of Yellow Springs, Ohio, which, "*as its name implies*," says the impudent circular, "has a widespread reputation." It further says of itself that it is "the oldest and only permanent and reliable institution of the kind in the United States, having stood the test for many years." It has "a corps of able and experienced writers that enables us to furnish applicants, on short notice, with all kinds, styles, and grades of literary exercises, consisting of essays, lectures, orations, sermons, salutatories, valedictories, poems, abstracts, reviews, critiques, translations, etc." "Applicants must state the occasions on which they wish to deliver the exercises, and such exercises will be written suitable and appropriate [*sic*]; and also, whether a strictly first-class production is desired." In the latter case more time must be allowed, and the "moderate charges" are presumably higher. Profiting by a "special announcement" to this effect —"We would caution the public against several bogus literary bureaus and cabinets, originated by irresponsible parties, unworthy in character and mental ability"—we beg to call the attention of the government of Antioch College to the Great American Literary Association, as answering to the above description, and as having a dangerous proximity to their institution; and to the inference likely to be drawn from the statement that "all who have been in connection with the 'American Association' and those in connection with it now, are *graduates*, and consequently, having gone through 'the mill,' know just what kind of exercises students need and desire." The one or at most two persons at the bottom of this fraud can probably be detected making liberal use of the College library.

—The *Telegrapher* of this city expresses the surprise which every American must have felt on reading the opening address of Sir John Hawkshaw at the late Bristol meeting of the British Association for the advancement of science. In his review of the progress of telegraphy, the part played in it by the United States was absolutely ignored; and yet, as the *Telegrapher* points out, our American instruments of transmission have largely superseded in England the native contrivances, while within a comparatively short period we have contributed to the practical development of the science the public and the automatic private fire-alarm telegraph systems; the various printing instruments which paved the way for the American stock-quotation telegraph system; the district-telegraph system, an invaluable addition to the police of towns and cities; and the duplex and quadruplex instruments for the simultaneous transmission of messages in opposite directions on the same wire. Moreover, in this field as in others, American invention fairly overleaps itself. While the dispute was still raging as to the ownership of the patents which enable a telegraph company to double and quadruple its capacity without increasing its wire mileage, Mr. Elisha Gray, of Chicago, had brought out what he calls his electro-harmonic apparatus, which seems capable of indefinite extension, and promises to throw quite into the shade Paganini's performances upon a single string. He has just proved by actual experiment between Boston and New York that four messages can be sent simultaneously in one direction over a single wire, and is now engaged in doubling his apparatus, so as to transmit eight messages at one time. It is confidently believed that sixteen messages are practicable, and that even this limit is far from being a final one. The transmission, too, may take place in opposite directions without interference. The principle of this wonderful invention consists in communicating to the wire the vibrations of an electrotome or "sounder" tuned to a certain pitch. At the other end, a sounder correspondingly tuned catches up these vibrations and hums responsively, and the interruptions (made by breaking and closing the circuit) which constitute a message are repeated with equal fidelity. What remains to be discovered is how many composite tones a wire will transmit, or, in other words, how many sounders, each of a different pitch, can be employed. But an invention which already, we may say, multiplies by sixteen the wire mileage not of a company but of the world, is certainly worthy of mention at the next meeting of the British Association.

—America is frequently reproached for the slenderness of its dramatic literature, but we do not believe that all Europe can show a greater curiosity than a play just published in this city by F. W. Christern. 'Charles Rovellini: a Drama of the Disunited States of North America. By Joseph Rocchietti, from Casale Monferrato,' has five pages of dedication to the "spirits of my dear sons John and Charles," followed by ten pages of preface. The play is preceded by this "argument":

"Colonel Anthony and Mrs. Charlotte Rovellini, both from Massachusetts, had a son and a daughter. Charles, the first-born, and the protagonist of this drama, was betrothed to Miss Virginia Holmes, a rich young lady of the South. During the dictatorship of Abraham Lincoln, the Rovellini family lived in New York. Mother, son, and daughter were patriotic worshippers of their sacred Constitution of the United States of North America. The father was a Tory, sympathizing with American aristocracy, or falsely called Republicans. Family dissension is the subject of Act I.; the despotic draft, Act II.; Act III., the desertion of Charles; a

martial trial, Act IV.; and Act V., the death of Charles and Virginia, with reconciliation in heaven."

This would seem to suggest a cross between the *autos sacramentales* of the Spaniards and the *Tendenzroman* of the Germans; but the view of heaven promised in the argument is omitted in the play, which mostly consists of long tirades, in which Mr. Charles Rovellini from Massachusetts denounces the wickedness of the North in fighting the war of the Rebellion. In his polemical preface the author informs us that he "attempted to publish this drama even under the terror of Lincoln." He acknowledges, however, "that, and even, had this work been published in that time, it could not save the country, for the reason that the whole Northern States, against the South, had culminated to blind madness." The author further says he is a naturalized Italian who lives in Linden, Union County, N. J., where he was elected school-superintendent by the Democrats during Lincoln's Administration, but was unable to hold the office, as he could get no one to act as security. So it was given to a Republican, whereupon Mr. Rocchietti wrote many letters. "Mr. Ben. Wood honored" him by publishing one of them. Mr. M. Pomeroy published some of them also, but, it appears, not the best. "In him I did not find the Democrat I expected." But this preface, curious as it is, is not as curious as the play itself. It is written in blank verse, of which this is a sample (p. 28):

> "Traitress, rebel
> With Charles, therefore, am I. Deceived we all
> By this administration, are. Myself
> A shield will be to Charles. Against the laws
> Of liberty he is drafted. Wishes not
> Nor he can, 'gainst the brothers of Virginia,
> Her friends and father, fight: betrothed to her
> Is Charles. You hope in vain to change his heart."

—An editorial article in the Boston *Advertiser* of October 1 is worthy of notice, and may, perhaps, serve as a text from which to preach a short sermon. All will admit that a knowledge of the area of the different States and Territories which, together, constitute the "United States" is a desirable thing. Many questions of social and political economy are more or less intimately connected with the extent of the surface of the different political divisions of the country, whether States, counties, or towns are the subjects of discussion. That the area of any region is not something which can be ascertained without any trouble, seems a statement hardly needing explanation; and yet it would appear, from the tone of many newspaper articles, that nothing but a little figuring is needed in order to arrive at a correct result. The fact is, that the areas of the different States of the Union which are given in our geographies, gazetteers, and official publications are only approximations; and that they are sometimes hardly that is shown by our being told now that the area of California is not so great by 32,261 square miles as has been generally stated and believed. A margin equal in extent to the whole State of Maine is a pretty large one! And the question naturally arises, If such a mistake, in the case of California, has been so long standing in our books, how is it with the other States? Are any of their areas to be enlarged or diminished by a few hundreds or thousands of square miles? To answer these questions, even in part, it will be necessary to begin by asking, Who is responsible for the figures which are now current? To this it may be replied, that the U. S. Land Office is the proper authority on this subject, at least for those States and Territories which belong to our Public Lands. And this would lead us to go to the Land-Office publications for information in regard to all the States except the old thirteen, and one or two others which were allowed to retain the ownership of their territory when admitted into the Union. To find out who is responsible for the computation of the areas of these older States would not be an easy matter. This much may be said at once, however: that there is not a State in the Union of which the area is accurately known, because there is not one which has been accurately surveyed. But to find out what the probabilities of error are, in the case of the older States, would be an extremely laborious task. It is known that their boundaries have been, in most cases, very inaccurately determined, and it would hardly be possible to hazard a guess as to what amount of error would be revealed when precise measurements and careful computations came to be made. In the case of the Mississippi Valley and Pacific-Coast States, there is no difficulty in getting a tolerable approximation to their exact area, wherever the Land-Office work has been extended so as to cover their entire surface. But it is only in the States bordering on the Ohio and the Mississippi that this has been done; further west these surveys, except in Kansas and Nebraska, are usually limited to small detached districts, which, all together, make but a small fraction of the whole area. Two or three of the States, however, are bounded exclusively by lines of latitude and longitude, and, of course, in these instances a close approximation to their areas can be obtained by simple computation. For all the others we shall have to wait a long time before we know the exact number of square miles which they contain. There is no need, however, of any such gross error as that committed by the Land Office in reference to California; and this blunder was, long ago, pointed out and the correction made in several works published in that State. Mr. Hittell, in the second edition of his 'Resources of California,' published in 1866—the first is not at hand for comparison—gives 160,000 square miles as the area of the State; the second edition (1867) has the same figures. Mr. Cronise, in his 'Natural Wealth of California' (1867), gives 158,687. The United States Land Office, therefore, while much to blame for allowing the erroneous figures of 188,981 square miles to remain so long on its books, cannot claim any merit for having, after so many years, made the surprising discovery that its previous result was 32,261 square miles out of the way. This last result of its labors—156,720, according to the *Advertiser*—differs only 1,967 square miles from that given by Mr. Cronise eight years ago. A repetition of the computation made at the Land Office is still extremely desirable, since the work which is done there has no reputation for accuracy; and no one at present can put any confidence in a result coming from that quarter in regard to which the methods and details are not given in full. And it must be added that the Coast-Survey work in California is yet far from being finished, the charts published up to this time being, in large part, "preliminary" only. The main triangulation, even, is still far from being completed; and, until the coast-line has been laid down with accuracy, the area of the State can only be approximately given, even after the computation has been made according to the best methods and with the greatest care.

—We have been startled by receiving the "draft of a constitution" ". . . for consideration and discussion by the citizens of the Centennial State," *i.e.*, Colorado. It is the production of a gentleman who, during the past twenty-five years, and while engaged in the active practice of the law, has "devoted himself to the investigation of legal and educational sciences, and to the work of legal and educational reform." It is a sad commentary upon the degree of estimation into which honorable public ambition has fallen to know that the author of this no doubt necessary work desires to publish it anonymously, for the purpose of rendering it impossible for even the most envious politician to "imagine in the author a possible rival for office." A number of the citizens of Colorado, however, have formed themselves into a committee for its publication, without making themselves responsible "for a single principle or opinion maintained or advocated in any part of the work." The constitution is in the main Benthamic, and contains many features rather novel in their character, as well as a good deal of phraseology of a sort that we do not often meet with in constitutional literature. The 4th article, for instance, is called "Ends and Means," and under the second head we are informed that "the means sought to be employed are: (*a*) the maximization of official aptitude, and (*b*) the minimization of expense," and that "rewards, charges, or punishment" imposed by law in violation of these among other principles, will be "declared void by the judiciary on all appropriate occasions"—a rather comprehensive announcement. All oaths are abolished by the Declaration of Rights, partly on the ground that "no Christian can take an oath without violating the express command of the author of his religion." Bills passed by the legislature are to be referred to the people for ratification in many cases, and the people in voting on the constitution are to give their proxies for the legislature, and any one receiving one thousand proxies becomes a member, while by a curious kind of minority representation "any person receiving more than five thousand proxies may transfer and distribute the excess to such respective persons as *he may think* will be most acceptable as the respective delegates of the persons whose proxies he respectively transfers; *provided*, that each such transferee shall (such transferred proxies included) be the holder of not less than one thousand proxies." The chief officer of the State is to be the "Minister of Justice," who is also to fill the office of President of the Supreme Court, and the author of the draft gives pretty conclusive evidence of his faithfulness to Benthamic principles by recommending that, "in place of the laws of evidence heretofore in force, the principles laid down in the 'Rationale of Judicial Evidence,' by Jeremy Bentham," be adopted "as the only rules of judicial evidence in force within the State of Colorado." This he thinks will be the only way in which the iniquities of the existing legal procedure can be done away. All "codes" heretofore adopted, he says, have been but palliatives of "monstrous wickedness," and as for that of New York, on which most of the new States have modelled theirs, he says that it "enabled David Dudley Field and 'Brother Shearman' to concoct their infamous plots by which Jay Gould and Jim Fisk stole railroads from their owners, while not one cent has been able to be recovered in all these years of the millions

stolen by 'Boss Tweed' from the people of New York." It is perhaps partly on account of this vigorous language that the more prudent fellow-citizens of the author decline to commit themselves to all his proposals.

## THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF BIOGRAPHY.*

MRS. FLETCHER'S life illustrates both the worthlessness and the worth, in an historical point of view, of ordinary biography. Any student who expects to gather from her autobiography a single new fact of any importance is doomed to disappointment, yet the hope for valuable information can scarcely be called unreasonable. Mrs. Fletcher was the Madame Roland of the Edinburgh Whigs. She, like the heroine of the Girondins, was married early in life to the grave, elderly, virtuous reformer whose main interest was the maintenance of a respectable though arid Liberal creed in the midst of a society which looked upon every Liberal as a Jacobin, and was inclined to check the progress of democratic principles by the use of social persecution. Mrs. Fletcher's great beauty, her keen sympathies, her ardent zeal for the public good, naturally made her the idol of the Liberals, of whose society she was the ornament, and obtained for her the good-will even of Tories, who, while they deplored her political heterodoxy, could not be insensible either to her feminine graces or to her moral worth. She thus during her youth and middle age saw and knew intimately most of the writers and politicians who were the glory of Edinburgh at the beginning of the century. Towards the close of her long life (she was born in 1780 and died in 1856) she was loved and admired by men and women, who saw in her the charming representative of a past age, the celebrities of which had become historical characters. Wordsworth, Jeffrey, Arnold, Carlyle, and Mazzini were among either the surviving friends or the younger acquaintance of her later years. To all this it must be added that she preserved till the end of her days the vivid interest in public life and the keen sympathy in the affairs of her friends which had distinguished her youth.

From such a woman, who had led such a life, it is surely not unreasonable to expect interesting reminiscences, but even the most moderate expectations will, as we have already intimated, be disappointed. Here and there throughout the three hundred and odd pages which make up the autobiography, it is possible, indeed, after careful search, to pick up one or two traits or dicta of celebrated persons which have some slight interest. Wordsworth's courteous remark in return for thanks on account of an act of kindliness, "I always feel that those who receive a benefit kindly also confer a favor," is not only characteristic of the poet, but embodies a maxim which might well receive careful attention even from persons of generous nature. The letters in which Lord Jeffrey expresses his appreciation of Arnold's virtues and the kindliness of his feeling to an old friend, betray a side of the critic's character which one might otherwise overlook. The history of Mazzini's friendship for Mrs. Fletcher, kept up as it was in spite of differences in political views, exhibits both of the friends in a most favorable light, and one or two of his letters given in the autobiography bear, like everything that extraordinary man ever wrote or said, the marks of his originality. But though it would be possible to pick out isolated reminiscences of more or less interest, Mrs. Fletcher's autobiography is singularly devoid either of interesting information, or of that peculiar fascination which is to be found in the unconscious sketch which autobiographical memoirs present of their author. Nor is the cause of these defects far to seek. Mrs. Fletcher was totally deficient in literary talent. The sympathetic feeling itself which enlisted the affection of her friends is not a quality easily compatible with critical discrimination. A lady who could write of Mrs. Brunton, the author of a dreary novel called, if we mistake not, 'Discipline': "To me she has as much surpassed the author of 'Waverley' in taste as she has in sentiment. Is it not more pleasing to soar than to sink almost buried in the mire?" may exhibit the strength of her moral sentiments, but betrays an utter want of critical taste. Readers who think it worth while to study the letter in which this estimate of Mrs. Brunton appears, will find no difficulty in accounting for the fact that Mrs. Fletcher, after associating on terms of warm friendship with some of the foremost men of the age, should have been unable to reproduce, in the whole course of her autobiography, a single lifelike portrait of any one of the persons who are the objects of her love or admiration. The dry intellectual correspondence of Miss Aikin and Dr. Channing has at least the merit of affording a sketch of each of the correspondents; Mrs. Gilbert's charming autobiography teems from beginning to end with pictures which novelists might be glad to borrow; but Mrs. Fletcher's reproduces nothing but a record of the esteem with which she was regarded by distinguished friends, whose virtues and talents were the object of her uncritical and sympathetic appreciation.

But this very autobiography, which contains neither information nor descriptions worth the attention of any historian, possesses nevertheless, partly because it is a very commonplace work, an historical value in which it is hardly possible that any genuine memoirs should be deficient. Its worth consists in affording an unconscious, an inartistic, and therefore a truthful picture of the spirit of the generation to which the writer belonged. History can tell, and ought always to tell, the events and transactions of an age; but no general history can portray the spirit which gives the tone and coloring to each successive era. This can be found in memoirs alone. Nor does it much matter for the historian's purpose whether the writer of a given memoir be a person of talent, or even whether he knows what are the events in themselves worth recording. All that is of importance is that he should really reproduce his own sentiments, and that these sentiments should be as far as possible the current commonplace feelings of his time. A writer who does this tells the sagacious investigator of the past exactly what such an enquirer wants to discover. The very remarks which the author of a diary omits to make are often as instructive as his set reflections. De Tocqueville, for example, draws an important inference as to the feeling of a past century from the fact that a lady writing to her mother tells of some executions which would shock the humanity of modern times without giving the least sign that they excited any abhorrence in her mind; and inferences of this kind, if they be only made with caution, are certainly some of the most valuable as well as the most certain conclusions to be drawn from the records of the past. To an attentive reader Mrs. Fletcher's account of her life will appear singularly instructive in reference to the sentiments of an age which, though so little removed from our own, differed in many points in feeling and opinion from the present time.

To take one, and on the whole the most salient, example of our meaning—there is nothing more striking throughout the whole of Mrs. Fletcher's book than the intense public spirit, or, to speak more accurately, the extreme interest in politics, which prevailed in the circle to which she belonged. She describes Mr. Fletcher as a man who had devoted his life to the emancipation of Scotland from the vile system of irresponsible municipal government and Parliamentary corruption which disgraced and depressed it and made it a bye-word among its English neighbors. "This feeling," she adds, "was so strong in my husband's mind that it might be called his master-passion," and no one can doubt from the whole tenor of the book that this assertion was true both of Mr. Fletcher and of many of his friends. When he was almost at the point of death, he roused himself to drink the health of the Greek revolutionists. His wife's sympathetic nature reflected the enthusiasm of her husband and of his companions. The year 1831 was darkened to her by the heaviest domestic troubles, but it is quite clear that amidst all her suffering her spirit rose with the triumphs of Parliamentary reform. The most touching and most impressive sign of this fine public spirit is to be seen in a letter on the death of her son "in the freshness and beauty of his youth." It is just such a letter as the most loving and sorrowful of mothers might write. It ends with the remark, "I have much comfort in the reflection that he *lived to see better prospects opening on his country*, and that no action of his public or private life was unworthy of his father's son." The words we have underlined are the perfectly simple and natural expression of the feeling of one who entered heart and soul into a great public cause and wrote to friends who she assumed would share her patriotic interest. The sentiment was the natural sentiment of 1832. It is not the mere enthusiasm of an excited woman. Precisely the same tone is to be discovered in the private diary of a hard-headed Scotch lawyer like Lord Cockburn, or in the striking record which John Stuart Mill has left of the feelings excited by the Reform agitation among the Benthamite society who gathered round his father. Nor should it be supposed that this ardent political interest was confined to one school or party. The Tories who, with Scott, opposed reform were as zealous for what seemed to them the cause of their country as were the men who fought for reform under Brougham and Jeffrey. The point to note is not patriotism of the one party or the other, but the fact that keen interest in public affairs was the natural sentiment of the time. It was the natural sentiment of 1832 as certainly as in England, at least, it is not the predominant feeling of 1875. We may be pretty sure that no mother consoled herself for the death of a beloved son by the reflection that he had lived to see Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill pass into law. It is impossible not to recognize that, as regards interest in politics, a strange change has come over the public mind of England within the last forty years. A painful thought suggests itself that this alteration is due to a decline in public spirit. A man like Grote, whose life had been spent in the

* 'Autobiography of Mrs. Fletcher.' Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas.

service of his country, though he saw the triumph of nearly every cause which he had advocated, indubitably felt at the end of his career that the triumph was marred by a fear that the public spirit by which it had been attained had more or less declined. It may perhaps be possible to show that the obvious change in sentiment is rather an alteration in the direction than a decline in the amount of zeal for the welfare of the state; but this is not a topic which we can at this moment consider. Our object is not to account for a revolution in sentiment, but to show that such a revolution can be traced in the pages of a very commonplace autobiography, and that the most ordinary memoirs are of supreme historical value, as preserving traces of those subtle movements of opinion which constitute what is vaguely described as a change in the spirit of the age.

## RENAISSANCE IN ITALY.*

NO period perhaps of modern history presents so many unsolved problems as that which we term the Italian Renaissance. In no other period is there such an immense distance between the real and the ideal, between the artistic products of the human mind and the state of society in which they were produced. When we gaze on the Holy Virgin and Saints of Fr. Francia and Perugino, it is hard to realize that these artists lived during the pontificate of Alexander VI. This is but one example of a dissonance which is felt throughout this period, but which is rarely expressed in contemporary works. We might read Ariosto, Berni, and all the rest of the brilliant band of *seicentisti*, and never dream that their Italy was a devastated, tyrant-ridden country, a moral pest-house. Boiardo alone takes leave of the reader in his unfinished poem with the words:

"Mentre ch'io canto, oh Dio redentore!
Vedo l'Italia tutta a fiamma e foco
Per questi Galli, che con gran furore
Vengon per disertar non so che loco."

In fact, so boundless was the anarchy of that time that Gregorovius, in his recent work on Lucrezia Borgia, can remark with perfect truth: "If we should put a man of our own day, educated in the midst of our civilization, back into the period of the Renaissance, the daily barbarity which produced no impression on those who then lived would destroy his nervous system and perhaps drive him mad."

It is of this period of cruelty and courtesy, when Cæsar Borgia planned the celebrated massacre of Sinigaglia, and Castiglione wrote his treatise on the courtier, that Mr. Symonds has undertaken to write not so much a complete history as a résumé of the most important facts in political history, literature, and art. The author was previously favorably known by a work on Dante and sketches in Italy and Greece, in which, if he did not display any great originality, he made good use of his materials and produced readable and valuable works. The same may be said of the volume before us, which is devoted to the political and social history of Italy during the Renaissance, and is really a series of essays on the Spirit of the Renaissance, the Age of the Despots, the Republics, the Florentine Historians, Machiavelli's 'Prince,' the Popes of the Renaissance, the Church and Morality, Savonarola, and Charles VIII. A second volume will treat of the Fine Arts and the Revival of Learning, and a third of Italian Literature. This arrangement, by which the work is separated into three parts, with the necessary compression of all or most of the historical details into one volume, is open to the criticism that it not only diminishes the interest in the whole, but either renders much repetition necessary or severs literature and art from the circumstances to which they owe their being and form, and so violates a well-recognized canon of modern criticism. However, Mr. Symonds has put together a large amount of valuable information: he seems to have read widely and judiciously, and to have consulted the latest authorities on the subject.

There is some difficulty in fixing the limits of the epoch of the Renaissance. Considered politically, the most interesting period is that embraced in the close of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth centuries, and it is to this period that Mr. Symonds devotes the greater part of his first volume. On the other hand, when the Renaissance is considered as the revival of learning, it is necessary to go back at least as far as Petrarch and Boccaccio, and a thorough method would establish the continuity between the Italy of Augustus and the Italy of the Medici. This part of his work the author will doubtless treat fully in a future volume. The petty princes from whom the 'Age of the Despots' takes its title—the Viscontis and Sforzas, the Malatestas and Dukes of Urbino, and even the Medici and Popes of the period, with one exception—arrest our attention in a much slighter degree than do Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia, Savonarola, and Machiavelli, four men who are types of their country and age.

Precisely why the Borgias have acquired such interesting infamy it is hard to say. Gregorovius declares it to be their relation to the Church, which is their constant background, and it is the awful contrast between them and the Christian ideal which makes them demoniacal. Had Rodrigo Borgia never been Pope Alexander VI., he would have been forgotten long ago in the host of equally great sinners whom the Renaissance produced and cultivated. It is impossible to speak of Cæsar Borgia without thinking of his panegyrist, the Florentine secretary and historian Machiavelli, and this connection of their names has been the punishment for the latter's sins. Mr. Symonds's treatment of Machiavelli is in the main just, although we do not think he gives him credit enough for the fundamental idea of the 'Prince,' nor for his services to his country—services so little appreciated and so ungratefully repaid. The question in regard to Machiavelli's 'Prince' has, it seems to us, been settled for some time, at least in Italy, where the admirable article by De Sanctis, in his 'Storia della Letteratura Italiana,' leaves nothing to be desired.

Machiavelli did not dream as Dante did of an ideal Italy (which perhaps is now realized), but he regarded his country as it was, and asked himself what was best for it, or rather what was indispensable to draw it from its abject condition. We must not forget that to him belongs the idea of a national militia, nor that he bitterly opposed the system of mercenary warfare which was ruining the country. He saw what Cæsar Borgia had accomplished in the Romagna at the head of his own forces, and felt that he was the only Italian who had a clear object in view, towards which he marched with indomitable will; and Machiavelli's dream of an Italian prince who should crush the petty tyrants about him, drive out the foreign invader, and build up a powerful state like France or Spain, might in a measure have been realized had Alexander VI. lived a few years longer. It was not to be, however, and Italy had to wait during more than three centuries of misery for national unity. It is an interesting fact that the true import of Dante, Petrarch, and Machiavelli has been felt only since Rome became the capital of the Italian nation.

Another striking example of the dissonance mentioned above as existing during the Renaissance is the fact that the same society, the same Church, that produced Alexander VI. produced also Savonarola. Mr. Symonds adds nothing to what Villari has already told us in his admirable monograph on that extraordinary man. There is one dramatic scene in his life which we fear must be pronounced destitute of truth, although novelists will doubtless continue to make use of it. We refer to the deathbed of Lorenzo de' Medici, to which Savonarola is said to have been summoned, and where he made three requests of the Magnificent: "To have a full and lively faith in God's mercy; to restore what you have unjustly gained; to give back liberty to Florence." The story goes that the dying man assented readily to the first two requisitions, but at the third he turned his face in silence to the wall. Villari, after a careful examination of the authorities, thinks the story true, and one of the two latest writers on this period (Von Reumont, 'Lorenzo de' Medici') gives good reason for accepting the tale with caution; but the second (Capponi, 'Storia di Firenze') expresses a distinct disbelief in it. There are enough authentic dramatic incidents in Savonarola's career without this one, and he will always continue to be one of the most interesting figures of his age, of which he himself is not the least problem. In connection with this subject, Mr. Symonds gives an account of the religious revivals in mediæval Italy, and shows that they proceeded more from the heart than from the head. This was also the case with Savonarola's reforms and one cause of his ultimate failure.

* 'Renaissance in Italy. Age of the Despots. By John Addington Symonds.' London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1875. 8vo. pp. xvi.-574.

## GREEK AND ROMAN LIVING.*

THIS book, of which the German original has long been favorably known, owes its existence to Karl Reimer, the publisher. Reimer, an active, stirring man, full of ideas and full of enthusiasm, and born with an instinct for divining the wants of the literary public, was on terms of intimate friendship with many of the leading philologists of his day. From conversations and intercourse with them he gradually conceived the idea of a book illustrating Greek and Roman life in a way different from any existing work. He applied to Professor Ernst Guhl, who had made a name by his work on Ephesus and by his 'Monuments of Ancient Art,' published in connection with Caspar. Guhl associated with himself Professor Wilhelm Koner. These scholars portioned out their work in two parts, and began

* 'The Life of the Greeks and Romans described from Antique Monuments. By E. Guhl and W. Koner. Translated from the third German edition by F. Hueffer.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

in real earnest; but the good publisher did not live to see the book in which he took so hearty an interest finished, and a year after its publication Professor Guhl himself died, to the great loss of literature. The first edition, published in 1861, has been followed by two others in Germany, revised by the surviving editor.

In illustration of ancient life, great use has been made of monuments of art—architecture, sculpture, and painting. The 543 woodcuts with which the text is embellished are unequal in execution; the architectural engravings and views of places strike us as better drawn and better engraved than the representations of the human form. Compared with the first German edition, the impressions of the English-American book appear at a disadvantage. The plates are apparently worn, and, while some of the cuts have a dauby look, others are faint and somewhat weak. Still it must be acknowledged with gratitude that the illustrations supply an important want. Comparatively few people interested in antiquity have ready access to large libraries and archæological works of the highest class; fewer still are so fortunate as to grace their own libraries with these expensive luxuries. Even photographs, which are beginning to play an important part in education, are tolerably expensive, and cannot be collected to advantage without some previous knowledge of the subjects. Another thing which cannot be too much commended is that the engravings are embodied in the text, and not packed away by themselves at the end. Everybody has heard of the student examined in geometry who began to say by rote, "Let A B represent the line," when he was brought up by the examiner. "But, Mr. Jones, hadn't you better refer to the diagram at the end of the book?" "Oh," said he, "what, cuts? Bless my soul, I never thought of looking for any cuts." Too many people are of this lazy turn of mind, and any one who has made much use of such inconvenient books as Müller's 'Archæology' will appreciate what a blessing it is to have the cuts in the page. As for the text—596 pages in the translation—it gives evidence on every page of care and thoughtfulness. It is not encumbered with the ponderous notes often found in German books, and mere hypotheses and doubtful conjectures are everywhere rigidly ruled out. The subjects follow each other easily and with a natural association. It is good reading for the general reader, as well as a good book of reference for the classical instructor or student. For the latter, the exact references at the end to the originals of the illustrations will be particularly serviceable.

We have said that Reimer's idea was to treat of classical antiquity in a new way. This is indicated in the Varronian-sounding title itself—'Life of the Greeks and Romans.' Naturally enough, the book touches on ground already occupied by the various branches of philological study and treated of in other books. Thus there is plenty of antiquities in it, public and private—the latter covering in part the same ground as Becker's well-known books, 'Charikles' and 'Gallus'; but it is not a manual of antiquities; plenty of archæology, but it is not an archæology; plenty of references to art, without its being in any sense a history of art. The two great nations are taken up separately, about the same number of pages being allotted to each. First of all comes the architecture, beginning with the temple; then its fittings, as altars, enclosures, etc. Next, walls, gates, towers; buildings of utility, aqueducts, harbors, bridges, roads. From the dwelling-house of the Homeric *anax* we pass over to the historic dwelling-house, and, lastly, to man's final dwelling-place—the grave. Then come other buildings and places of a public character, such as the palaestra and gymnasium, the agora, the stoa, the hippodrome, and the theatre. All this part of the book, the architectural, was written by Guhl. The rest, which describes interiors and the multifarious occupations, amusements, and interests of man, fell in the apportionment to Koner. We can only name briefly some of the prominent things treated: seats, couches, drawers, and boxes; vases and vessels; torches and lamps; dress; female life; the education of the boy; music; gymnastic and agonistic exercises; armor; the ship; the meal; the dance; theatrical representations; the sacrifice; death and burial.

The life of the Romans follows substantially the same order. Points of resemblance between ancient and modern life are occasionally hinted at in brief terms. Thus, p. 158, of fire-baskets: "such fire-baskets on poles are still used by night-travellers in Southern Russia." P. 152: "Several small kotylai, with covers to them, were sometimes combined and carried with one handle, similar to what we find amongst peasants in Central Germany at the present day"; "the Roman soldier carried the same weight which the Prussian soldier formerly carried," etc., etc. There is one passage, by the way, worthy of quoting, since it shows that one of the most familiar inventions of modern times was not unknown to the Greeks:

"In later historic times the chief purposes of road-building were commercial traffic and festive processions. It is the worship of the gods which here again has given rise to art, and the holy ways were the first artistically constructed roads amongst the Greeks, connecting tribes and countries for the purpose of common celebration. Still, at the present time Greece is crossed by roads on which the grooves for wheels are hewn into the rocky ground. On these the holy vehicles, with the statues of the gods and the implements of worship, could be moved conveniently. Between these tracks the road was levelled by means of sand or pebbles. Where there were no two pairs of grooves, arrangements were made to avoid collisions" (p. 71).

The sense of the above passage is a little obscured by the punctuation and translation. The "still" in "still, at the present time" looks like an adversative particle; it is only a Germanism for "even at the present day" (*noch jetzt*). The last sentence, too, is badly translated: "Arrangements were made to avoid collisions." If we substitute for it "where there was not a double-track there were turnouts to avoid collisions," everybody will recognize the main features of the tramway or horse-railroad; and such a tramway is still to be seen in places between Athens and Eleusis.

Greek words in this book—both common nouns and proper—spelt in English letters generally conform to the fashionable spelling, which Grote's books and others have made familiar to the English reader. This is a matter of taste, and there is nothing to be said against it, but we must put in a modest plea for consistency. We find the Greek plural form "Dioskuroi" (for "Dioskouroi") and then "hoplomachi" and "Delphi." "Alpheios" is very well, "Alphaeos" clearly wrong. "Peiraieus" and "Polyneikes" and "Poseidon" preserve the Greek diphthongs, which are smothered in "Phidias" and "Klio." "Boeotia" and "Euboea" and "propylaea" are Latinized, while "Aischines" has the Greek form. "Aeschylos," "Mykenae," "palaestrai," and "paedotribai" are hybrids, neither Greek, Latin, nor English. "Phaiakai" is an odd enough blunder for "Phaiakes." Especially in cases where a word is clearly anglicized is it advisable to halt; "Korinthos" is of course admissible, as a Greek name; indeed, even if it were written "Qorinthos" we should yield to the authority of inscriptions and coins. But we see no earthly reason for spelling the English words "Korinth" and "Korinthian." Consistency in this case would lead us a long way; and we are not quite prepared to spell all the derivatives of "Korinth" with a *k*, as we should be obliged in that case to write "kurrants" and "kurrant-jelly." It should be said that Greek words printed in Greek type are remarkably free from errors.

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*Eight Cousins: or, The Aunt-Hill.* By Louisa M. Alcott. (Boston: Roberts Bros. 1875.)—It is sometimes affirmed by the observant foreigner, on visiting these shores, and indeed by the venturesome native, when experience has given him the power of invidious comparison, that American children are without a certain charm usually possessed by the youngsters of the Old World. The little girls are apt to be pert and shrill, the little boys to be aggressive and knowing; both the girls and boys are accused of lacking, or of having lost, the sweet, shy bloom of ideal infancy. If this is so, the philosophic mind desires to know the reason of it, and when in the course of its enquiry the philosophic mind encounters the tales of Miss Alcott, we think it will feel a momentary impulse to cry Eureka! Miss Alcott is the novelist of children—the Thackeray, the Trollope, of the nursery and the school-room. She deals with the social questions of the child-world, and, like Thackeray and Trollope, she is a satirist. She is extremely clever, and, we believe, vastly popular with infant readers. In this, her latest volume, she gives us an account of a little girl named Rose, who has seven boisterous boy-cousins, several grotesque aunts, and a big burly uncle, an honest seaman, addicted to riding a tilt at the shams of life. He finds his little niece encompassed with a great many of these, and Miss Alcott's tale is chiefly devoted to relating how he plucked them successively away. We find it hard to describe our impression of it without appearing to do injustice to the author's motives. It is evidently written in very good faith, but it strikes us as a very ill-chosen sort of entertainment to set before children. It is unfortunate not only in its details, but in its general tone, in the constant ring of the style. The smart satirical tone is the last one in the world to be used in describing to children their elders and betters and the social mysteries that surround them. Miss Alcott seems to have a private understanding with the youngsters she depicts, at the expense of their pastors and masters; and her idea of friendliness to the infant generation seems to be, at the same time, to initiate them into the humorous view of them taken by their elders when the children are out of the room. In this last point Miss Alcott does not perhaps go so far as some of her fellow-chroniclers of the nursery (in whom the tendency may be called nothing less than depraved), but she goes too far, in our opinion, for childish simplicity or parental equanimity. All this is both poor entertainment and poor instruction. What children want

is the objective, as the philosophers say ; it is good for them to feel that the people and things around them that appeal to their respect are beautiful and powerful specimens of what they seem to be. Miss Alcott's heroine is evidently a very subjective little girl, and certainly her history will deepen the subjective tendency in the little girls who read it. She "observes in a pensive tone" that her health is considered bad. She charms her uncle by telling him, when he intimates that she may be vain, that "she don't think she is repulsive." She is sure, when she has left the room, that people are talking about her ; when her birthday arrives she "feels delicate about mentioning it." Her conversation is salted with the feminine humor of the period. When she falls from her horse, she announces that "her feelings are hurt, but her bones are all safe." She certainly reads the magazines, and perhaps even writes for them. Her uncle Alec, with his crusade against the conventionalities, is like a young lady's hero of the "Rochester" school astray in the nursery. When he comes to see his niece he descends from her room by the water-spout ; why not by a rope-ladder at once ? When her aunts give her medicine, he surreptitiously replaces the pills with pellets of brown-bread, and Miss Alcott winks at the juvenile reader at the thought of how the aunts are being humbugged. Very likely many children are overdosed ; but this is a poor matter to tell children stories about. When the little girl makes a long, pert, snubbing speech to one of her aunts, who has been enquiring into her studies, and this poor lady has been driven from the room, he is so tickled by what would be vulgarly called her "cheek" that he dances a polka with her in jubilation. This episode has quite spoiled, for our fancy, both the uncle and the niece. What have become of the "Rollo" books of our infancy and the delightful "Franconia" tales ? If they are out of print, we strongly urge that they be republished, as an antidote to this unhappy amalgam of the novel and the story-book. These charming tales had, relatively speaking, an almost Homeric simplicity and "objectivity." The aunts in "Rollo" were all wise and comfortable, and the nephews and nieces were never put under the necessity of teaching them their place. The child-world was not a world of questions, but of things, and though the things were common and accessible to all children, they seemed to have the glow of fairy-land upon them. But in 'Eight Cousins' there is no glow and no fairies ; it is all prose, and to our sense rather vulgar prose.

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*The American Genealogist:* Being a Catalogue of Family Histories and Publications containing Genealogical Information issued in the United States, arranged chronologically by William H. Whitmore. Third edition, revised and continued. (Albany : Joel Munsell. 1875.)—Mr. Whitmore tells us in his preface that he has added more than sixty titles of works which should have appeared in the former edition (1868), and that he now names and reviews almost two hundred genealogies that have been published since 1867. We have gratified our own curiosity as to the progress of the passion for tracing family descent and relationships in this country in the following manner : In the last century Mr. Whitmore mentions but one formal genealogy (1771) and one tabular pedigree ; in the first decade of the present century (1810), 1 ; in the second (1820), 4 ; third, (1830), 5 ; fourth (1840), 15 ; fifth (1850, in which interval the New England Historic-Genealogical Society was formed and the publication of its quarterly *Register* begun), 66 ; sixth (1860), 177 ; seventh (1870), 248 ; eighth (to date), 111. Our count is a little rough, and it includes a few duplicates, but we may say with substantial accuracy that since 1840 the annual average issue of genealogical works of some kind or other has been, in successive decades to 1870 inclusive, six, seventeen, and twenty-four, and that it seems probable that the present decade will show no falling-off. Regard for one's ancestry can hardly go further than the publishing of two genealogies a month, or, to take account only of works worthy of the name, we may even say one a month. At this rate it must soon be difficult, for any one of New England descent at least, to follow up the several lines without coming upon a printed work in which some one of them is described by a previous explorer. Among the New England States, Rhode Island has been most backward in the pursuit of genealogy, and, outside of Puritandom, whatever has been done has been almost accidental. Pennsylvania was among the earliest, with its Sharples 'Family Record' (1816), but, with a great wealth of material, it has done almost nothing since. Virginia calls for similar remark on the part of Mr. Whitmore, who, in praising a memoir on the descendants of Pocahontas, says : "When our Southern friends abandon their claims to superiority in respect to pedigree, and give us facts relative to the early colonists, we are ready to welcome them and to view them with no unfavorable eye."

Mr. Whitmore cannot abide and does not spare a notoriously false pedigree (like that of *Lawrence*, p. 254), and he has constantly to rebuke the human weakness by which the makers of genealogies connect without evidence the American with some English line bearing the same name, and encourage the former to believe that they have a full right to use the coat-of-arms thus acquired. Elsewhere he has laid down the rule that "it is safest to assume that any given family here is *not* descended from any distinguished English family of the same name, now flourishing." Another and a more reprehensible folly grows out of the popular neglect of this rule, and that is the waste of time, energy, and money in the effort to secure English fortunes for the supposed American heirs. Columbus Smith, Esq., was kind enough in 1847–48 to make a search "in England for a property reported to belong to the Gibbses in U. S. A." He then acted as agent of the Acting Gibbs Association of Vermont ; and he has since performed the same service for the Jennings Association (1863), the Willoughby Association (1864), the Brown (!) Association (1864), and many others, down to the Gibson Association (1869), to whom Mr. Smith "reports that Mr. A. B. Herrick has not found any fortune yet, but if it is there he thinks he will find it."

One of the most curious of genealogical freaks is that mentioned on p. 236—the *Davis Family Record* (1868), a monthly journal "intended to be a mode of collecting and publishing information about all families of the name, especially those in this country." After eight numbers had appeared, the editor, a Connecticut Yankee, got his eyes opened to the immensity of his undertaking, and the journal came to an end. The Davises are, in fact, numerous enough to hold simultaneously half-a-dozen of the family gatherings which have now become so common among us. The earliest instance of this peculiarly American custom that we find recorded by Mr. Whitmore (of course only as it gave rise to some publication) is the meeting of the descendants of Richard Haven, of Lynn, at Framingham, Mass., August 29, 1844. Since then the Howes, Lymans, Breeds, Tuttles, Clapps, and we know not how many other tribes of great fecundity, have assembled and afterwards published their proceedings, or paved the way for a fresh crop of genealogies. One hears of no bad results from such promiscuous reunions, and certainly the idea is a pleasant one and eminently democratic.

Mr. Whitmore's work shares with Mr. Bartlett's 'Familiar Quotations' the distinction of having each new edition put in type *de novo*, instead of being printed from stereotype plates with emendations and addenda. We should have been glad to see reprinted here the original Introduction to the 'American Genealogist,' but that is readily accessible in the second edition. The compiler's likeness prefixed to the present volume is an admirable specimen of heliotype portraiture.

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*Catalogue of the Public Library of Quincy, Mass.* [The longer notes are by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, jr.] (Boston. 1875. 8vo.)—The art of cataloguing is making rapid strides. The early catalogues of the library of Harvard College would not satisfy a modern circulating library. Its present catalogue is a marvel of learning and skill. Town libraries, too, are finding that a meagre list of authors is far from satisfying their needs, even if combined with an ordinary subject-index. Two years ago, the Boston Public Library, in its class-list of History, Biography, and Travel, showed what can be done in the way of encouraging, directing, and improving the popular taste for reading. Elaborate notes under many subjects of general interest, and copious references to works and parts of works treating of those subjects, made it easy for any one to pursue courses of study. The public were not merely guided in their reading but stimulated to it. Many a man must have longed to follow up the lines of investigation presented in that class-list who, if he had never seen the volume, would not have thought of touching the subjects, would have merely read at random, or taken refuge in fiction. A catalogue is rather disheartening to the reader. The common dictionary catalogue, especially, is a mere collection of fragments, unconnected and all alike. There is no light and shade, nothing to fix the attention. Admirable as a help to one who goes to the library knowing what he wants, it makes no special provision for the more numerous class who merely want something to read, most of whom, however, would prefer, if they knew how, to "improve their minds" and "increase their stock of knowledge." Where shall such men begin, and when they have begun what shall they read next ? In the Boston Public Library Catalogue, the notes catch the eye ; they are entertaining reading in themselves ; they promise a rich accession of learning to those who will follow their directions. Even indolent men will not always resist such offers. In June, 1874, the Superintendent's report showed that whereas in the previous six months the increase in the general circulation had been only 6½ per cent., the increase in circulation of historical works consequent upon printing this catalogue had been 134 per cent.

And now comes a better catalogue still. It is no discredit to Mr. Winsor to say so ; Mr. Adams has used his ideas and improved upon them ; the

next cataloguer may improve upon Mr. Adams. The general plan is the same; but the Quincy Catalogue has gained much room for important additions by omitting imprints. Indispensable for a college library, a historical or scientific library, or even a large popular library, imprints are nearly useless for a town library. In place of them the present catalogue inserts such brief but meaning notes as *Illustr.*, *Portraits*, *Fiction*, *Juv. Fict.*; or phrases explaining obscure or misleading titles, as "[Rebel View]" for Harrington's 'Inside: A Chronicle of Secession'; "[Journey to the South during the Rebellion]" for Lawrence's 'Border and Bastille'; "London Firemen," for Ballantine's 'Life in the Red Brigade.' So under Mary, Queen of Scots, we have Sainte-Beuve, C. A., 'English Portraits,' [Excusatory Sketch of Her Life]; Scott, Sir Walter, 'The Abbot' [Mary's Imprisonment at Lochleven Castle]—*Fict.*; Sterling, Elizabeth, 'Noble Deeds of Women' [Account of her Death]. There are many books whose titles are mere names, useless as a guide to their contents. Deficiencies of this kind are often supplied here, sometimes, perhaps, unnecessarily. Tables of contents, common now in all good catalogues, are given, and considerable "analysis"—that is, reference under subjects to topics discussed in certain books incidentally but not at sufficient length to justify the insertion of the book in the subject-list. But a new feature, at least for a town library, is the clue given to the valuable matter buried in periodical literature. There are nearly four thousand references to magazine articles, which is much the same to those who are looking up subjects as if four thousand volumes had been added to the library. The articles in our best periodicals are fully equal in ability and learning, and what is more, in readableness to our books; in fact, our books are in great measure republications of them; but they are ordinarily accessible only for desultory—that is, for the least valuable—reading. It may be doubted whether it was worth while, for such a library, to refer so much to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, but the references to *Harper's Monthly*, *Lippincott's Magazine*, *Littell's Living Age*, *Popular Science Monthly*, etc., are of undoubted value. It used to be said that after 'Poole's Index' to periodical literature was published, the volumes of magazines wore out twice as fast. The binder of the Quincy Library will probably soon find the periodicals coming to him for repair in much greater number than ever before.

But the most important feature is the notes. Under "England: History" will be found thirty-six notes on single works, not merely calling attention to those best suited for popular reading, but warning off all but "scholars and antiquarians" from writers like Bede, Froissart, Hallam, Bacon, whose works, however interesting and able, are certainly not the best with which an uneducated person can *begin* the study of English history. The notes generally, however, praise rather than warn or condemn, and this, we take it, is the best course. Notes in such a catalogue should not be made for every book, but only for the best, otherwise they will not be read. Dull books, immoral books, should be left in obscurity. Under a few worthless works which have achieved an unmerited unpopularity a brief protest may be made; it will probably be ineffectual; but it can do no harm to call the Mühlbach novels untrustworthy and the Southworth novels inane. Besides the separate remarks under England, there is a "Note by the Trustees" of 180 lines of very fine type, in which various courses of reading for different periods of English history are pointed out; and under every important subject is a similar sketch of the literature. The next step in advance for catalogues will perhaps be to print these courses of reading not as notes but as text—that is to say, not in a type so small as to be read with difficulty, but in larger type than the titles, very much as literary histories are printed with bibliographical lists appended to each section.

The money that the catalogue cost might have bought 2,000 volumes, but it is plain that 7,000 volumes read as these will now be are worth twice 9,000 used in the unintelligent, aimless way in which many town libraries are necessarily used. Why cannot some of these libraries which have little money to spend in printing procure a few copies of this catalogue, mark those books which they have—which ought to be numerous, for this is a well-chosen collection—and publish the list of all their books not in the Quincy Library as a supplement? It is noteworthy that catalogues, unlike dictionaries and encyclopædias, grow better towards the end. In this one the notes begin in the second quarter. The first part of the history catalogue of the Boston Public Library was reprinted with very considerable additions and improvements, having luckily been burnt up in the Great Fire during the printing; and a careful reader can see a considerable change of plan in the catalogue of the Boston Athenæum in comparing the first hundred and the twelfth hundred pages. The explanation is simple. Librarians learn their art by practising it—a fact somewhat in favor of the much-talked-of but not likely to be established School for Cataloguers.

*A History of England*, for the Use of Schools. By M. E. Thalheimer, author of 'A Manual of Ancient History,' 'A Manual of Mediæval and Modern History,' etc. (Cincinnati: Wilson, Hinkle & Co. 12mo, pp. 287.)—We have already expressed so high an appreciation of Miss Thalheimer's histories that we need hardly do more now than say that this new one has in general the same excellences. In all of them the maps are good, and this is no exception, although we could wish those of Anglo-Saxon England and of Mediæval France a little larger and clearer. The illustrations are unusually good, being really designed to instruct and to cultivate the historical imagination. We should have liked, however, a larger proportion of genuine copies of ancient works (such as the Bayeux Tapestry), actual views (like that of Gibraltar, p. 212), and portraits. In connection with the title of Ethelred the Unready (p. 39), his "weak and inefficient policy" is mentioned, and he is spoken of as "never ready for action"; whereas the word really means "*rede*-less"—wanting in counsel. Macbeth (p. 46) is spoken of as a sheer usurper, while he appears to have been in fact of royal blood, and—before the establishment of fixed rules of succession—of about as good a title as Duncan himself. On page 29, Watling Street is given as the boundary between Alfred and Guthrun, which was the case only in the larger part of its course. In the account of Richard II., the student would hardly gather that he was, as Hallam says, of "arbitrary, dissembling, and revengeful temper." In the list of books recommended (p. 268) we cannot think the author especially judicious. Of course no list can include all desirable books, but the English volumes of 'Epochs of History' should by all means be included; for the purpose of this list we should include Stubbs's 'Constitutional History' rather than his 'Select Charters'; and Burton's 'History of Scotland,' Miss Yonge's 'Cameos from English History,' Palgrave's 'History of the Anglo-Saxons,' and Guizot's 'History of the English Revolution,' may well take the place of some that are given.

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*Descriptive Anatomy of Typical Animals.* Prepared for the Guidance and Use of Students of Comparative Anatomy. By Henry S. Williams, Ph.D. (Yale). No. I. The Bones, Ligaments, and Muscles of the Domestic Cat. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.)—Numerous as are the manuals of comparative anatomy of every size, there is hardly a book extant which a teacher can put into the hands of his pupils to be used in any other way than as a book of reference. When we saw some time ago the advertisement of Dr. Williams's forthcoming publication, we hoped it might be the beginning of a series that would prove of practical utility to the average student. But the sight of the work has doomed us to disappointment. Instead of what all instructors are crying for—a series of not too minute monographs of "typical animals," giving a guide to dissection, a descriptive anatomy, and an intelligent homological commentary all in one—such a series, in a word, as would result if a bony fish, a dog-fish, a fowl, a cat, a frog, and a turtle were successively treated after the manner of Mivart's 'Common Frog,' only with the anatomy more developed, we have here merely a heliotype reproduction of Strauss-Durckheim's outline plates, with Dr. Williams's translation into Latin of his explanatory index. Considering the peculiarities of his nomenclature, and the fact that every little groove and tuberosity on the skeleton and every smallest ligament are numbered and named, this last was no light task. But whether it was a desirable one seems to us doubtful. Such minuteness is most apt to disgust the beginner, while the real student of comparative anatomy is almost sure to be working under circumstances which yield him access to the original and complete monograph. Once more, any one who will give us a series of works intermediate between the present one and the useless and execrable 'Elementary Lessons in Anatomy' of Mivart, will be a benefactor.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* | |
|---|---|---|
| Adams (C. F.), Address Delivered at Amherst, swd | (Hurd & Houghton) | $0 25 |
| Adams (C. K.), Demokratie und Monarchie in Frankreich, swd | (Stuttgart) | |
| Allibone (S. A.), Prose Quotations | (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) | |
| Alcott (Louisa M.), Eight Cousins | (Roberts Bros.) | 1 50 |
| Cary (Prof. H.), Dialogues of Plato. New and Literal Version | (Harper & Bros.) | |
| Cornell (Dr. W. M.), Handy Home Book | (Wm. F. Gill & Co.) | 0 75 |
| Daudet (A.), New Don Quixote | (Wm. F. Gill & Co.) | 0 75 |
| Edwards (Mrs. A.), Leah: a Woman of Fashion | (Sheldon & Co.) | |
| Faber (Rev. F. W.), Hymns | (E. P. Dutton & Co.) | 2 00 |
| Farquharson (Martha), Elsie's Womanhood | (Dodd & Mead) | |
| Healey: A Romance, swd | (Harper & Bros.) | 0 50 |
| Jones (C. H.), Abridgment of the Debates of Congress | (Henry Holt & Co.) | |
| Katsch (A. E.), Under the Stork's Nest | (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) | |
| Keary (Annie), Castle Daly. International Series | (Porter & Coates) | |
| Kenny (D. J.), Illustrated Cincinnati | (Robt. Clarke & Co.) | 1 50 |
| Littell's Living Age. Fifth Series. Vol. XI | (Littell & Gay) | |
| Lenormant (Madame), Madame Récamier and Her Friends | (Roberts Bros.) | 1 50 |
| Macbeth (J. W. V.), Might and Mirth of Literature | (Harper & Bros.) | |
| Rolfe (Wm. J.), Select Poems of Oliver Goldsmith, with Notes | (Harper & Bros.) | |
| Roe (Rev. E. P.), From Jest to Earnest | (Dodd & Mead) | |
| Stone (Prof. S. J.), Knight of Intercession, and other Poems | (Rivingtons) | |
| Spurgeon (Rev. C. H.), Lectures to My Students | (Sheldon & Co.) | |
| Sand (George), Flamarande | (F. W. Christern) | |
| Les Deux Frères, swd | (F. W. Christern) | |
| Travesty: Treasure Trove Series. Swd | (Wm. F. Gill & Co.) | 1 00 |
| Thomson (A.), Hand-Book of Scripture Geography | (G. P. Putnam's Sons) | 0 75 |
| Talmage (Rev. T. De W.), Daily Thoughts | (Dodd & Mead) | |
| Tyler (Prof. W. S.), Olynthiacs of Demosthenes | (John Allyn) | 1 50 |

# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE Republican majority in the Ohio election has at last been settled at a little less than 5,000, enough to make a victory, but not enough to remove all anxiety about the inflationist movement. That is to say, it is not enough to dishearten its supporters completely, and we shall probably have to fight them steadily in one place or another from now to 1879. Their doctrines are taking with the ignorant and unreflecting and embarrassed, and they will be supported by a good many persons who would be glad to see the whole greenback circulation, if not the whole public debt, repudiated, as one of the results of the war which it would be well to get out of sight; and, of course, if the process of inflation were once begun, the total disappearance of the greenbacks from circulation would probably follow within two sessions of Congress. Our present trouble with this matter—and it is a most serious trouble, for it makes the value of all existing debts a subject of contention at every political convention—is, as we have pointed out elsewhere, the direct result of Republican carelessness and double-dealing with regard to the currency, and, for our part, we are totally unable to see how the arduous process of returning to specie payments is to be accomplished under the direction of such men as are now dominant in the Republican ranks. We are inclined to believe that hard-money Democrats, if they now triumph in their own party, are more likely to be able to accomplish it, as they are likely to be more interested in the subject and to understand it better than the Republican statesmen, who take it up only because they see the country has lost its interest in "outrages." The gains of the election in Ohio are, that it has discredited inflation in the Democratic ranks as "a good card," and strengthened the hard-money wing led by Tilden, and has dragged the Republicans through the turn which the fierceness of the struggle gave the discussion into open instead of half-hearted advocacy of resumption. We shall probably not hear any more from those lion-hearted fellows, Messrs. Sherman and Morton, that the Resumption Act of this year does not mean either contraction or resumption, but simply "makes greenbacks as good as gold." The action of the Republican chiefs on this subject reminds one of the physicians who practise either allopathy or homœopathy as the patient pleases, so that anybody can have himself cured by likes or unlikes, big or little doses, as his fancy or his convictions may direct. Mr. Conkling opened the Republican canvass in this State on Monday by an earthquaking speech at Albany. Mr. Tilden must be amused by the preparations made to defeat him.

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Any attempt to predict the result of the election in this city would probably be, as the newspapers say, "premature"; but a good deal will depend on the action of the workingmen, who are supposed by the Morrissey Democrats to be disaffected towards the Tammany ticket, owing to the reduction of wages by the departments. The Tammany nominations which have attracted most attention have been those for District-Attorney and Recorder. For these offices they have put up Messrs. P. B. Olney and F. A. Smythe, both good nominations, while, on the other hand, the Republicans and anti-Tammany or Morrissey Democrats have put up the present District-Attorney, Mr. Phelps, and also renominated the Recorder, Mr. Hackett, who has been Recorder for ten years, and is now vigorously denounced by Kelly for his connection with the Tweed Ring, which was certainly unfortunate, though there is no proof of corruption on his part. Mr. Phelps is, we believe, an efficient District-Attorney, and we have no doubt Mr. Olney would be too. The latter has the advantage of having for his partner Gen. F. C. Barlow, formerly Attorney-General of the State, and possessed of a great deal of varied information on the subject of crime and criminals in and out of politics, and a keen scent for fraud and peculation. Tammany has renominated all the judges except the Recorder, and for judicial offices the Republicans and Morrissey Democrats have also made good nominations, among others, Mr. Charles F. Sanford, a lawyer of reputation and character as well. The independent voter will, on the whole, "have a good time" this year, and if the tickets are well scratched and names transferred judiciously from one to the other, he will probably find that he is less troubled by the necessity of "choosing between two evils" than is usually the case in off-years.

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General Butler delivered an address at the Cooper Institute last week on the financial question, in which he demanded that the Government, and nobody else, should "issue a dollar stamped on some convenient and cheap material of the least possible intrinsic value"—so that "neither its wear nor destruction would be any loss to the Government," and that "it would never be exported or desirable to carry out of the country"—and to form part of "an American system of finance," and never to be "redeemed" or "redeemable," any more than a yard-stick or a quart; "always to be quite equal to, or a little better than, the average gold dollar of the world," and "always keeping itself stable and fixed, so that when all the property of a country adjusts itself to it as a measure of value, it shall remain a fixed standard for ever." We speak advisedly when we say that this plan is now, and has been for nearly a century, familiar to all directors of lunatic asylums who have had much experience in the treatment of the insane of commercial communities. It has, in fact, since bank-notes came into general circulation, taken the place in insane hallucination once occupied by schemes for making gold out of baser metals, which descended as a tradition from the alchemists. Every distinguished chemist has had to deal with it in one form or another. We quote it simply because it has drawn forth leading articles from the principal city daily papers, and also from the *Financial and Commercial Chronicle*, which pronounces the scheme "more seductive, insidious, and dangerous" than those of inflationist orators usually are, and sets about refuting it. That a man generally regarded as *compos* should be able in a commercial city in America to collect a crowd to listen to his exposition of such a plan, and that financiers should have to ponder it and point out the fallacy of it, is, however, we confess, a serious matter, because it indicates a very marked step in return towards the mediæval state of mind. When a civilized people discusses the feasibility of making an everlasting measure of the value of goods out of a piece of paper or leather with a stamp on it, it shows that some of the remarkable phenomena of the eleventh century are still possible, and that the appearance of Miss Susan B. Anthony or some other female publicist in the air on a broomstick might any day be witnessed, as the old chronicles used to say, "by great numbers of people."

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The precise status of the "rules" as to the civil service has been for some time past involved in a good deal of doubt, owing to the total silence of all concerned with their enforcement or interpretation. A case has just occurred which throws some light upon this obscure subject. The postmaster at Bridgeport, Connecticut, has recently been guilty of some irregularities in the way of selling appointments, and on the 9th of this month a note was sent him by the Postmaster-General, written with that unfailing courtesy which marks all the dealings of the Administration with the corrupt and

venal, reminding him that one Osborne had paid him one hundred and fifty dollars for securing his appointment as route-agent on the Housatonic Railroad, and that one Howe (or his friends) had paid fifty dollars, or thereabouts, for the place of mail-messenger between Bridgeport and East Bridgeport. The note then went on to recall to the recollection of Mr. Dunham that "the rule of this Department is invariable in this particular," and to suggest that "the necessity and propriety of this rule would doubtless be apparent" to Mr. Dunham. Owing to the existence of this rule, the Department felt compelled to believe that some fitter man might be found for the Bridgeport office, and to advise Mr. Dunham that "notice has this day been sent to Senator Ferry to name your successor." Mr. Dunham, or his friends, now begged that he might be allowed to resign "without anything being said about it," and the Department "reluctantly consented." Afterwards, however, Dunham withdrew his proposition. Meanwhile, Colonel J. W. Knowlton, chief clerk of the Department, was offered the place, but he, being a shrewd man, declined to accept it unless "the Republicans of Bridgeport" consented, because "if it should appear that he is not as satisfactory as any appointee would be to the Republicans of Bridgeport," he would prefer to decline. The "Republicans of Bridgeport" have, it seems, informed Colonel Knowlton of their consent, and he will take the place.

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There has been a great deal of talk in the newspapers about Messrs. Moody and Sankey ever since their return from England, and there are signs of a widespread expectation that they will repeat in this country the exploits which made them justly famous in England. But although they have resumed their labors as revivalists, there is evidently little likelihood of their making any great or fruitful sensation here, and the reason is obvious. Their success in England was largely due to the fact that their mode of treating religious subjects was a complete novelty, and a marked contrast, in freshness and originality, to anything ever heard in the English pulpit of any denomination. Here, on the contrary, it is perfectly familiar to everybody who has ever attended a camp-meeting. Every church in this country contains a greater or less number of men who are capable of their kind of preaching—if not in the same degree of excellence, sufficiently near it to prevent their seeming markedly pre-eminent. It has to be taken into account, too, in attempting an explanation of their English triumphs, that there is just now a strong appetite in England for American oddities and novelties, and a strong disposition to admire them—a fashion, in short, somewhat resembling that which threw the Court at Versailles into ecstasies over Franklin's homely dress and plain, blunt manners. This accounts for the popularity which Joaquin Miller has enjoyed in the highest circles, and for the eagerness of the "thoughtful classes" in England to study the works of Walt Whitman. In short, the English mind is in a state of warm preparation for the arrival of strange things of all kinds from this side of the water, and we have no doubt that if, at the opening of the spring, a large body of American revivalists should go over and establish a religious camp near London, it would prove the most attractive resort of the season.

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The Michigan Supreme Court has decided the liquor-tax law of that State to be constitutional. The principal objection made to the law was that a tax on the traffic in liquor was equivalent to a license of the traffic, and therefore in conflict with the provision of the State constitution prohibiting the legislature from passing any law "authorizing the grant of license for the sale of ardent spirits or other intoxicating liquors." There is now no prohibitory law in Michigan, the act which imposed the tax having repealed the previous law, which declared the traffic illegal. The question therefore was whether, in the absence of any legislative distinction between the liquor-trade and any other branch of business, the provision we have quoted made the taxation of the business illegal. The argument chiefly rested on the fallacy, which has a strong hold on a certain class of minds, that there is some connection between taxation and moral approval—*i.e.*, that the State when it taxes any business thereby signifies its intention to protect it, and so approves, countenances, and licenses it. Judge Cooley, in his opinion, however, shows the absurdity of this argument. No government, he says, ever acts on the theory that taxation and protection are coextensive. Some States derive their revenue mainly from real-estate taxes, but they do not on that account give any less protection to personal property; and, on the other side, taxation, instead of bringing protection with it, is frequently carried to a point of extinguishing a business altogether, as, for instance, a tax on imports so excessive as to amount to a prohibitory edict against those carrying on the business. A citizen is entitled to protection whether he is taxed or not, and, as everybody in this city knows, he must pay taxes whether he is protected or not.

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The New York banks continue to ship Treasury notes to the South and West, to be used in the purchase of cotton and cereals, or, to use the stereotyped phrase, "to facilitate the movement of the crops." The last bank statement shows that nearly $4,000,000 were sent during the week, making a total of over $10,000,000 during the last two weeks. The effect on the bank reserves has been to reduce the surplus to $5,700,000. With the banks so near to the reserve line, the loan market has advanced about 1 per cent. for mercantile loans—that is, where rates were about 5 to 6 they are now 6 to 7 per cent. The feature of the week in Wall Street has been the rise in the price of gold and the high rates for which gold has lent, both having been caused entirely by the continued scarcity of gold here. The price has been advanced to 117, and borrowers of gold have paid ⅛ to ¼ for one day's use. These rates have unsettled foreign exchange, and it has sold at the lowest points of the year. Some gold has arrived here from Europe and California, about $2,500,000 in all; but much more is needed, and much more is expected. In London, by reason of the withdrawals of gold for Germany and New York, money has become more active, and the Bank of England, on Thursday, put its rate up to 3½ per cent.; it is still losing gold, and a further advance is expected. At the Stock Exchange, speculation has been dormant. General trade has been less active, and this season's business has culminated so far as manufactured goods are concerned, although much more will be done before the close of the year. Altogether, it has exceeded in volume that of any season since 1873; the profits have been moderate but satisfactory, and houses which were sound at the beginning of the season are in better condition now. Those which were unsound then have not found profits sufficiently good to recover solvency, and very likely there will be failures to fully the average amount, if not more, between now and the close of the year. The value of the greenback dollar has ranged from 85.47 to 85.83 (from 117 to 116½).

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The English Admiralty have had to suspend the circular relative to the treatment of fugitive slaves by English men-of-war, which is simply a pitiful escape from a great blunder. They are now in another scrape nearly as bad, owing to the sentence of the court-martial in the enquiry touching the loss of the *Vanguard*. A number of subordinate officers of both the *Vanguard* and the *Iron Duke* have been dismissed or censured, but there appears to be no doubt that the admiral was responsible both for the order in which the ships were sailing and for the rate of speed, but took no steps to change either of them. Nobody on board the fleet seems to have been familiar with the proper mode of signalling in a fog, and, indeed, some doubt has been thrown over the question whether there is any such mode. The admiral, however, has escaped reprimand, and this has dissatisfied the public, which is more than dissatisfied by the revelations the enquiry has made of the state of discipline in the navy. The papers all have dismal articles about it, and say that the state of things is alarming. It ought to be said in explanation, however, that what people are troubled by is not

the personal qualities of the officers and men, but the want of familiarity with their duties. As regards bravery and obedience, the state of the navy, even as illustrated by the loss of the *Vanguard*, seems to be all that could be desired, but the drill in the details of the service seems far below the demands of the highly complicated pieces of mechanism which ships-of-war have now become. In other words, the officers and crew of the *Vanguard* were not ready for the emergency. They apparently knew how to die at their posts, but did not know how to save the ship. The press comments on this have been made all the more acrid by the fact that within a few weeks the First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Ward Hunt, has given a strong opinion in favor of patronage as against competitive examination in making appointments and promotions in the navy, on the ground that better securities for personal qualities could be obtained in that way. It now appears that the fleet is very well off as regards personal qualities, and that what is needed is technical training, or, in other words, the very thing competitive examinations would help to promote.

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The difficulty between England and China, which, a few weeks ago, seemed likely to end in war, has been settled by the surrender of China on the 7th inst. It arose through the murder of Mr. Margary, a member of an exploring party sent out by the Indian Government to open up a new commercial route through the mountains between Burmah and China. The English Government insisted that the murderers, who had the assistance or countenance of the local officials, should be punished, and that the late treaties with Western powers, which have never been communicated to the Chinese people, should be published in the official gazette, so as to make known to them that foreigners travelling in the interior were not trespassers. The *Peking Gazette* contains all the memorials addressed to the throne, all the imperial edicts, and accounts of all court ceremonies, and is sent to the government of each province regularly, and read by the whole reading class of the empire. Not one word about the foreign treaties, or the reception of foreign ambassadors by the Emperor, has ever appeared in it. The Chinese hesitated long, and at last Mr. Wade, the British envoy, had to threaten to leave Peking. The cause of their hesitation seems to have been the fear of offending the Burmese, to whom the Margary expedition was disagreeable, and a desire to try their new military equipments, which include iron-clad ships, rifled cannon, and torpedoes. The *Economist* points out very sensibly the inexpediency of the Government's trying to open up commercial routes in strange countries, because the parties it sends out for the purpose, not being traders and having therefore neither an eye for business nor the stimulus of self-interest, are not likely to be good judges of commercial routes, and are not likely, in dealing with the people along the line of their march, to display a trader's tact and patience. The negotiations with the Chinese Government are said, however, to have brought out the pleasing fact that the commerce and intercourse which have been the result of the late treaties have really created a strong feeling of friendship for foreigners in the maritime provinces, and a strong dislike to quarrelling with them.

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The *Economist* also gives an account of the condition of the English money market which shows that it is not very unlike our own. The London bankers are at their wits' ends to find means of employing the deposits in their hands, whether they are paying interest on them or not, so plentiful is the supply of money, and so strong the indisposition to use it. All first-class English securities are unprecedentedly high, so that the return they make to investors at present prices is very small. Foreign loans are completely discredited by recent revelations. The semi-barbarous borrowers, such as the South American Republics and Turkey and Egypt, can get no more money at any price, and there is even talk of a combination among the Great Powers to compel Turkey to provide fresh guarantees for the interest of what she already owes. The ordinary commercial bills dealt in by the bill-brokers are also, since the late failures, the objects of great caution and suspicion, and American railways are under a heavy cloud, owing to events with which we are all familiar. So that the British banker has probably never been so hard pressed to find the means of making any profit, and there is a general indisposition on the part of business men to undertake enterprises of any magnitude.

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There are further signs of the split among Irish politicians which was foreshadowed by the row that attended the celebration of the O'Connell Centenary. The Lord Mayor of Dublin, who rejoices in the emphatically Gaelic name of MacSwiney, and who is one of the leading lay members of the Ultramontane clerical clique of which Cardinal Cullen is the head, has issued a programme for the formation of a new party, whose war-cry is to be "Faith and Fatherland"—which, in other words, is to be Catholic as well as patriotic, but above all Catholic. To anything of this kind the "Home-Rule" party, which contains a considerable intermixture of Protestants, and is secular in its aims and methods, and is largely if not entirely managed by laymen, is of course strongly opposed; and Mr. Sullivan, its principal representative in the House of Commons, writes a letter to the London *Times* strongly denouncing the scheme, and alleging that it finds no favor with the Catholic population, who will not consent to be severed in action or interest from their Protestant countrymen. The priests, or rather the bishops, who more distinctly represent Ultramontane aims, have long looked coldly on the Home-Rule movement, and would probably discountenance *any* movement in which ecclesiastical influence did not predominate and whose ends were not mainly ecclesiastical. They are occupied heart and soul just now in trying to get popular education in Ireland, university as well as school, completely into their hands, and they are naturally doubtful as to how far the success of a secular party with Protestants in it would help them in this work. But the split is generally regarded as a sign that the infusion of a spirit of rationality into Irish politics may not be far distant, and that the leading Irish party may at last be brought into working relations with Englishmen and Scotchmen, and the priests and the MacSwineys be reduced to that position of subordination and reticence in which the best interests of every modern state demand that they should be kept.

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The French public has been a good deal cheered up by the success of the first call made on the reserves of the active army to come out for a month's training with the army in camp. This reserve comprises all young men, between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine, who have either served their term of five years in the army, or have been put on the lists as fit for service, though not actually enrolled under the conscription. The "réservistes," as they are called, have turned out in great force, have behaved well, and have in the field been scarcely distinguishable from the regular troops, and have been dismissed to their homes on account of the vintage eight days in advance of their time, with very flattering general orders from their commanding officers. Men of all classes served together in the ranks, and the best of feeling appears to have prevailed, to the great relief of the newspapers and the Conservatives, who appear to be surprised as well as gratified when any large body of Frenchmen do their duty and do not "rise" on anybody, or set up any new kind of political organization. But the sky is overcast by the announcement on the part of the Ministry, through M. Buffet, that it is going to support the system of voting by the *scrutin d'arrondissement* instead of the *scrutin de liste*, or, as we should say, of electing members for small districts instead of on a general department ticket. The object of this is of course to make the constituencies easier to manage by Government influence, and to give local notables a better chance. Which system would work better we doubt if anybody is as yet competent to judge, because nothing is really known with any accuracy about the temper or tendency of French constituencies under universal suffrage. Ever since 1848, when it was established, they have been under the rigid control of despotic authority in one shape or another.

## THE ESCAPE IN OHIO.

WE should be sorry to have it supposed that anything we may say about the late struggle in Ohio is intended in any way to belittle the services of those who, on the Republican side, have borne the brunt of the battle in defence of honesty and common-sense. Too much can hardly be said in praise of Mr. Schurz, Mr. Grosvenor, General Woodford, the Cincinnati *Commercial*, and others, who have during the last few weeks been engaged in stemming the tide of folly and knavery in that State. It must be admitted, too, that ever since the fight became really and plainly a fight between hard-money and inflation, the efforts of all those Ohio Republicans who have taken part in it have been such as to lay the whole country under heavy obligations to them, for assuredly there has been no State election for many years in which the whole country had so deep an interest. They have not simply beaten the inflationists in that one State, but they have forced the Republican managers in all the others into committing themselves fairly and unreservedly in favor of a return to specie payments.

The Republican party will probably hereafter appear everywhere as the champion of sound currency, simply because it has been proved in Ohio that the cause of sound currency is the popular and winning one. But, having made this admission, we must earnestly warn all friends of reform against the notion that the Republican party as an organization, such as it is and with its present leaders, is in any way entitled to the credit of the Ohio victory. On the contrary, to attribute to it any such credit would be a serious offence against the cause of honest government. So far from having by its principles or its management contributed to the result, it is fairly chargeable with the responsibility of the danger to which the business and good name of the country have been exposed at the hands of Allen and his associates. It has, in fact, prepared the way for the serious assaults on the public credit which we are now witnessing and are likely to witness, in three ways: first, by its dilatory, shuffling, and clumsy management of the finances during the first term of the present Administration, and its persistent refusal to treat them as a matter of prime importance; secondly, by its resolute and persistent refusal, during the second term of the Administration, when the financial situation had become perforce the main question of the day, to make it in any sense a party question, and demand adherence to a sound financial policy as a test of party fidelity; and, thirdly, by the retention in its leadership of persons who have no sincere convictions on any matter of importance now before the country, and whose leadership is, therefore, marked by the weakness and vacillation which are the usual sure concomitants of action which is not the result of conviction. The defence of the national credit cannot be conducted successfully by men who have no thorough acquaintance with the conditions on which it depends, whose history and training have attached them to a different class of subjects, and who, therefore, in a conflict like that now impending over the country, neither, as Cromwell said, "know what they are fighting for, nor love what they know." We have in a recent number of the *Nation* (534) endeavored to describe the way in which the party tried to shirk the currency question, and discourage its discussion, from General Grant's election in 1868 down to the panic of 1873. We need hardly remind our readers of the scenes in Washington which followed the panic. The President, after refusing to allow the reserve to be issued at the moment of panic, when it might have been of some use, issued it after the panic was over, thus giving direct and practical countenance to the inflationist theory that the remedy for our depression was an increase in the volume of the currency. When the subject, somewhat later, came up in Congress, the Republican party, far from taking a fixed and united stand upon it and producing a body of financial doctrine which might have been expounded to the country, and to which honest and intelligent men might have given in their adhesion, and through which the education of the popular mind could have been carried on, treated the currency as an open question, on which difference of opinion was allowable. Accordingly, we witnessed the extraordinary spectacle of the defence of inflation in its crudest shape by leading friends of the Administration and prominent managers of the party in both the House and Senate, to the great demoralization of public sentiment. Nor must it be forgotten that the germ of the inflationist theory and particularly of Kelley's 3.65 scheme is to be found in Mr. Boutwell's bold assertion, while in charge of the Treasury, that the Secretary ought to have the power of inflating or contracting the currency whenever, in his opinion, the needs of business required a change in its volume; in order, for example, to "move the crops" or "ease the market." This extraordinary doctrine, which this most prominent Republican financier did really put into practice, was never rebuked or discountenanced by the majority in Congress. It has proved in the hands of the Democrats a most fruitful suggestion, and the appearance of its worthy author in Ohio to combat it on the stump, reminds one of some incidents in the political history of the Grand-Duchy of Gerolstein.

So much with regard to the past relations of the Republican party to the currency. We recur to it because political morality is shaped and kept alive by party history. We are all interested in seeing to it that parties as well as individuals do not get credit which is not rightfully due to them, and do not profit by their own errors and shortcomings. We owe it to the moral sense of the community to prevent the assumption of the rôle of financial saviour by a party which has played fast and loose with the financial question, and encouraged or permitted all sorts of financial abuses and vagaries within its ranks when that question was completely within its control. To allow it, would be to release politicians from the necessity of having either principles or policy on any of the leading topics of the day, and make party responsibility the merest sham. There is, however, another and even stronger reason for not letting the Republican party use the honors and rewards of any recent or prospective triumphs of honest finance as a means of giving it the position of a reform party, and that is the absence among its leading politicians of any positive ideas or convictions on the problems now pressing for solution. They are incapable of conducting any reform movement for want of any interest or faith in the objects of reform. They are mostly what, for want of a better name, we shall call "horse-politicians"—that is, they are in their relations to the people on almost exactly the same moral plane as the horse in his relations to his owner. To the horse when put into the wagon, it is a matter of complete ethical indifference whether he carries his master to a gambling-house or to church. To him one place of resort is just as desirable as the other, and he is equally willing to go to either. So, also, a Republican statesman in our time is very apt to confine his statesmanship to "finding out what the people want," and, whatever it be, he is ready "to go in" for it. If they want, or he thinks they want, the South governed by martial law, he supports martial law; if they want, or he thinks they want, the South let alone, he preaches State rights; if they want, or he thinks they want, inflation, he roars for fresh issues of paper money; if they want, or he thinks they want, specie payments, he denounces inflation as sinful and idiotic—with no more shame than a horse would feel in waiting for his master in front of a faro-bank. Upon none of these subjects has he any opinion of his own to which he attaches the least value. If, on the other hand, he should find himself mistaken as to what the people want, he will face right about within a week with as much nonchalance as the horse would show in trotting towards the gambling-house if his master turned him sharply off from the road to the church.

We might fill a pamphlet with illustrations of what we mean from recent political history, without using such gross cases as Senator Morton's tergiversations about the currency. We will, for want of space, content ourselves with one only, that of Mr. Dawes, who is now one of the leading party chiefs and Senator from the eminently Republican State of Massachusetts. There was perhaps no more flagrant departure from the spirit of civil-service reform than General Grant's handing the party patronage in that State over to Butler in the Simmons affair last year. There is perhaps no more notoriously corrupt and corrupting poli-

tician than Butler. Well, when a determined effort was made by respectable Massachusetts citizens to oppose the Simmons appointment and protest against Butler's influence at the White House, Mr. Dawes carefully withdrew from Washington and declined to meddle in the controversy. When the State election came, he went home and stumped for the party, on the ground that the whole of the negroes at the South ran every day and night the risk of being murdered; and, by way of showing that he did not seriously object to the Butler element in politics, he went into Butler's district and stumped for Butler's re-election to Congress. As soon as, however, the voters showed by the election that they did not believe his stories about the condition of the South, and did not approve of Butler as a party man, he dismissed the slaughtering of the negroes from his mind, became to all outward appearances indifferent to their sufferings, and this year turned up at the Massachusetts Convention as the reporter and we believe the drafter of the following resolution, which he read aloud himself with much solemnity and emphasis:

"That reform in the civil service is a work which no party can give over or slacken, and for the elevation and purification of that service the Republican party will continually and faithfully strive, welcoming the co-operation of their opponents in whatever quarter it may appear, to the end that every corrupt and unworthy office-holder, without distinction of party, may be driven from his place, and that official malfeasance may be hunted and punished wherever the pursuit may lead or the blow fall."

He here denounces Butler and his work and ways and influence as heartily as if he had not one year ago urgently recommended a Massachusetts constituency to re-elect him. In another resolution, too, which we have not space to print, he warmly advocated the right of all the States to manage their own affairs without Federal interference, having abandoned the doctrine he held last year that such gross interference as had been practised in Louisiana and Mississippi was, if not justifiable, excusable. Now, we would ask all those who really believe that reform in administration, and especially in the finances of the Government, is the crying need of the day and the problem with which the American people are now called upon to deal, whether they seriously expect that the work can be done by a party managed and led by such men as now have the Republican party in charge—Morton, Logan, Conkling, Boutwell, Dawes, Cameron, Butler, for instance—men who have no positive convictions on any of the questions now ripe for solution, and hardly any personal preference for one line of policy more than another, or even any familiar acquaintance with the subjects in which the materials for the solution are to be found? We must remember that parties competent to take hold of the Government and carry it on successfully, and provide the legislation the times call for, have always been parties led by men who, rightly or wrongly, held firmly and bravely and clearly certain ideas on public policy, and had held them before the party was formed on them, and would hold them if the party were to abandon them to-morrow. It was in this way the Republican party was led in the days of its greatness. It triumphed because it followed and was managed by men who knew what they sought, and sought it eagerly, and who would not be refused though all the world gainsaid them—whose opinions on the great questions of the day were the same one year as another. It would never have carried on the war or abolished slavery if its chiefs had been a parcel of adventurers to whom all views came alike, and for whom no views had any more interest than the dice with which he wins his money have to the gambler.

## THE RISING AGAINST THE NEW BOSS.

As usual for some years past, the fall canvass in this city is to be a three-sided one, there being in the field not only a Democratic ticket and a Republican ticket, but an anti-Tammany ticket also. Exactly what the anti-Tammany party's political programme is, no one knows, pretty much the only information vouchsafed us on that subject thus far having been the hoisting of a large transparency in front of one of the headquarters with the bold legend, "No More One-Man Power; Let The People Rule." It is not only the anti-Tammany Democrats, however, who call upon their fellow-citizens to unite with them in putting down despotism and restoring the "people" to their rights, but a large and influential portion of what we may call the reformatory press—that is, the press which is generally on the side of good government, opposed to the wiles and machinations of "bosses," and which always devotes a good deal of its time as well as space to the task of exhorting the impenitent citizen to rouse himself from the slough in which he is sunk and take part in the "primaries," and see to it that "none but good men" be nominated, and reminding him that the office should "seek the man, not the man the office." At the first blush, it might seem curious that the anti-Tammany Democrats, the leaders of whom are a rather unsavory set, should support gratuitous advice given them from such a quarter, but they have; and some very good nominations have been made by them and the Republicans united, and they will no doubt succeed in getting a good many thousand votes from the educated, reputable, and property-holding classes in the next election. That is to say—judging by those indications in the way of newspaper support which seldom fail in New York, however unreliable Washington politicians find them—the "good citizen" will turn out in considerable numbers to vote against the Tammany ticket.

Against this we have not a word to say. The condition of parties in this city is such that the best chance we have of good government is a balance of power sufficiently close to force all the factions to bring out their best men, and we believe that the necessity of doing this is so thoroughly recognized by all of them in most cases that the good citizen will be able this year to make up a composite ticket out of the three which will contain, for all important offices, excellent names—a state of things which would have been utterly impossible a few years since, in the days of Tweed and "Jimmy" O'Brien. When we come, however, to examine the arguments which are advanced to convince the good citizen that he ought to vote the united Republican and anti-Tammany tickets, we must confess to being somewhat amused at finding them consist almost altogether of the danger to the liberties of the people from the usurpations and tyranny of one John Kelly. This John Kelly, it seems, having succeeded to the power formerly wielded by Tweed, has absolute control of Tammany Hall through that of the Democratic party, and through that has gradually absorbed the entire government of the city. He is the "one man" who is so dreaded by his enemies, so respected by his followers; the "boss" whose careful drill makes the machinery of elections work so perfectly; who declines to "let the people rule," because he wants to do all the ruling himself. According to the *Times*, "the local contest over the judiciary this fall really turns on the question of whether the judges in this city are to be the creatures of John Kelly"; and, again, "The Kelly despotism, like that of Tweed, on which it is modelled, needs three things to make it complete—control of local administration, control of a section at least of the judiciary, and control of the officers charged with the detection and prosecution of crime," and the *Times* proceeds to show that Kelly has "nearly gained the first point already"; that he has just "put in nomination half a dozen more" judges; and that he is engaged with his "lieutenant," the Mayor, in getting possession of the police force. Finally, it urges the people to vote against Mr. Olney, the Tammany candidate for District Attorney, because he "owes his nomination to John Kelly," and that objection "ought to be fatal." The language used on the subject by the other anti-Kelly papers would be quite appropriate if John were a foreign invader instead of being a naturalized American citizen of "respectable antecedents," who is not even an office-holder, but simply a gentleman of leisure who devotes his time to "attending to his political duties."

Kelly is indeed the very type of the good citizen whom political exhorters in and out of the press are always calling upon us to follow and imitate. He is, to be sure, of foreign extraction, but for all that he has never neglected to go to the "primaries" whenever they have been called, and always urges his friends to go with him; and we venture to assert that he has never, since he became entitled

to exercise the right of suffrage, failed to deposit his ballot on the day of election. He is, moreover, a firm believer in our institutions, and probably in his life has never been heard to utter a sneer on the subject of universal suffrage or the majority rule or municipal self-government. More than this, he has always taken a deep interest in the government of his country, and his motives (which we know from the same source that we know those of General Grant —the statements of his friends about them) are the improvement of the city of which he is an inhabitant and the general welfare of his fellow-men. That is the reason why he gets as much power as he can, why he nominates a judge here and decapitates one there, or, to put it as he no doubt would, why he "attends conventions and endeavors to persuade his fellow-citizens that Judge Stealem ought to be succeeded by a fitter man." Charges have no doubt been made against him, but, then, who escapes calumny in these times? He is a plain, straightforward man of the people, and if he has obtained all the power the *Times* says he has, it is through gaining influence with the people by "moving among them," by "mixing with their affairs," by knowing them personally and studying what they want, and not by holding himself aloof from them like a cold-blooded aristocrat or "scholar" or "doctrinaire" or "theorist." And now the doctrinaires and theorists come down upon him and denounce him as a "usurper" for doing all his life what they have all their lives been advising him to do.

The fact is that there is no very great mystery about the power either of Tammany Hall or of the "boss" who for the time being "runs" it, and it is on this account that we can hardly be expected to feel much enthusiasm at the prospect of a rising against the present one. Within the memory of the present generation of men in New York there has always been a "boss," and at periodical intervals there has been a "rising" against him. Formerly it was Fernando Wood; then it was Tweed; now it is Kelly. Moreover, there are certain facts which tend always to the production of "bosses" in this city. New York is Democratic and very wealthy, and is managed through machinery which is very intricate and difficult to get the run of. This machine must be managed by a set of men who devote a very large part of their time to it, and as politics is not an attractive profession to people of wealth and intelligence in this country, these men will be in the main poor men who are "after" money. Honestly or dishonestly, Wood, Tweed, and Kelly get rich out of the city treasury, and then, being men of property, they use it to advance their friends and punish their enemies. This process goes on for some time without attracting much attention, until the "boss" has made a good many enemies, when he in turn is denounced as a "usurper" and "tyrant" by the Jimmy O'Brien or Morrissey of the period, and with the aid of good citizens and the press he is "hurled from power" into ignominy and oblivion—or Congress. It is necessary, however, for the reformers and exhorters who wish to hurl the Boss from power to remember that it is a process which must not be repeated too frequently. In former times, the practice used to be to allow the memory of the last rising to die out before a new one was begun. New York is the home of two very different classes of people, being partly made up of young men—from all parts of the country, or born in New York itself—who do not know much about "politics," but have some ideas about decency and good government, and are consequently troubled at the things they see about them; and also of "old New Yorkers," who have lived long enough in the city to understand it, have little or nothing to do with politics, knowing them to be "rotten to the core," are utterly sceptical and cynical about reform, and very willingly confess in conversation that they think the whole thing is a "sham," and some of whom used now and then to volunteer the suggestion that "what we need is a strong government," and remind one another of Louis Napoleon and Paris with regret. By-and-by the younger generation grows up, and, having made money in its turn, sees the matter in the same way, and makes room for another generation of new New Yorkers. Now, when a "Boss" is to be risen against we must have the aid mainly of this younger, dissatisfied class, and as long as we have about one rising in every fifteen years there is no difficulty. The young and enthusiastic can always be persuaded once in their lives that if they will only rise and hurl a "Boss" from power, all will be well—that there will be no more fraud or peculation, no more interference with the independence of the judiciary, no more Tammany Hall. But when they have seen it done once, and yet are made painfully aware that Tammany has not been swept away, nor is the judiciary independent, nor has corruption disappeared, but another "Boss" has come in to take the place of the old one, they cannot in reason be expected to "rise" immediately again. No community has the journalistic capacity for continuous indignation at things it cannot alter, and so, instead of rising as we would have them, they remain perfectly quiet. Rising against Bosses is really such a necessary and valuable last resort in New York that we should be sorry to see the practice fall into contempt through familiarity with it. There is, on the whole, very little danger that the people of New York will allow themselves to be persuaded into believing that the wild election nightmares invented by the press have any real existence. On the other hand, and it must not be forgotten either, if the people have made up their minds to "rise" against John Kelly, rise they undoubtedly will and "hurl" him into the abyss.

## THE HIGHER EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND.

London, September 25, 1875.

I HAVE been interesting myself during my too short stay in Scotland in the system of education carried out in that country. The parochial system, which prevailed in Scotland from the time of John Knox till the year 1872—or for nearly two centuries—is so well-known both in America and on the Continent that I need not describe it to you, except in the merest outline. The theory of the Scotch Reformer was that in every parish in Scotland a good elementary school should be established in close connection with the parochial church, the minister of which should superintend the education of the children, while the land-owners in the parish should bear the expense of the school. In each important town in Scotland he desired to see high-schools or grammar-schools in operation, in which the secondary education of the more promising boys from the parochial schools should be conducted; and in two or three of the largest towns universities were to exist, in which ministers, lawyers, and doctors, and the eldest sons of country gentlemen, should be educated in the higher branches of learning. Even before the time of John Knox the necessity of education was fully recognized by the inhabitants of stern Caledonia. As early as the year 1494, it was enacted by "The Estates" that throughout the realm of Scotland all barons and freeholders "that are of substance should put their eldest sons and heirs to the schools fra they be six or nine years of age, and to remain at the grammar-schools until they be competently founded and have perfect Latin, and thereafter to remain three years at the schools of art and jure (law), so that they have knowledge and understanding of the laws; . . . . and what baron or freeholder of substance that holds not his son at the schools, having no lawful excuse, he shall pay to the king a sum of twenty pounds." It is strange to read this old statute, and to see how that astuteness which is still so characteristic of the Scottish race enabled them, nearly four hundred years ago, to recognize the paramount necessity of an enlightened education, and the importance, in those feudal times, of the hereditary lawgiver in each family having "knowledge and understanding of the laws." To this spirit may, perhaps, be traced the law-abiding character of the people which prevails to the present day.

But this old statute, which I unearthed from a blue-book the other day, and the reflections which it suggests, must not be allowed to carry me off my subject. The system contemplated by John Knox was instituted by Act of Parliament and carried out, but only in part. Schools were founded in every parish, and universities were established in the four towns of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Glasgow, situated in the north, south, east, and west of Scotland respectively. But the middle portion of John Knox's programme was never accomplished. What he would have called grammar, and we should call secondary, schools have never found a place in the educational economy of Scotland. In each town in the kingdom a burgh school has been in operation from a very early period, but these schools are not secondary schools. In the larger towns they have become small universities, with separate faculties or departments and independent masterships (each master being a little pope in his own department), but without the power of conferring degrees; and in the smaller towns they have degenerated into mere elementary or parochial

schools, situated in towns and not in country parishes. The effect of this, as I understand it, has been prejudicial both to secondary and to superior instruction. The parish schools have attempted to do the work of secondary schools instead of attending to their own work as elementary schools, and the universities have come down from their natural position as the promoters of superior education to do all the work of secondary schools which the parochial schools are unable to accomplish. In the parochial schools you will see big boys and girls reading Greek, Latin, French, and German, along with little boys and girls learning their English alphabet, and in the Greek and Latin classes of the universities you have scholars far advanced in classics working alongside of others who hardly know the elements of classics, and who, in any other country, would be found in grammar or secondary schools. In these circumstances it is impossible to look for a high type of education in Scotland. You have—thanks to the parochial schools—the elements of an English education more widely diffused in Scotland than in almost any other country in the world, except perhaps America. But the secondary education of the country is of a humbler type, and superior education can hardly be said to have any existence. Scotch boys who are desirous of procuring an education of a superior kind must go to England for it. The refinements of classical education, such as are the staple of the education given at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, are unknown north of the Tweed. The professors in the Scotch universities are men of the same mental calibre as those in the English universities, and most of the best-known among them were, in their day, distinguished members of the English universities. The raw material of the Scotch student is probably superior to that of the English student, certainly it is not inferior. But the school training of the English boy is what the Scotch boy wants. There are no schools such as Eton, or Harrow, or Rugby, or Winchester, in Scotland. There are no grammar-schools which can be compared with those of Clifton, or Uppingham, or Marlborough, or a dozen others which might be named. The best of the Scotch youth are drafted off each year to the English schools, and educated in them, and from these schools they proceed, like their English school-fellows, to the English universities.

The question which at present is occupying the minds of Scotch educational reformers is how they can improve their secondary schools. Three years ago, an important measure was passed by Parliament for the improvement of Scotch education. In some respects, even the first part of John Knox's programme had become obsolete. He contemplated that one school in each parish would be sufficient to meet the requirements of the parish; and he did not contemplate that the Established Church of Scotland would be split up into two hostile parties of nearly equal numerical strength, and that a Free-Church minister would be settled down in every parish of Scotland in opposition to the Established-Church minister, prepared to resist his authority over the education of the parish, and to establish a school of his own. It was to meet these two omissions in John Knox's educational scheme, and to make provision for certain contingencies which an experience of two hundred years suggested, that an Education Act was necessary. Many efforts during the last quarter of a century were made to carry some comprehensive measure through Parliament which would satisfy the people of Scotland. But, up to 1872, the power of the clergy of the Established Church was too strong for the reformers. In that year, however, the Act which now regulates the education of the country was carried. The object of that Act was to establish schools throughout the country wherever they were wanted, and these schools were to be managed by school-boards elected in each parish and burgh by the ratepayers. They were to be supported by rates, imperial grants, and fees, and in them religion was neither to be prescribed nor proscribed, but the question of teaching it or leaving it alone was left in each case to the determination of the school-board. By these enactments the land-owners were relieved from the burden of supporting the schools at their exclusive cost, and the clergy were relieved, much to their dismay, of the burden of superintending the education of the children. The clergy of all denominations are eligible as members of the school-boards if they gain the suffrages of the ratepayers. But no clergyman is *ex-officio* a school manager as of old. So far as elementary education goes, the Act is working well, but it makes no provision for secondary education. The old parochial schools being practically at an end, they can do but little for the higher branches of education. Under the name of board-schools, they have to attend to their own province, that, namely, of elementary education. At present, therefore, the secondary education of the country is carried on by the universities, by a few private schools or academies, and by one or two grammar-schools in the larger towns. The universities are, to some extent, degraded by this arrangement, and the authorities in these institutions are as desirous as the public of improving on it. The education given in private schools or academies is never first-rate, the proprietors of such institutions being generally driven by the exigencies of fortune to the necessity of underpaying the teachers and overcharging the pupils. And one or two grammar-schools, even if they had a fair field and were not undersold by the universities, cannot supply an adequate education to a considerable country like Scotland. The establishment, therefore, of a good system of secondary education in Scotland is the question of the future. Elementary education of a high type is supplied by the operation of the statute of 1872. University education, if not of a high certainly of a wholesome type, is also supplied partly by ancient endowments, partly by state aid; but no kind of provision is made for secondary education. All the materials for a good system exist in the rough except one, and that one is the not unimportant one of funds. There are twelve public schools—*i.e.*, schools under the management of school-boards—which call themselves higher-class public schools, and these twelve schools possess among them an annual revenue of some £22,500, five-sixths of which is derived from fees alone. It may therefore be said without exaggeration that there is no pecuniary provision whatever for secondary education, and the problem which educational reformers are endeavoring to solve is this: From what sources can funds be provided for this object?

There are three possible sources—Parliamentary grants, ancient endowments, and private subscriptions. Parliament has not been asked directly to sanction grants in aid. But the improbability of the House of Commons, in its most generous moments, sanctioning the expenditure of public money on schools which are principally used by those whose parents are able to pay, is so great that no legislator has yet been found bold enough to make the experiment. That source, in the present state of public opinion, may be looked upon as dried up. Ancient endowments exist in Scotland to the extent of some £200,000 a year, and if the trustees could see their way to depart to some extent from the expressed intentions of the testators, the secondary schools of Scotland might be placed on the best possible footing. But the trustees are for the most part men who are loath to part with their trusteeship. In not a few instances also they are men who think it more important to keep down the elementary school-rates by means of these ancient endowments than to encourage secondary education, and Parliament is reluctant to apply excessive pressure to them. Interference with corporation property may lead to interference with private property, and Parliament is not prepared to commence what might end in a socialistic war. Educational reformers therefore fall back upon the third possibility, and are beginning to think of organizing societies for the better endowment of the secondary schools of Scotland. The object is excellent, but the difficulties are considerable. People will subscribe sums of money when either their political or their ecclesiastical feelings are excited. But will they do so merely for an academical project? I wish these public-spirited gentlemen across the border all success in their enterprise, and I shall watch its progress with the edeepst interest.

# Notes.

GENERAL SHERMAN'S 'Memoirs' is to have what is ironically announced as a "companion volume," prepared by Gen. H. V. Boynton, the Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*. It will be called 'The Memoirs in the Light of the Record: a Review based upon Compilations from the Files of the War-Office,' and will be published by Wilstach, Baldwin & Co. Gen. Boynton, whose reputation for accuracy and probity stands very high, condemns Gen. Sherman's work as "intensely egotistical, unreliable, and cruelly unjust to nearly all his distinguished associates."——Gen. O. O. Howard is to contribute in three papers to the *Atlantic Monthly* his recollections of three of the most famous battles of the war.——A prettily illustrated hand-book for tourists, called the 'Railroad Scenery of Pennsylvania,' has been issued by J. B. Lippincott & Co. There are views along all the famous rivers of the eastern half of the State, and characteristic scenes from the coal regions.——'Kenny's Illustrated Cincinnati' (Robert Clarke & Co.) is a more considerable work than the preceding, and fully justifies its title. It contains an excellent map of the city and a great deal of useful information. But we have seldom been more amused by any "art-criticism" than by that contained in the following extract from Mr. Kenny's description of the Tyler-Davidson fountain: "The central figure [of the eastern half of the upper basin] from this point of view is a mother, semi-nude, leading her half-reluctant child to the bath. The full bust is exposed as plainly as in the well-known Magdalene of the

great Italian master, *the chromos of which are seen in almost every window, but* the countenance and whole aspect are purely Teutonic. She might have indeed been the very Thusnelda whose love for Hermann, the great conqueror of Varro [*sic*] and his legions, has passed alike into history and into song."——Dietrich Reimer, Berlin, sends us No. 8 of H. Kiepert's Physical Wall-maps for the use of schools. It is in eight sheets, and represents the Pacific Ocean with its countless islands (including Australia), and so much of the continents that bound it as lies between Calcutta, on the one hand, and Buenos Ayres and Porto Rico on the other. Its great currents are distinguished by appropriate coloring, as are also the various European possessions. The compass of this map is very unusual, and its execution is at once delicate and clear.——From B. Westermann & Co. we have Part 13 of Spruner's 'Historical Hand-Atlas,' devoted wholly to Germany, the first two maps dealing with those intricate territorial divisions called *Gaue;* the other two showing Germany (1) at the time of the Reformation, 1492 to 1618—admirably colored; and (2) at the time of the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648. There are also numerous side-maps, one giving the division into ten *Kreise* (1512), and others the plans of the chief battles of the Thirty Years' War, etc.——Sanders, the lexicographer *par excellence* of the German language, has just published an alphabetical list of those German words, native and naturalized, the spelling of which is difficult or disputed. This work and, much more, the same author's 'Vorschläge,' which contains general principles and rules of special application to the German language, will have an interest not only for a few advanced students of German, but also in some degree for persons who, like the commission recently instituted by the Connecticut Legislature, have to do with English orthography. Dr. Sanders is conservative, aims at what he *can* get rather than what he would like to get, and prefers retaining one out of several authorized spellings of a word to making violent innovations.——Mr. Fred. W. Foster is now contributing to the English periodical, *Notes and Queries*, an interesting bibliographical list of works on sword-play.——The November number of the *International Review* will contain a personal sketch of Professor Ernst Curtius, by Robert P. Keep, Ph.D., accompanying a first contribution to the *Review* by Professor Curtius himself, who has undertaken to keep its readers *au courant* with the excavations at Olympia, which he, by appointment of the German Government, directs.

—A special report (8vo, 105 pp.) on labor in America has been issued by Mr. Edward Young, of the Washington Bureau of Statistics. A slight examination suffices to prove the brave show of figures to be a sham very discreditable to the Government. We take a few samples from a single page (64) of the report. The price of "superfine wheat flour" in North Carolina is given for the three years 1867, 1869, and 1874, as, respectively, $10 72, $9 50, $6 50. In South Carolina, the corresponding entries are $13 25, $9 62, $9 00. It is evident at the first glance that these entries are blunders, or else that different qualities of flour are reported, which would make the comparison highly deceptive. The statement that the same quality of flour was, in South Carolina, higher by $2 53 in 1867 and by $2 50 in 1874 than in North Carolina, is absurd enough; but, taken in connection with the statement that it was only twelve cents dearer in 1869, it is sufficient to destroy the credit of the entire report. But there is much more of this kind. Thus, the same article of flour is reported at $6 61 for 1869 and $6 59 for 1874 in Virginia, while in North Carolina it was $9 50 in 1869 and $6 50 in 1874, a falling-off in one State of two cents per barrel, and in the other of three dollars! Again, while this article was $9 95 in Virginia in 1867 and $10 72 in North Carolina, it was $9 50 in North Carolina in 1869 and only $6 61 in Virginia. These are a part of the absurdities which might be extracted from a single line (the first) of this page, in which the figures for flour are given for three States. So far as we have examined the reports of this article for the remaining thirty-four States, on the pages following and preceding, the same hopeless disorder prevails throughout. We take a few other instances, still from page 64: Codfish, dry, is reported at 17 cents per pound in South Carolina for 1869, and 6 cents for 1874. Carry the news to Gloucester! Brown sheetings, 9-8 wide, of standard quality, while sold at 24 cents per yard in Virginia in 1874, were to be had in North Carolina at the same time for 10¾ cents. The same goods, bleached, were 25⅔ cents in Virginia and 11¼ cents in North Carolina. New Orleans molasses, which sold for $1 01 per gallon in 1869 in Virginia, and for only 90 cents in 1874, rose during the same period in South Carolina from $1 22 to $1 25. Coal-oil in 1874 was 33 cents per gallon in Virginia; 41⅔ cents in North Carolina; and 20 cents in South Carolina. We might take several score of similar blunders from this single page, but the above will perhaps serve to show what quality of work our Government is issuing in this line.

—'A Chart of General Literature,' by E. J. Trimble, instructor in literature in Swarthmore College, Pa., has been published by J. M. Stoddart & Co., Philadelphia. As mounted for the wall, it offers too long a tract for even a near *coup-d'œil*, and it might better, we should say, have been divided into two or three. Longitudinal lines represent centuries and decimal parts of centuries, while horizontal lines under each recorded name show the date of birth and death sufficiently well. Horizontal divisions classify the names into poets, dramatists, etc. As this does not provide for the case of an author whose genius manifests itself in more than one direction, an alphabetical index is given, with dates and specific though abbreviated characterizations. It must still seem strange, however, to find Emerson set down in the chart as a philosopher only and not as a poet; and even Shakspere appears restricted among the dramatists. The American and English portions are naturally fullest among the modern ones, but the Continental have more vacant spaces than was absolutely necessary. In the gap between Racine and Scribe, surely Beaumarchais might have been allowed a place, and there was room, too, among the philosophers for Ampère and Leverrier. Among the Italian novelists D'Azeglio is wanting; among the historians, Cantù. Gervinus is ignored among German historians and essayists and critics. Mr. Trimble's rule of lettering is not easily understood. The only allusion he makes to it in his introductory explanation applies to the class "philosophers." "Those whose works are purely scientific and technical," he says, "and consequently have not passed into the literature of a nation, are placed in small type." This results in making Bacon and Carlyle (another instance of eccentric classification) pre-eminent among English philosophers, including Bentham and Darwin, to mention no others. If the works of two such revolutionary thinkers as these last have not "passed into the literature" of England, it is difficult to guess what business they have at all in a chart of literature. One is also inclined to ask why Rumford should not be emphasized as much as Franklin. As we do not feel that we have the key to this capitalizing, it is useless to remark that Mrs. Browning's name overshadows her husband's. The index is, so far as we have tested it, generally accurate, but it will doubtless bear careful revision. Sir John Bowring, for instance, did not die in 1858, but in 1872.

—There has been an interchange of letters during the past week in the *Evening Post*, in a controversy which everybody must regret, between an ill-advised friend of Mr. Anderson, the donor of Penikese Island to the late Mr. Agassiz, and Mr. Alexander Agassiz, his son and scientific executor. We call Mr. Anderson's friend "ill-advised" simply because he has rushed into print about a delicate and painful question without knowing more than one side of it. The School of Natural History on the island which Mr. Anderson hoped, and doubtless believed, he had founded, has just been broken up, and the furniture and aquaria sold at auction in Boston. This is certainly a very mortifying and unfortunate result of a very praiseworthy undertaking, and it is not surprising that Mr. Anderson should be annoyed by it; but he was wrong in allowing his friend to throw the blame of it, in his letter in the *Evening Post*, on the trustees, and to accuse them of want of courtesy to Mr. Anderson, want of respect for Professor Agassiz's memory, and, though last not least, a misappropriation of the "Memorial Fund" raised by the contributions of teachers throughout the United States in aid of the Cambridge Museum, in not using a portion of it to carry the Penikese school through its difficulties. The facts of the case are that Mr. Anderson's donation of the island and $50,000 in cash, though sufficient to start and equip the school, made no provision for the payment of its running expenses. He fancied he had supplied "the nucleus of an endowment fund," but in reality the whole of the sum contributed by him had been, with his knowledge and sanction, expended by the end of 1873 in the establishment of the school and the payment of its expenses up to that period. Had Professor Agassiz lived, he doubtless, with his strong faith and great capacity for raising money, might have found the means of carrying it on longer. When he died, it came into the care and control of Mr. Agassiz, his son, who accepted the trust most unwillingly, both because he did not consider Penikese a suitable location for the school unless largely endowed, and because he had already undertaken the heavy responsibility of carrying on the Museum, to which he had agreed with his father to give his best energies and all the money he could command. He took the directorship of the Penikese school, therefore, not only reluctantly, but after an interview with Mr. Anderson, in which he informed him that the Museum must be his (Mr. Agassiz's) first concern; that Mr. Anderson must contribute $10,000 towards carrying on the school for the three years next ensuing, after which, it was to be hoped, other means of support might be provided for it; and to all this Mr. Anderson agreed. At the end of the session of 1874 the trustees found

their funds exhausted and the institution $1,329 60 in debt, and informed Mr. Anderson of the fact, whereupon he forwarded a check for that amount, and curtly announced that this was the last contribution he would make. The institution was thus left absolutely without means of support. Appeals were made in vain to the Boards of Education of all the States and to the teachers individually, and a guarantee fund of $3,000 was contributed by a member of Mr. Agassiz's family, but nothing more came from any quarter. The Memorial Fund was, under the conditions of its collection, distinctly not available. Under these circumstances, the question presented itself to the trustees whether they should wind the school up or carry it on at their own personal expense—a course which Mr. Anderson's friend suggests in the *Evening Post* would have been only proper on their part, and which Mr. Anderson himself probably looked for. They decided on winding it up, on the simple ground that even if they had had stronger faith in its future, the Museum at Cambridge would need all the attention and money they could spare. How great have been the demands which this latter institution has made on those who have charge of it, may be inferred from the fact that the six trustees of the museum have contributed to it directly, or indirectly through the Agassiz Memorial Fund, the sum of $347,000 since 1873, when Mr. Anderson founded the Penikese School, and of this the larger portion ($197,000) has been contributed by the three gentlemen who also comprised the board of trustees of the Anderson School. This demand on their liberality will doubtless continue for some time. It is very unfortunate that Mr. Anderson, or the public, or somebody cannot be got to support the school; but it is very unreasonable to get angry because nobody chooses to do it, and because everybody thinks he is himself the best judge of the proper object of his bounty.

—In the *Nation* of November 13, 1873 (No. 437), in an article entitled the "Odium Philologicum," we endeavored to throw some light on the causes of the exceeding bitterness of feeling which is apt to mark all controversies about the grammar, spelling, and pronunciation of English, and of the tendency of such controversies to end in gross personal vituperation. At that date, a most shocking conflict between Mr. Richard Grant White and Dr. Fitzedward Hall had just come to a conclusion, in which the abuse became so foul that one of the disputants was obliged to veil his epithets in the obscurity of a dead language. We gave, as the result of such examination as we were able to bestow on the subject, an opinion that the explanation of the fury which is apt to mark philological discussions is to be found in the fact that "a man's speech is apt to be, or to be considered, an indication of the manner in which he has been bred, and of the character of the company he keeps. Criticism of his mode of using words," therefore, "or of his pronunciation, or of the manner in which he compounds his sentences, almost inevitably takes the character of an attack on his birth, parentage, education, and social position, or, in other words, on everything which he feels most sensitive about or holds most dear. If you say that his pronunciation is bad, or that his language is slangy or ill-chosen, you insinuate that when he lived at home with his papa and mamma he was surrounded by bad models, or, in plain English, that his parents were vulgar or ignorant people, etc." This view of the matter has recently derived striking confirmation from one of a series of articles on English pronunciation which Mr. White is now publishing in the *Galaxy*, and which we noticed two weeks ago. In this Mr. White, by way of preparing for a disputation with Professor Whitney, gives an account of his own parents and grandparents, of his own early education and surroundings during his boyhood, and compares them all with those of Professor Whitney. Most fortunately, however, he is satisfied with his antagonist's beginnings, and concedes that better conditions for the nurture of good English speech there could not be; so that, although we have no doubt that if Professor Whitney joins issue the controversy will end acrimoniously, nevertheless this similarity in the antecedents of the disputants greatly increases the chances of peace. But we wish to call the attention of our readers to the fact that nothing could well be more delicate than the enquiries with which Mr. White finds it necessary to open his attack. The result has proved satisfactory; but suppose that he had discovered that Professor Whitney's father was not a college graduate or the son of a graduate, and that his mother was not the daughter of a clergyman and graduate, and that he had not lived in cultivated circles in his earliest years—suppose, and it is not an extravagant supposition, that he had had to question the dicta or pronunciation of a "self-made man," the son of a Pennsylvania-Dutch teamster and of the daughter of an Irish liquor-dealer—how far could the discussion have gone before the "calling names" would have begun? How much of Mr. White's comments on the disadvantages of his early training would "the poor boy" on the other side have borne meekly? We must again warn Mr. White of the danger of the pursuit to which he is devoting himself, and again ask him whether his investigations cannot be carried on in some purely scientific periodical.

—The controversies about the origin of "the tapestry" preserved in the public library of the old Norman city of Bayeux have received an infusion of fresh life from the Abbé Laffetay, the curator of the public library at Bayeux. The *Pall Mall Gazette* affords us an opportunity of summing up the points of the Abbé's 'Notice historique et descriptive sur la Tapisserie dite de la Reine Matilde.' The vigorous defence of the old legend in this pamphlet goes far to settle the dispute. The Abbé holds by the old tradition that "the workmanship" is to be ascribed to Queen Matilda, the Conqueror's wife, which has been fiercely rejected by the historian Thierry, though he is willing to concede that its date is of the time of the Conquest. Mr. Bolton Corney (1836–1838) held that the work was executed by order of the Chapter of Bayeux Cathedral, and not till after the period when Normandy was reunited to France (1204), as was proved, he thought, by the use of the word "Franci" on the tapestry to designate the Norman invaders. M. Thierry, accepting Mr. Corney's suggestion as to the commission for the work having emanated from the Bayeux Cathedral Chapter, opposed his theory of the later date, triumphantly pointing out, with reference to the use of the word "Franci," that both in the Saxon Chronicle and in the laws of William the Conqueror the Normans are habitually so called. The Abbé Laffetay further remarks that the soldiers engaged in the Conquest were not Normans only, but men coming from many different parts of France. The opinion of M. Thierry that the tapestry was executed in London by English artificers is based on the fact that the Latin inscriptions which head the different compartments frequently betray a Saxon style of orthography; thus, among other instances, we have *ceastra* for castra (camp); Eadwardus, Wilgelmus, Hestenga, Ælfgyva, Gyrd, as proper names. But the Abbé meets this by observing that, as after a certain period in history it used to be said in France that there were no Pyrenees, so about the time of the Conquest it might have been said there were no Channel straits, and that Saxons settled so frequently in Normandy, both before and after that event, that it was a question of degree only which dialect was most in use there. The objections against the earlier date, that the city of Bayeux was burned in 1105, when "everything which escaped pillage perished in the flames," and that the fables of Æsop represented on the borders of the tapestry were not known in Europe till after the first Crusade, are also plausibly met, and the Abbé urges certain details of dress and architecture on the side of the eleventh against the twelfth century date. The chasubles of some of the figures correspond with those on sculptured figures in the nave of the cathedral. It is the round and never the pointed arch which is portrayed in buildings. In the rude representations of the towns of Rennes and Dinan, the donjon tower, the wooden bridge, are of the earlier style of fortification. The Abbé also cites M. Leopold Delisle, who adduces a Latin poem of Baudri, Abbot of Bourgueil, of the date of 1079, dedicated to Adela, daughter of the Conqueror and Queen Matilda, wherein a description is given of a certain tapestry adjoining the apartment of the princess, and representing all the details of the Conquest. "There is so much analogy," says the Abbé, "between this tapestry and ours that in reading the poem which describes it we ask ourselves sometimes which it is that Baudri means."

—Mr. Stanley, leading the joint *Herald* and London *Telegraph* expedition to Central Africa, reports by way of the Nile, in two letters his arrival at Lake Victoria Nyanza on the 27th of February, and his exploration, in the sectional boat carried by the party, of most of the confines of that sheet. The best map for studying his route is that published in Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for January 4, 1873 (19, Band I.) As far as Mpwapwa he followed the familiar road to Ujiji, but at that point he branched off last December, and traversed a distance of some 250 geographical miles through a country lying east of the course pursued by Speke, and therefore hitherto completely unknown. It is now filled for us with difficult names of districts and peoples, and for the present may be best remembered as an elevated plateau having a mean height of 4,500 feet, between the Nile basin on the north and that of the Rufigi on the south. The passage was not effected without great peril from warlike tribes, with one of which a pitched battle was fought, costing several lives on both sides. Disease also made sad inroads on the party, and two Englishmen had been taken off by fever when Stanley wrote. In circumnavigating the lake he reached Mtesa, the residence of the King of Uganda, on the north shore, near the Nile outlet, and here he met Col. Bellefonds, of Col Gordon's staff

in the Khedive's employ, to whom he entrusted his letters. Stanley corrects some of Speke's observations, and substitutes *Niyanza* for *N'yanza* as more correctly representing the native pronunciation. But his discoveries thus far are trifling as compared with those which he has in prospect. He aims to connect the detached links of previous explorers, and will therefore confirm (by descending its outlet) the undoubted, yet not absolutely proved, connection of the Victoria Nyanza with the Nile. He is next to explore the Albert Nyanza and discover its watershed, settle the question of its connection with Tanganyika (which he still believes in), and finally pursue to the end—whether in the Nile or the Congo—those fatal waters amid which Livingstone was stricken down. For the next six months we may, if he survives, expect to hear frequently from him ; for the military, if not the regular, Egyptian postal service now extends to the equator.

—The account furnished by the *China Review* of a visitation tour to several Protestant missionary stations in the interior of the province of Fo-kien, in Eastern China, presents a much simpler picture of the relations between the converts and the community around than that exhibited in our note on the Roman Catholic missionaries in the Western provinces. No guns, no crackers, no crowds, no sympathizing mandarins awaited the travellers, and their reception at a town about seventy miles from Foo-chow was as ordinary as that accorded to a pastor returning to a New England village after his summer vacation. The mandarins do not appear to be so vindictively inclined against the Protestant missionaries. The proselytizing work is nearly unmolested, and in some places tangible evidence exists of the hold which Christianity is gaining on the minds of the people. At Achia a church has been built large enough to seat three hundred auditors, to which the natives contributed five hundred dollars' worth of labor and material, four hundred dollars only having been furnished by the missionary society ; and "behind it stand a fine parsonage-house and school-room, lofty and well-built, raised by the Christians entirely at their own expense." The Christians here only number some forty adults besides their wives and families. This "insignificant result of eight years' labor" is explained by the assurance that "great care is taken to administer the rite of baptism only to those who are deemed thoroughly prepared for it." At Ning-taik, for example, two out of the seventeen candidates who offered themselves for baptism were desired to wait until the next visitation. At an administration of the sacrament on this occasion, the report adds: "While the prayer was being read, one of the recipients suddenly rose and quietly let down a neighbor's pigtail—it being as irreverent in Chinese eyes to pray with it rolled up as it would be in ours to keep the head covered." The missionary teaching has certainly won the confidence of even the non-Christian natives. At one station the travellers were informed that the natives in a neighboring village, being in want of a schoolmaster, had elected one of the leading Christians at the mission village to fill the office. Shortly afterwards the missionary received an earnest request, for the third time, from the inhabitants of a large village, that a catechist might be sent to reside among them. The evil effect of excessive opium-smoking was frequently forced on the notice of the travellers. "Opium-smoking and female infanticide were the two besetting sins of the locality." "Why is this and that house left to go to ruin ? The answer is, Opium. Why are they ready to sell land to the foreigner ? Money is wanted for opium. Why are there no girls ? Because the mothers kill them as soon as they are born. What for ? Because, as soon as they are grown up and begin to be useful, they will be married, and all the labor and expense bestowed upon them will be lost." The experience of the travellers on the point of general education is thus summed up : "So far as the agricultural population is concerned, national education is a myth."

—The September number of the *Deutsche Rundschau* closes the first year of its existence. The enterprise has, on the whole, been a successful one, the editor claiming a circulation of 9,000, and being able to point, for the first year, to a list of contributors which includes such names as Auerbach, Gutzkow, Spielhagen, Sybel, Lasker, Eduard von Hartmann, Max Müller, Wm. D. Whitney, Oscar Schmidt, Schweinfurth, Rohlfs, etc. In the next volume articles are to appear by Dr. Nachtigal, Haeckel, Von Holtzendorf, Carriere, and other writers of equal distinction. While a literary venture counting on the support of the most eminent authors of Germany may be said to carry success with it, it must be confessed that so far there has been a certain lack of evenness in the quality of the articles of the *Rundschau* not observable in its unsurpassed model, the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Thus, the September number contains an article on the criminal classes of Vienna which would be considered reading matter of the lightest kind in any of our American magazines. Moreover, although it has not a line on theatres or concerts, in marked contrast to the earlier numbers, it is entirely wanting in scientific articles, if we except a very short critical notice of Dr. Fritz Schultze's 'Kant und Darwin,' by Oscar Schmidt. Nearly all the articles will, however, repay perusal, the most interesting being an extract from the memoirs of General von Brandt, 'Ueber die Märztage des Jahres 1848 in Posen,' which gives a graphic account of an interview with the Polish general Mieroslawski. Professor Alfred Woltmann discusses, with his usual discrimination, some paintings of Giorgione and Paul Veronese ; Dr. Felix Dahn writes about "Altgermanisches Heidenthum in der christlichen Teufels-Sage" ; Vámbéry talks entertainingly about modern Mohammedan princes ; and Julian Schmidt's "Schiller in seinen Briefen" treats of a subject of which Germans apparently never tire. The book-reviews by Friedrich Kreyssig are not particularly noticeable ; it may be doubted whether this department of the *Rundschau* ought to be exclusively confided to one writer. In the political review American affairs, as is so often the case with German journalists, prove a stumbling-block. Tweed, happily, does not yet enjoy his spoils "in peace and liberty," as is taken for granted by the *Rundschau*.

—It is well known that considerable dissatisfaction has been felt of late years with the progress of the great series of the 'Monumenta Germaniæ,' projected by the distinguished statesman Von Stein, and conducted for fifty years by Dr. Pertz. It was too gigantic a load for one man, and as he is now quite advanced in years, its direction has been entrusted to a commission, of which Pertz, Wattenbach, Euler, Dümmler, and Nitzsch are members ; other members have been nominated by the Berlin Academy (Mommsen and Waitz), the Vienna Academy (Sickel and Stumpf-Brentano), and the Munich Academy (Giesebrecht and Hegel). This commission held its first meeting in April, in Berlin. Prof. Waitz was elected president, and Prof. Mommsen, secretary. The work is now to be divided up, for more rapid and efficient administration. Mommsen is to have charge of the literature of the transition period between the Roman and the Germanic ; Waitz has for the present the later *Scriptores*, as well as the temporary charge of the *Leges ;* Sickel, the *Diplomata ;* Wattenbach, the *Epistolæ*, and Dümmler the *Antiquitates*. With this commission begins a new era in the enterprise. A smaller form is, by the way, to be employed, as far as practicable, instead of the immense, clumsy volumes of the old series.

## DR. ROWLAND WILLIAMS.*

DR. WILLIAMS'S name was forced into undue prominence because he was one of the two most obnoxious writers in the celebrated volume of 'Essays and Reviews' which made such a noise fifteen years ago, and gained the unprecedented circulation, for a theological work, of over 24,000 copies. He became, in his day, the most prominent advocate of freedom for Biblical investigation in the English Church. He was pursued with relentless vigor by the late Bishop Wilberforce and others. Every effort was made to secure his condemnation in the ecclesiastical courts ; he was compelled to withdraw from his professorship of theology in a Welsh college ; the Bishop of Salisbury would gladly have refused to institute him as Vicar of Broadchalke if he had been able to do so ; he had no organ ; he was so constantly persecuted for opinions which he did not hold that friends kept aloof from him ; he did not have the ecclesiastical position which would enable him to say with the best effect what it was most important for him to say ; everything was done to silence him ; and so it happened that the man who was the instrument of most signal benefit to the Anglican Church, and was, in fact, one of its most distinguished divines, was allowed to rust out in a rural parish and die in comparative neglect. The same thing happened to Keble, but under very different circumstances. The one attempted to restore free enquiry to the place assigned to it by the English reformers and divines ; the other instituted the Tractarian movement, and sought to bring out more fully the great Catholic ideas. Each one helped to continue the comprehensiveness of religious thought which belongs to a national church. Whatever obloquy may have been heaped upon Rowland Williams was borne silently. He saw beyond the present. He said : "I expect, when I have been dead one hundred years, some antiquarian will discover that I was all along doing the best, upon a given state of literary phenomena and circumstances, for the Church of England"; and when, in his last illness, life was ebbing fast, he remarked : "I do not know that there is much more that I could have done ; but there are some things I should like to have said, if I had had the right place to say them in."

He was born, Aug. 16, 1817, at Halkyn, in Flintshire, Wales. He was

* 'The Life and Letters of Rowland Williams, D.D. ; with extracts from his Note-Books. Edited by his Wife.' London : H. S. King & Co. : New York : T. Whittaker. Two volumes 12mo, pp. 426, 420. 1874.

the son of a Welsh clergyman and became one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Welsh interests in that Principality. He was a really religious boy, who dared to kneel down to say his prayers in the long chamber at Eton; a good scholar, and a great reader. He went to Cambridge in 1835, was a student of King's College, and afterwards tutor and fellow at the same for many years, gaining a brilliant reputation as a scholar, and acknowledged in 1845 to be "the only great Aristotelian lecturer in Cambridge." In early life his tendencies were High-Church, but never exclusively so. He felt that it was not right to submit to a theology in defiance of reason or in disregard of Scripture, but he never yielded in the least to those who would be disloyal to the Church. "Tilting against the doctrines of our Church is not an employment," he wrote in 1868, "with which I can ever have the slightest sympathy." When it was likely that he might be condemned by the Court of Arches, he wrote to one who counselled separation from the Church that "to obtain a legal verdict of immunity in the national Church for freedom of Biblical investigation would be a germ of much more, and better, than forming a new sect."

He won his first laurels as a literary man in the *Quarterly Review*, Lockhart regarding his contributions as "brilliant and masterly," and as the author of an essay on Christianity and Hinduism which was subsequently expanded into a treatise and has now become a classic work on the Hindu system of religion. It at once received the highest commendation from scholars like Bunsen, Ewald, and Max Müller, and is the class-book for the missionaries to India on this subject. These paved the way to that life of active thought on the philosophy of religion, and on the placing of religious truth upon a more reasonable basis, and one not in conflict with modern life, which he was destined to lead. He removed from Cambridge to take the substantial charge of St. David's Theological College at Lampeter, in Wales, in the spring of 1850, and in that rough country, and in the isolation from men which develops originality and strength of thought, worked out the opinions and purpose which marked his subsequent life. At that day the English Church had been helped out of the ecclesiastical quagmire of the last century in one direction by the Tractarian movement, but was very generally innocent of the advance in scientific Biblical criticism which had taken place in Germany, and which had been foreshadowed by the great English divines of the seventeenth century. Mr. Williams, made D.D. at Cambridge in 1857, felt that this stagnation of Biblical study was a reproach upon the Church. The intelligent laity were in advance of the clergy in the knowledge of modern criticism, and the danger of general scepticism was great and imminent. He determined to break the ice and show that theological criticism and intelligent, undogmatic thinking had not yet died out of his Church. He delivered his opinions in the shape of sermons on Rational Godliness at Cambridge without causing disturbance and without raising the cry of heresy. It was reserved for his own bishop, the venerable but weak Dr. Ollivant, to scent the heresy, misquote the professor, and stir up the clergy against him. The late Bishop Thirlwall, who held similar opinions as a scholar, at first gave him a certain judicial support, but finally charged against him. This sealed his fate, took away all chance of promotion to the Welsh episcopate, broke up to a great extent his usefulness at Lampeter, and made the English public suspicious of his teachings. His opinions have now been largely readopted in the English Church as its permitted teaching, and have been made most influential and pervading in England by the very men who fought most doggedly against them.

Though not the editor, Dr. Williams was a moving spirit in the 'Essays and Reviews,' which did so much to revolutionize the methods of Biblical study in England and America. He thus states the origin of that celebrated volume:

"Wilson, to my knowledge, first projected a theological review to be of the liberal, but chiefly literary, type. He got promises of help from Jowett and myself. I said I would review Bunsen and Renan, the latter being then only as yet in his philological stage. Finding we should not be numerically strong enough for the staff of a review, we agreed on a volume. Jowett got Temple to join; I got Charles Goodwin. . . . My own essay was written rather with the idea of a review still open, which accounts for the style; but it did not seem to require much change. Temple's essay was a recast of two university sermons. I never saw the preface before the book was published. . . . Baden Powell was, I think, the latest recruit when our numbers seemed hardly adequate. Wilson was the editor."

It is hardly possible to realize the tremendous excitement into which the ecclesiastical Britons went over this book. It contained nothing new, nothing which had not been intimated or stated by English clergymen of an earlier day, but it happened to be the starting-point for an ecclesiastical panic. "What we meant," says Dr. Williams, "was a literary combination with an undefined bearing on speculative theology as handled by scholars." "Many things in some of the essays, and some things in all of them, only became invidious by being dragged into juxtaposition with pieces in the others, which gave them a cross light, and sometimes a perverting one. . . . There was never any common league against any part of the Church's doctrines or formularies, nor any common understanding as against the reality of miracles." While the tempest of persecution raged, the essayists kept a dignified silence. "When we got, two of us, into court, not a word of an explanatory nature could be said, and the lawyers managed it their own way." But the impetus given to the circulation of the book by the prosecution of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson created thousands of readers; then replies were necessary; admissions were made; public religious opinion was educated; and though Dr. Williams, not silenced nor condemned, was nevertheless kept from any position of influence, the work which he initiated in a sermon at Cambridge in 1854 on the relation of Scripture to modern science and criticism, was consummated in the placing of religious truth on a more reasonable basis, in taking away the great reproach of English theology, and even in the elevation of three of the celebrated *septem anti Christum* to high places of trust in the Anglican Church. Dr. Temple as Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Pattison as rector of one Oxford college, and Dr. Jowett as the religious head of another, show the reaction.

Dr. Williams passed the last ten years of his life in obscurity, but by sheer force of inward strength he was raising himself, in spite of everything, to the position of a leader whom men sought because he had something to give them, when he died suddenly from a cold, January 18, 1870, lamented by none with more sorrow than by his humble Broadchalke parishioners. He had the companionship of Bunsen, Milman, Ewald, and men of that stamp, and his life and letters, edited by his wife with unusual fidelity, give a picture of the men and religious movements of the last forty years in England, and of the growth and variety of his own opinions, as strongly marked, as brilliant, and as interesting as Stanley's life of Dr. Arnold.

## PERSIAN HISTORY.*

FEW historical subjects can be imagined more interesting than the vicissitudes of Persia. The meteoric rise of Cyrus, who in the short space of thirty years founded an empire stretching from the Ægean nearly to the Indus; the romantic episode of the Grecian wars, which prevented that empire from becoming the dominant power of Europe as it was of Asia; its sudden extinction under the apparently hopeless assaults of Alexander; the Grecian and Parthian kingdoms founded on its ruins, which for centuries resisted more or less successfully the encroachments of all-powerful Rome; its marvellously sudden resurrection under the Sassanian monarchs, who for four hundred years revived the glories of the great king, to fall at last, as suddenly as they had risen, under the aggressive energy of Omar and his Arabs—all this affords an unequalled opportunity for picturesque narrative and philosophical investigation. The field has been assiduously cultivated, for, besides the intrinsic interest of the subject, its inseparable connection with Greece and Rome has made it a favorite study with historians, and Grote and Rawlinson and Gibbon have left few sources of information unexplored.

The English reader is thus abundantly supplied with accounts of the external history of the Persian race, but there is lacking what would be even more interesting and important: a careful analysis of the mythical period of Aryan development, with a philosophical investigation into the origin, growth, and modifications of the Mazdean religion—perhaps the most perfect that the unassisted mind of man has ever evolved. As a code for practical guidance through life, the system of Zoroaster has never been surpassed, and its influence in training the Persian race to its magnificent development is a subject worthy of the labors of the profoundest historian. Thanks to the researches of Anquetil-Duperron, Bournouf, Spiegel, Westergaard, Haug, West, Oppert, and other enthusiastic scholars, the materials for this now exist in abundance, and few ancient faiths can be more thoroughly traced in their successive stages than Mazdeism as shown in what remains to us of the Avesta u Zend, together with the Pehlevi and Pazand religious books—the Minokhired, the Dinkard, the Bundehesh, the Sad-der, etc. Something of this Rawlinson has attempted in his 'Five Monarchies,' but his treatment of it is necessarily limited in scope and unnecessarily imperfect in execution, and there is still room for a writer who, by careful comparison of Vedism with Mazdeism, shall seek to trace the outlines of the earliest religious formulas of our Aryan race, and shall follow their development step by step to the Zarvanism of the modern Parsee. If he can ap-

* 'Ancient History from the Monuments: Persia from the earliest period to the Arab Conquest. By W. S. W. Vaux, M.A., F.R.S.' 1 vol. 18mo. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1876.

proach the subject without prejudices and preconceptions, he will be abundantly rewarded with the noblest ideas of the relations between God and man, the government of the universe, and the duty of man to his fellows. At every step, moreover, he will be met with startling coincidences between Mazdeism and Judaism, which suggest a community of origin ethnologically impossible, and which explain why the Jews, ordinarily so fiercely intolerant, could yet recognize in Cyrus the Lord's anointed, while Cyrus could see in Jehovah only another name for Ormazd.

Such being the inviting field which awaits a competent scholar, we took up Mr. Vaux's 'History of Persia' "from the monuments" in the full expectation of finding it fill an acknowledged gap in English literature. The author is a gentleman of no mean repute, Vice-President of the Numismatic Society and Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, and as the "monuments," with the single exception of the Behistun inscription, have thrown singularly little light on Persian history, we naturally supposed that his efforts would be turned in those directions in which modern scholarship, by interpreting the religious "monuments" of Persia, has given scope for original research and thought. Mr. Vaux, however, has missed his opportunity—in fact, he appears to be too prejudiced or too incompetent to recognize that such an opportunity existed. He passes over, virtually, the whole legendary and mythical period, as though the Peshdadians and Kavas, Yima the Fair, and Thraetaona and Keresaspa and Kava Vistaspa were not as necessary to a comprehension of Persian thought as Hercules and Jason and Perseus are to that of Greece—to say nothing of the poetry that has crystallized around them in the Shahnameh. He even ignores the Median history, which is an indispensable precursor to that of the Achæmenidæ, and starts boldly on his task with the well-worn story of the conquests of Cyrus, disposing of all that goes before in the following fashion, which sufficiently illustrates his critical faculty and his comprehension of historical philosophy :

"How Cyrus attained to this pre-eminence has been much discussed, but we do not really want more than the notice in the Bible, which is remarkably clear and graphic : 'Then I lifted up mine eyes and saw, and behold, there stood before the river a ram which had two horns, and the two horns were high, but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward and northward and southward, so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand ; but he did according to his will and became great.' And again : 'The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia'" (p. 18).

Such being Mr. Vaux's idea of "history from the monuments," we are not surprised to find that he cannot spare room for translations or abstracts of what few inscriptions have been deciphered (except a very meagre account of that at Behistun, inserted in an architectural chapter remote from its historical position), but that he can give space, after finishing the career of Alexander the Great, to a long chapter on the prophecies of Daniel, in which the adventures of Nebuchadnezzar are discussed at length, and the various horns of the ram and the he-goat are distributed around among the empires, in the style of a twelfth-century commentator, concluding with a labored effort to identify Daniel's "Darius the Mede" with the dethroned Astyages, whom Herodotus assures us was Cyrus's grandfather—"Darius," according to Daniel, being aged 72 when Cyrus was 60.

If Mr. Vaux, in seeking for light on Persian history, had turned to the Avesta and Minokhired, instead of to the Scriptures, he could at least have saved himself from many blunders, even if his illogical habits of thought had prevented him from doing himself credit. We doubt, indeed, whether he has ever looked into the sacred writings of the Persians, for the only reference we have observed to the Avesta (p. 9) quotes a statement which is not to be found there. A very slight knowledge of Mazdean belief would have saved him from quoting (p. 103), without correction, a passage from Dean Milman, in which Ormazd is identified with the Sun, and borrowing from Gibbon (p. 184) a speech attributed to the Sassanid Chosroes, in which he is represented as worshipping the Sun. The fact is that in pure Zoroastrianism the spirit of the Sun was not even an Amshaspand, or archangel, but only an Izad, or angel ; during the later Achæmenian period the Magian nature-worship for a short time caused Mithra and Anaitis to be reverenced as next to Ormazd, but in the Sassanid revival, as shown in the Minokhired, the Sun was absolutely relegated to a position among the Seven Planets, who were leaders of the hosts of Ahriman. For a writer of the present day to accept Mazdeism as Sun-worship is to commit the most serious of blunders—only to be rivalled by the kindred one (p. 14) where the Semitic religions in general (including of course the fetishism and anthropomorphic pantheons of the Assyrians and Phœnicians) are asserted to be "superior to the best which the Japhetic races have worked out."

In short, with the exception of a few facts derived from the study of Persian coinage, the book is a singularly bald, lifeless, and disjointed condensation of that which is to be found in almost every school-book, interspersed with dreary accounts of ruins borrowed from Ker Porter and other travellers, and written in an amorphous style, of which the following may serve as a specimen :

"It is clear that if Cyrus deserves the title of the actual founder of the empire, in that he was the first to conquer a large portion of the territory his successors ruled, Darius more, that he welded it into a consistent and well-working machine, which, indeed, it was no fault of Cyrus that he had been compelled to leave in the rough" (p. 45).

## TRAVELS IN PORTUGAL.*

THE first thing to be desired in a book of travels is that the ground traversed should be little known ; that it should be worth knowing is quite a secondary affair. Of more importance than this is the author's cleverness, which should be of such an order as to dissimulate, when need be, the barrenness of his theme. These two main requisites Mr. Latouche very happily combines. Portugal is of course not such a *terra incognita* as Afghanistan, but it lies fairly well out of the beaten track of travel, and we are not aware that it is as yet included in any of Mr. Cook's great programmes. Mr. Latouche has made an exceptionally agreeable, in fact, a very charming, book about it. And yet, upon his showing, it does not appear that Portugal is especially well worth seeing, or that the tourist world is greatly the loser by leaving it alone. It is true that Mr. Latouche pretends to speak only of the more untrodden portions of the country, holding, as he does, that enough has been said about the highways and the commoner resorts. An entertaining account of these has lately been published by Lady Jackson in her 'Fair Lusitania,' and Mr. Latouche engages chiefly to describe what Lady Jackson has not touched. It may be added—Mr. Latouche can afford the concession—that the author's weak point is the description of scenery. He has evidently an eye for the landscape, but he has not the art of sketching it very vividly—his phrase is but scantily pictorial ; so that often he fails to give a very definite idea of what the traveller gains by visiting certain places, the truth being that he finds his remuneration in the picturesqueness of the scenery. Yet for all this Mr Latouche is eminently readable. Intelligent, observant, humorous, with plenty of general as well as of particular information, and with an unusual talent for putting himself in the place of other people, and judging them sympathetically and imaginatively, he is always an irreproachable companion. The main fault of his book is a certain want of method and of definiteness. It is a record partly of a residence—apparently a long one—and partly of a journey. It is not always obvious when the continuity of the journey is broken and other seasons and occasions are alluded to. Apropos of seasons, is is not always apparent to what time of the year the author refers. It would seem from some parts of his narrative that he found it comfortable to jog over the Portuguese byways on horseback in the summer ; but does he recommend this course to other travellers ? It is also Mr. Latouche's misfortune that he took no notes of his observations at the time they were made, and that his book is written wholly from memory. This, however, is an omission that we can forgive. There are so many hungry book-makers wandering about the world nowadays, twisting every trifle into a memorandum, and expanding every memorandum into a chapter, that we feel a real kindness for a book which has got itself written in the face of difficulties.

Mr. Latouche entered Portugal from the northwest corner, travelling on horseback across the Spanish frontier. He gives an account of a wonderful horse which he picked up at Vigo, and which carried him bravely over the northern mountains to Braganza on the eastern frontier. The decayed city and castle of Braganza give their name to the reigning dynasty of Portugal, but they appear to have impressed Mr. Latouche with nothing so much as the strong Jewish type of their inhabitants. This leads him into a digression—his digressions are frequent, but always interesting—upon the Portuguese Jews in general. The influx of Jews into the kingdom when the persecutions of Ferdinand and Isabella compelled them to leave Spain was very great ; and in Portugal they found a *modus vivendi* which, though still hard, was easier than the Spanish rule. Vast numbers of them, however, passed on to Holland, where, says Mr. Latouche, the Portuguese Jews have always formed the cream of the great Hebrew plutocracy of Amsterdam. In another line, Baruch Spinosa was by descent a Portuguese Israelite. Many Jews, however, remained in Portugal and embraced Christianity, and Mr. Latouche affirms that their blood flows

* 'Travels in Portugal. By John Latouche.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.

very freely at this day in the Portuguese upper classes. It was formerly thought safe to call any Jew of a certain type a Portuguese, and Mr. Latouche seems to think it safe to call any Portuguese a Jew.

From Braganza the author struck diagonally through the mountains and mountain-towns to Oporto, where his picturesque ride appears to have terminated. His account of it and of his wayside adventures, his odd meetings, and his glimpses of the local superstitions, is the best portion of the book. Upon Oporto—a city which apparently has little but its wine to recommend it—he is as entertaining as the theme admits, and upon Lisbon he is reserved, although he ventures to think the beauties of Cintra overrated. From Lisbon he takes his reader southeastward by rail to Evora and its numerous Roman remains. Roman relics, he intimates, are in Portugal even importunately frequent. "I doubt," he says, "if the monumental inscriptions in all Great Britain, all the English-Roman mosaics, baths, coins, milliary columns, put together in a single county, would lie so thickly on the ground as they do in the small district round Evora, Elvas, and Beja." Mr. Latouche proceeds thence to Monsaras and Mourao—a region thick in Moorish memories—and thence by boat down the Guadiana to the southern coast. He found the people of the Southern provinces a quite different race from the mountaineers of Beira—the great province north of the Tagus—and an inferior one, being lazy, dirty, and shiftless. The sum of Mr. Latouche's observations strikes us as being that Portugal is a good country to visit after one has been everywhere else. It is thoroughly different from Spain, and apparently best described by negatives. The best scenery is not first-rate, and what remains apparently not even second-rate. There are no inns (to call inns), no architecture, no painting, no monuments, no local customs of a striking nature. Lisbon, thanks to its earthquake, is a new city, and a commodious; but if it has lost in picturesqueness, it has not gained in those resources and diversions which enliven existence in other capitals. It is beautiful but dull. There was once a Portuguese architecture, and here and there is to be seen a remnant of fine early Gothic, but for the most part the old churches have been veneered with the ugly Jesuit flamboyant of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There never was a Portuguese school of art—though local patriotism, whose intensity is so often in direct proportion to its want of a *raison d'être*, has endeavored to put forward a shadowy semblance of one. Mr. Latouche, however, devotes several pages to the discussion of a certain great church-picture at Viseu, that of the mythical "Gran Vasco," which has long been ascribed to a Portuguese hand. The picture (three subjects from the life of Saint Peter) is apparently a very fine one; but Mr. Latouche sets forth with a great show of reason that it is the work of a Spaniard not unknown to fame—Luis Velasco, a contemporary of Velasquez. The best thing in Portugal, according to Mr. Latouche, is the Portuguese, whom our author evidently greatly prefers to the Spaniards. As a compliment to them, he affirms that their bull-fights are mild and tame to imbecility; but we cannot help wondering whether the compliment would not really be greater if he were able to say either that they had no bull-fights at all, or that they managed them well.

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*Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte.* Von Georg Waitz. 5 und 6 Band. (Kiel: Ernst Homann. 1875.)—A new instalment of Waitz's great work on the 'History of the German Constitution' is an event of the first importance in historical literature. It is fourteen years since the fourth volume was published, in 1861, and in the meantime new editions of the two first volumes have appeared, so thoroughly revised as to be almost rewritten, and the continuation of the work has been impatiently waited for. The present volumes ('Constitution of the German Empire, from the middle of the IXth to the middle of the XIIth Century') cover a period of peculiar interest and difficulty—the transition time between the reign of Charles the Great and the fully developed feudal régime. Each volume contains four chapters: 1, *Die Ausbildung des deutschen Reichs*—a sketch of the political history of the later Carolingian and the Saxon House; 2, *Die Verbindung mit dem Kaiserthum*—covering the most important external relations of Germany; 3, *Das Reich und seine Theile*—the internal organization of the realm; 4, *Das Volk und seine Stände*—the structure of society; 5, *Das Lehnwesen*—the feudal system; 6, *Der König*—royalty; 7, *Der Hof, die Reichsregierung und die Reichsversammlung*—the administrative system; 8, *Recht und Gewalt im Reich*—the legal system. Prof. Waitz's peculiar excellence as a writer, no less than as a lecturer, is his unusually clear, simple, and unimpassioned style. The results of the most profound and unwearied investigations are presented here so succinctly and luminously that the reader almost fancies that he knew it all before. It is, indeed, the summing up by a master of the conclusions reached in detail by a number of independent enquirers. There is little discussion, but very abundant references, comprising on an average, in ne type, much more than half of every page.

It will be enough here to call attention to two or three of the most important points in the view of the German institutions here presented. In the first place, the writer combats vigorously (Vol. V., p. 70) the idea that the German kingdom, during the period under discussion, was in any sense a confederation: giving all weight to the elements of independence that existed in the great dukedoms, they were parts nevertheless of one united state. In relation to the connection of Germany and Italy, he likewise takes position (p. 116) against the prevailing opinion that in this connection are largely to be found the causes of the dissolution and decay of the German realm. On the contrary, "in the midst of the severe contests which the kingdom had to endure at home and abroad, the German nation advanced to that stage of manifold rich life which held sway in the twelfth and in the beginning of the thirteenth century," until which time he sees "no retrogression in public relations, only a transformation (*Umbildung*) of the constitution." The fourth chapter occupies more than half of the volume, and is also much the most valuable, both as regards its subject and its treatment. It contains an elaborate analysis of society in the two centuries just before the full prevalence of feudalism (*bis zur vollen Herrschaft des Lehnwesens*) under the several principal grades—slaves, *Censuales* (those who paid money to their lords), *Ministeriales* (those who paid in services), Freemen, and Nobles. Under the head of the Freemen we have an interesting discussion upon the origin of the free population of the cities. Of single points introduced incidentally we will mention one in relation to the Jews. It is shown (p. 370) that during the period in question they were treated fairly and even liberally, being regarded as an important element of the industrial population in the growing cities; it was not until the lower classes had been excited to intolerance by the preaching of the Crusades that the public policy was changed in regard to them. Of the nobility, too, it is shown that they did not at this period form an hereditary class, but that the higher class of freemen were styled indifferently *nobles*, while the term *prince* was applied to the high officials of the state—dukes, counts, and the higher ecclesiastics.

In the sixth volume Prof. Waitz still insists—in opposition to Roth—upon his view that the system of benefices had an early and gradual development (p. 6), and that it was closely and essentially connected with vassalage (p. 35). The chapter is, however, as a whole, rather devoted to a description of the system than an account of its development, this having been sufficiently traced in the former volumes. In the seventh chapter (p. 354) we find some interesting remarks upon the lack of a competent and efficient body of officials; from which resulted the necessity of a continual perambulation of his dominions by the king in person. In the eighth chapter the view already mentioned, as to the effects of the connection between the empire and the German kingdom, receives new illustration; touching the relations of the twofold office of King and Emperor, he says (p. 364), *Imperium* and *Regnum* are never strictly distinguished, but both are used to express the opposition to the priestly power, *Sacerdotium*. We are disappointed not to find any account of the government of the cities during this period. No doubt their vigor and glory came later; but they of course had some government now, and the more obscure the subject, the more we should rejoice at its discussion by Waitz.

It would add to the clearness of this treatise if the relations of Germany and France in the development of feudal institutions were more distinctly pointed out. There are a few points incidentally brought in, such as a hint that Germany was behind France in the development of feudalism; the statement that feudal reliefs did not exist in Germany during this period (Vol. VI., p. 28); and the interesting fact (p. 50) that in France the "fealty of the vassal received an interpretation which lays special emphasis upon the ethical signification of the relation." But the student would be grateful for a brief comparison of their elements at the close of the period treated. We are more accustomed to study mediæval institutions from the French point of view, and it is not easy, even from this admirably perspicuous work, to gather a conception of the synchronisms in their development.

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*The Germania, Agricola, and Dialogus de Oratoribus of Tacitus.* With Explanatory Notes by George Stuart. (Philadelphia: Eldredge & Bro. 1875.)—This edition of the minor works of Tacitus is a careless compilation from a few authorities. Neither in the treatment of the text nor in the commentary is there any evidence that the editor is familiar with much of the solid work that has been devoted to Tacitus, or that he has made a thorough and sympathetic study of Tacitus himself. The text adopted is professedly Halm's, but Halm's readings are again and again silently abandoned, and especially unfair to that conscientious scholar is the ignor-

ing of the modest caution that he shows by marking many passages as corrupt or doubtful. Where, too, did Mr. Stuart find the words *magnae cujusdam felicitatis esset*, which are foisted into the 'Agricola,' chapter xliv., without italics and without a word of comment? After the rhetorical thanksgiving in the preface to German scholarship we naturally look, but we look in vain, for some use of or at least allusion to the fruitful labors of such authorities as Haupt and Nipperdey. For the 'Dialogus,' the editor seems not to have been even aware of Michaelis's critical recension, nor of Andresen's 'Schulausgabe' and 'Emendationes.' The garbled use of Brotier's attempt to bridge over the chasm between chapters xxxv. and xxxvi. of the 'Dialogus' neither represents Brotier's idea of the missing passage nor is it consistent with the argument at the beginning of Mr. Stuart's own notes, while the Latinity of the fragment—as, *e.g.*, *machinamenta*, *praesentiscebat*, and *publicam rem*—is (*pace* Brotier) very questionable, certainly not Tacitean. If an American editor of the 'Germania' cannot agree with Prof. W. F. Allen's valuable monograph on the force of *dignatio* in that treatise, he should at least give the grounds of his own theory.

Only once, if we mistake not, does our compiler drop his leading-strings, and then with ill-success. Certainly, an appreciation of Tacitus's conception of fate and of the empire, or a comparison of the passage with almost identical phraseology in Virgil and Livy, from whose language Tacitus drew very largely, or even a glance at Boetticher's Lexicon Taciteum, might have saved Mr. Stuart his awkward attempt at explaining *urgentibus imperii fatis*, 'Germania,' chapter xxxiii. The grammatical notes can be of little worth, unless the great object in reading Tacitus is drill in elementary parsing, and to the tyro in Latin what but confusion can come from the slipshod and inconsistent notes on *visu* (p. 163) and *memoratu* (p. 177)? What true idea of Roman law can one derive from the vague remarks on *exceptio* and *formula* (p. 224)?

But we had no intention of giving space to the details of this book. We have looked through its pages in vain for any appreciation of the great advance that has been made in the last twenty years in textual criticism, or in Latin scholarship, or in general philology. The great change, too, which had come over both the form and the spirit of the Latin language in the time of Tacitus, is alluded to only in a few vague and borrowed generalities. The species of success which Mr. Stuart's editions of some of the easier Latin authors have had, seems to have emboldened him to undertake a work for which he is not qualified. A judicious edition of Tacitus for American students is still a desideratum.

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*History of the Roman Empire*, from the Death of Theodosius the Great to the Coronation of Charles the Great, A.D. 395–800. By Arthur M. Curteis, M.A. With maps. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875. 12mo, pp. 279.)—Mr. Oscar Browning's series of 'Historical Hand-books' deserves to be mentioned in connection with the three series of Messrs. Freeman, Morris, and Green, as an outgrowth of the new interest in the study of history in England. In character it is more like Mr. Morris's series, 'The Epochs of History,' although the authors are not so generally men of recognized eminence in their several fields. Neither is it so exclusively devoted to political history, for a history of French literature makes a part of it, and a history of modern English law is in the press. The opening volume of the series, Mr. Smith's 'History of the English Institutions,' was reviewed by us last year (see *Nation*, March 26, 1874); Mr. Pearson has in the press a History of England in the Fourteenth Century; and we are promised the Great Rebellion, the French Revolution, the Age of Chatham and that of Pitt, the Reign of Louis XI., the Supremacy of Athens, the Roman Revolution, and the United States. Mr. Curteis's history of the Roman Empire during that transition period when it used to be said that there was no Roman Empire at all, is a book of great merit. The style is somewhat stiff, and at times a little faulty. For instance, we suppose that "the former" and "the latter" should be avoided as far as possible, for the sake of perspicuity; but on page 213 we find them used three times, besides the far more objectionable "these" and "those" in referring to antecedent nouns. The author says that his book, which lays no claim to originality of research, is based upon a course of lectures delivered in the school with which he is connected. It has had, therefore, the best of tests as to its fitness for school work, and we will say that it seems to us admirably adapted for introducing the young reader to a vivid and genuine knowledge of this period. We mark, for instance, very strong indications of the influence of Mr. Freeman and Amédée Thierry, to both of whom the author expresses strong obligations. The chapter upon Attila and the Huns is an excellent example of his best work. It seems, however, a mistake to introduce the chapter by a quite long and really capital discussion of the "Etzel-Sage"; it would have come in very well at the end of the chapter, or would have answered as it is for older readers. The chapter upon Mohammed is introduced in a similar manner, but this is less objectionable. Everybody knows something about him, but the notions about Attila are very vague where they exist at all, and in his case the story should precede the discussion. It is implied, on page 30, that Constantine declared himself a Christian A.D. 313, while it was really not until ten years later. The Franks are plumply pronounced a Low-Dutch people on page 52; a matter as to which there is still felt considerable doubt. *Dominii* (p. 262) is of course a misprint for *dominici*. The maps are hardly worthy of the book; they are clear, but might have been equally clear and yet considerably fuller.

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*Plays and Players.* By Lawrence Hutton. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1875. Pp. 276.)—The papers here collected have already appeared in an evening journal of this city, and they occasionally show the incoherence consequent upon such a method of composition. They form a sort of irregular or guerilla supplement to Ireland's 'Records of the New York Stage,' supplying harmless and gentle gossip about many of the comedies and comedians seen at the theatres of this city during the past twenty-five years. A few pages are given to Edwin Forrest and to Miss Cushman; but there is little more than bare allusion to Macready, Salvini, Ristori, or Rachel. Although Mr. Hutton is very enthusiastic about the comic drama, he seems to have but little sense of humor, or he would never have ventured the complacent insertion of the grotesque paraphrase of Tennyson's farewell sonnet to Macready (p. 232), brought down to date by the substitution of Miss Cushman's name for that of the English tragedian. A few new anecdotes, and many interesting incidents pleasantly told, are to be found in the book. In style it is much the superior of Ireland's work or of Brown's so-called 'History of the American Stage,' in which paste-and-scissors and the most high-flown fine writing are curiously commingled. The great defect of the book is the absence of anything like criticism. Mr. Hutton sees no faults, and is as indiscriminate in his praise as if he were writing an obituary or an eulogy. However, his pleasant and unpretending reminiscences will recall to the reader many evenings of enjoyment. This is the great merit of the volume. Whatever deficiencies it may have are almost atoned for by the admirable triple index of persons, plays, and play-houses, which occupies twenty pages, and doubles the value of the book.

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*The Childhood of Religions:* embracing a Simple Account of the Birth and Growth of Myths and Legends. By Edward Clodd, F.R.A.S., author of 'The Childhood of the World.' (New York: D. Appleton & Co.)—This work, like its companion volume, 'Childhood of the World,' is an attempt to present in a simple and popular form the results of scientific research. It is not a mere piece of book-making, but has been done by a man of real knowledge, with a view to the practical aims of education, and is written in a style adapted, we should say, to the comprehension of young people of about fifteen. The author's point of view is thoroughly and avowedly rationalistic; and any person who thinks it not only desirable but possible to keep his children from the knowledge that such views exist, would of course take care not to put this book in their hands. Nevertheless, there is nothing offensive or obtrusive in it. It simply presents that comparative view of religion which has become the leading one among educated men of the present time, not so much opposing as ignoring the popular notion that there is but one genuine religion, and that all others are utterly worthless. Perhaps we should except Chap. XIII., "On the Study of the Bible," which teaches that "the Bible should be read as we read other books," and which is more controversial than most of the volume. Most of the chapters, however, treat of subjects entirely disconnected with the Christian religion—as the Aryan religions, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, etc. There are a valuable appendix and a good index.

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*** *Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

*Authors.—Titles.* *Publishers.—Prices.*

Abbott (E.), Concordance to the Works of Alexander Pope.....(D. Appleton & Co.)
Croll (J.), Climate and Time.....(D. Appleton & Co.)
Curley (E. A.), Nebraska: Its Advantages, Resources, and Drawbacks.....(American News Co.)
Erckmann-Chatrian, Brigadier Frederick: a Novel, swd.....(D. Appleton & Co.)
Gilder (R. W.), The New Day: Poetry.....(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) $1 50
Havergal (J. R.), Morning Bells.....(E. P. Dutton & Co.)
Little Pillows.....(E. P. Dutton & Co.)
Kiepert (H.), Physikalische Wandkarten, No. 8: Australien und Polynesien.....(E Steiger)
Monsanto (Prof. H. M.) and Languellier (Prof. L. A.), Practical Course with the Spanish Language.....(Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co.)
Merivale (Rev. C.), General History of Rome.....(D. Appleton & Co.)
Piola (A.), La Connexité économique, swd.....(F. W. Christern)
Sauveur (Prof. L.), Entretiens sur la Grammaire.....(Lee & Shepard)
Stedman (E. C.), Victorian Poets.....(J. R. Osgood & Co.) 2 50
Stoddard (R. H.), Lamb, Hazlitt, and Others—Bric-à-Brac Series.....(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.)
Waggener (D. B.), Book-keeping Simplified.....(D. B. Waggener & Co.) 75

# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE result of the late elections and the eulogies of the Republican Conventions seem to have restored to the President some of his old courage and self-confidence, and he has accordingly selected Mr. Zachariah Chandler, of all men in the world, for the Secretaryship of the Interior. Mr. Chandler is one of the worst of the bad type of public men which the war brought to the front; but even if he were not, his personal habits are notoriously such as to disqualify him for any place of dignity or trust in the public service. He played a creditable part in the discussions of last winter on the currency, but this is the only creditable thing in his career during the past ten years. He possesses a large fortune, and is thus raised above the commoner kind of temptation, but his friends and associates would almost necessarily be men of a class to which corruption is a calling like another. He was last winter ousted from his seat in the Senate by the Michigan Legislature, although he is not a man to stick at trifles when he wants an office, and his defeat was universally regarded as one of the best fruits of the indignation which led to the general uprising against the Republican party last fall. His selection now for a place of so much responsibility as the Department of the Interior, so close on the scandals which have just led to the retirement of his predecessor, cannot but be regarded as a fresh proof either of General Grant's contempt for the moral sense of the best portion of the community or of his inability to comprehend it, and is of a piece with the renomination of Boss Shepherd. It is, of course, a serious blow for the Republicans in the States in which the fall elections have still to be held, and their efforts to put a good face on it are in some cases very amusing. In Massachusetts, it is peculiarly inconvenient, and the Boston *Advertiser* accordingly says that Mr. Chandler is "a much more honest man than his enemies give him credit for being"—a remark which might be made with justice of many "statesmen" now confined in the Charlestown jail. It also adds "that he wears his faults upon the outside, and all the world knows them," which reminds us of a recent illustrated joke in *Punch*. A dealer is exhibiting a doubtful-looking horse to a possible purchaser, who is pointing out some of the animal's obvious defects. "Oh, yes," says the dealer, "I know all about that; anybody can tell what his bad points is, because we sees 'em; but what I say is, that we can none of us tell what his good points is, till we come to find 'em out."

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What adds to the discreditableness of Chandler's appointment, but at the same time gives it peculiar significance, is the fact—for fact it is—that it was his conduct with regard to civil-service reform in the Department of the Interior which led to Mr. J. D. Cox's resignation. Chandler went down to the Department, and in the halls publicly, in his usual coarse language, denounced Secretary Cox for his civil-service interference with the political use of the Department or its clerks, and threatened, to use his own phrase, "that he would have Cox's head in a basket in a month." It was this performance which made Mr. Cox feel that he must at once ascertain whether the President would support him in his attempts to purify the service against such politicians as this man. Our readers know the result. It is by no means an unfair or unreasonable assumption, now, that the selection of Chandler for Cox's place indicates that the President has important work for him to do, and knows that he is the man to do it. Mr. George W. Curtis and civil-service reform will not serve his purpose this time, so he is going to try "Old Zach." and civil-service corruption. Very few of the Administration papers venture to defend the appointment, and these only in a half-hearted way. All the New York *Times* can say for it is that Chandler is a good man to "sit up nights and tell stories." We would earnestly call the attention of honest voters to the circumstance that nothing but defeats of the Republican party at the polls seems to secure "reform within the party." That of last fall put Pierrepont and Jewell into the Cabinet. Even a trifling success has given us Chandler in the Department of the Interior.

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Mr. Bristow has obtained a decided success in his onslaught upon the Western Whiskey Ring, has got one of the most prominent members of it convicted, and has recovered judgment for half a million dollars. The news is said to have caused a great sensation in "distilling circles." This victory has rather thrown the Democratic recovery of twelve thousand dollars from the Canal men by Tilden into the shade; but, on the other hand, the Republican judgment is itself surpassed by that in the Watson case in this city. The city has got judgment against the estate of Watson, who made his money by "auditing," for between six and seven hundred thousand dollars. This is the largest amount of all, and we beg leave to call the attention of the party press who are rejoicing over the victory of Mr. Bristow to the fact that this sum has been recovered by the Third party, representing the Independent voter, and must not be claimed by either of the regular organizations. Now that all sums of money recovered from public plunderers appear to be counted as legitimate political capital, notwithstanding the fact that those who recover them are generally the very persons who were entrusted with the duty of preventing the theft, it will be more and more important that the "capital" shall not be erroneously distributed among the claimants. At present it stands, Tammany Democrats $12,000, Regular Republicans $500,000, Liberal Republicans 0, Anti-Tammany Democrats 0, Independent Reformers (New York) $600,000. Comment on these remarkable facts is entirely unnecessary, for we have no doubt that, as the politicians say, "the people will understand them."

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The Mississippi war, which came to a sudden end a week ago, owing to the discovery made by the leaders on both sides that no more troops were to be had from Washington to carry it on with, has not begun again, and all the telegraphs to Washington now say that peace and harmony reign throughout the State, and arrangements have been made by which fairness and a spirit of concord will prevail in the future. This peaceful conclusion shows very strikingly how the race hostilities in the South have been kept alive by the expectation of troops from the North for the suppression of supplementary rebellions. Mississippi is, of all the Southern States, perhaps best fitted to breed this sort of trouble, if there were any real occasion for it, as it has a large and ignorant black population, and among the whites a considerable number of lawless fellows fond of knifing and shooting, and, besides this, a Northern "satrap" at the head of the government, who, to judge by his proclamations, has never even read through the Constitution of the United States, and has derived his notions of the "war-power" from conversations with his father-in-law, B. F. Butler. Of course there may be fifty explanations of the present peaceful condition of the State, as there were for the sea-captain's omission to salute the flag-ship, but we strongly suspect that the first of them would be like his—that the gunpowder had given out.

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Mr. Conkling's speech at Albany on Monday week, of which we were able only to make mention in our last issue, was as usual the formal opening of the canvass by the Republicans. The speech was of the kind he always delivers, and may safely be said to contain the whole Republican case. He recited once more the history of the Democratic party during the war, and hinted that if they got into

power at Washington they would seek to carry out some of their old designs; showed that the foremost question now before the people of this State is reform; described different kinds of reformers—the selfish reformers, the hypocritical reformers, and the pure and good reformers, and placed the Republican party in the last category, mentioning several cases in which it had "reformed" in a quiet, unostentatious way; argued elaborately that the Canal frauds originated under Democratic rule, and had been carried out mainly with the connivance of Democratic State officials, and proved, by figures taken from the Albany *Evening Journal*, that the canals had been more economically administered under Republican than under Democratic management. He thanked Governor Tilden, however, for the little he had done in the way of Canal reform; severely castigated Mr. John Bigelow for going on the Canal Commission as a Republican and then accepting a Democratic nomination; then drew attention to the extravagance of Democratic rule in New York City; maintained that it was the successive attempts of the Democratic party to bring about repudiation in some form which made American credit so low in Europe; that the present depression in business prevails all over the world, and the Republican party is, therefore, not to blame for it; that Republicans are wholly sound on the financial question, the talk of a few individuals to the contrary notwithstanding, and that the Democrats are wholly unsound; that the public schools are threatened, and must be protected by the Republican party, and that the Democrats cannot be trusted with them; that "Boss" Kelly is a very bad man, and the Democratic State ticket has no claims to confidence and is "piebald," while the Republican ticket contains the names of pure and good men only. He concluded with a prediction that if the Republicans all voted they would carry the day. About the third term and the Administration he was judiciously silent.

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The *Evening Post*, commenting on this speech, reads Mr. Conkling a lecture on the use he has made of his talents. It describes him as "one of the foremost men intellectually in the State." "His brain," it says, "has always firm grasp of principle"; "he could if he would take a position in the first rank of statesmen," and "might have made himself a place in the highest order of those who guide the destinies of nations." It then gives a melancholy picture of what his career has really been in spite of these magnificent opportunities, and describes it, as we have so often done, as that of a man who "has supported his party, managed conventions, and has manipulated appointments, but has originated no measure of vitality or importance." We shall take the liberty of saying that this account of the *Post's* of Mr. Conkling's talents is pure fiction, and is, in fact, exploded by its account of his career. Whether Mr. Conkling is "one of the foremost men intellectually in the State," or "could take a position if he would in the front rank of statesmanship," is something about which neither the *Post* nor anybody else knows anything. Mr. Conkling has never given any evidence whatever of the possession of such powers as the *Post* ascribes to him. He has never displayed any statesmanship whatever. He has made no speech showing a large or "firm grasp of principle." He has originated no legislation showing ability or knowledge of any kind. In the absence of such exploits, the well-settled presumption is that he is not a statesman, or anything but a common politician. Mr. Conkling's speeches are all like the last one—the somewhat dexterous discourse of an attorney showing that the pot is as black as the kettle and even blacker than the kettle. He delivers about half-a-dozen of them every year, and he has half-a-dozen organs which forthwith fall to pretending that he has rivalled Burke, and half-a-dozen genial enemies who fall to pretending that he could rival Burke if he would. Mr. Conkling's kind of politician will always be useful, and so will his kind of speech, but it would be very unfortunate to have the country remain under the impression that men of the highest order of political ability do even occasionally pass their lives as wire-pullers and manipulators. Men who are competent to "take a position in the front rank of statesmanship," and have Mr. Conkling's opportunities, take it. There is no case on record, and there never will be one, of a master-mind expending itself on the composition of "slates," the "laying of pipes," the control of conventions and primaries, and the drafting of buncombe platforms.

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City politics, as the election approaches, grow more rather than less complicated. The main part of the duty of the press before an election now is the examination of "charges" brought against all the candidates, and we have accordingly given careful attention to those made against Recorder Hackett, drawn up in a thick pamphlet, no doubt by some minion of the "new Boss." It must be confessed that the Boss makes out a pretty good case. First, the despot produces a letter from Wheeler H. Peckham, who has been connected with the Ring suits from the first, in which he, among other things, accuses the Recorder of allowing indictments of Sweeny, Woodward, Tweed, and Smith, in his court, to be *nol. prossed* and the *nol. pros.* to be antedated by five days, so as to cut off the possibility of a writ of error; second, a long record of sentences for all sorts of crimes, "suspended" by Hackett without the slightest authority; third, a fraud in street-openings. Hackett, it is alleged, was appointed in 1866, with two other men, to lay out "the Circle" at the intersection of Eighth Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street, with a radius of two hundred and twenty-six, for which the Commissioners were entitled to thirty cents a foot "for the lineal extent of the street or avenue," making Hackett's share $139 03, instead of which he pocketed $3,000; and the Boss adds that, on being asked how he could claim such an allowance, the Judge replied, no doubt with great solemnity, "We measured a spiral line commencing at the centre and screwing its way out." It looks from this as if it would not do for the independent voter to take too much interest in Mr. Hackett's re-election. We had not supposed before that his "record" was so dark a one. Another judge, by the way, who is up for re-election, Spencer by name, is a very objectionable character, and is looked upon by the better part of the profession generally as unfit to be on the bench. He was one of the subscribers to the Tweed statue in former years. The other candidate, Gildersleeve, was nominated in an unfortunate manner by a friend, who put him forward chiefly on the ground of his great skill with the rifle, he being, as was justly observed, "the great American shooter"; but we believe his nomination to be a very good one.

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The week has been one of activity and wide fluctuations in the Wall-Street markets. Gold fell to 114½, but subsequently recovered nearly one "point." Foreign exchange fell to 4.76 for prime bankers' sixty-day bills, and subsequently advanced to 4.80½. All kinds of securities were strong, and some of the speculative "fancies" advanced 6 per cent. The rates for demand loans advanced to 5 and 6 per cent. The explanation of these changes is, in respect to gold and foreign exchange, that some of the large holders of gold, anticipating a considerable increase in the supply here, sold what they held, and, others following, the sales became general. The actual addition to the supply consisted of receipts of about $1,750,000 from California and $500,000 from Europe. The Treasury began the prepayment without rebate of the November interest Monday, which, however, has as yet added less than a million to the previous stock. This interest amounts to between $11,000,000 and $12,000,000; of this $4,000,000 is on registered bonds. As most of the remaining $8,000,000 coupon bonds are held in Europe, and as the Syndicate have secured a good part of the coupons on them, and can use them to pay for new fives, it is doubtful if much gold will be paid out here on account of coupon bonds. The rise in foreign exchange is explained by the fall in the lending rates for gold. It is safe to say that the present and prospective supply of gold is not large enough to prevent a recurrence of high rates for gold later in the season. It is likely, however, that exchange will then be depressed by reason of the excessive supply of bills drawn against the export of cotton, and

with exchange depressed from this cause the importation of gold will be safe. The value of the greenback dollar during the week ending Saturday ranged from 85.65 to 87.14.

Cotton is coming forward rapidly; the receipts at the ports during the past week were 147,345 bales, which is a much larger amount than was received in the corresponding week of any of the past five years. The movement of grain has been somewhat retarded by the position which the railroads have taken in the matter of freight rates; they have already made two advances, and threaten more. Should they carry out their policy, exports of grain would inevitably be diminished and great injury would be done the trade of the country, for everything now depends on an early and successful marketing of the bountiful crops produced during the past season. At the Stock Exchange, the rise in prices was due primarily to the change of front by leading speculators, who had for several weeks been laboring, and with success, to induce a large volume of speculative sales. The purchases to cover these sales started and supported the rise during the week. The advances in railroad freights of course helped the movement, as did also the discovery that many of the statements on which stocks had been depressed were misrepresentations. This turn in speculation changed the call-loan market, and brought Stock-Exchange rates up to those of the banks—which, as a rule, have been lending during the past season comparatively little on stocks. As was indicated as probable, the Bank of England again advanced its discount rate, making it four per cent., or double what it was three weeks ago.

The mercantile agency of Dun, Barlow & Co. have issued their statement, showing the number of failures during the first three-quarters of the year to have been 5,334, with liabilities of $131,172,503—figures largely exceeding those of previous years. What is noteworthy about this is that more than one-half the entire amount was furnished by States in which manufacturing is the chief interest. The *Daily Bulletin* has been collecting some statistics with regard to what is known technically in finance as "the bottom," from which it appears that the process of "reaching" it is going on more vigorously than ever. Cotton is now a fraction lower than it was before the war; the wages of the principal classes of factory employés are now fully as low as they were in 1860; wool at present is even lower than in 1860. It looks from this, the *Bulletin* says, as if the bottom, which we have all been hoping would loom in sight before long, has at last been reached, and as if the "process of recovery" must now set in; as if the prices of labor and materials had now reached a normal state, and cautious men were hardly warranted in waiting for a further decline as requisite to recovery; and that as values have now readjusted themselves the cautious man had better begin producing and selling as fast as he possibly can. We sincerely hope this may be so, though some doubt has been thrown upon it by some recent speculations of the *Times* on the depression of real estate on the Hudson, showing it to be caused by the absence of primogeniture in this country. In all financial speculations about the "bottom" and the "readjustment of values," there is the difficulty that no one has ever seen "the bottom," and therefore no one can recognize it when he sees it again. No one knows what the "normal state" of prices is, and no one therefore can tell when it is reached; and, curiously enough, the very people who generally insist that the bottom must be reached before the process of recovery sets in, ardently hope, not that after reaching it we may remain there, but that prices will immediately begin to go up, and that we may get to the top as soon as possible.

Both in France and England there is a complete dearth of political news. In England, the papers are filled with reports of church and social science congresses and the speeches of members of Parliament to their constituents. In France, public attention is occupied in the same way, and there has been a tiff between M. Léon Say, the Minister of France, and M. Buffet, arising out of a discourse of the former at a banquet; but it has, after threatening a dissolution of the Ministry, ended in nothing. In Spain, the discussion over the Concordat and the Ultramontane circular to the Bishops still rages, but the truth about the affair is becoming better known, and makes it clear that Canovas, when he got into power, did lead the Pope to suppose that the Concordat would not be disturbed, and that he was not or need not have been entirely ignorant of the contents of the circular, and ought not, therefore, to have been surprised at its issue. The Carlists are losing ground. Their supply of men is slowly falling off, while the Alfonsists are managing in one way or another to increase the army in the field considerably. The Cortes is to meet some time in January, elected by universal suffrage, and containing one member for every 50,000 inhabitants. The *Economist* publishes some very striking statistics about the progress of Spanish foreign trade, showing what the country might become under a regular and orderly Government. It has increased in volume by nearly one-third in the last twenty years, which have been years of great and almost constant political disturbance. It amounted to $114,150,000 in 1855; last year to $157,016,650. Moreover, in spite of the Carlist war, the revenue receipts of this year come up to the estimates of 1872.

Turkey has "funded her coupons"—that is, half of them—for five years. All American bondholders know what this means. There is a deficit of $25,000,000 in the year's revenue, and it is likely to continue; funding half the coupons will reduce the outlay by about $35,000,000 a year; and thus it is hoped to bring about an equilibrium in five years, if the Turkish Empire last so long. The loss will fall mainly on British investors, and the announcement is producing great depression in London, and has caused further decline in all semi-barbarous stocks. The money market is, however, at last waking up to the fact that it is not vast material resources, but the honest and efficient government, which makes a state a safe borrower. It is expected that Egypt will go next, as the Khedive has been borrowing frightfully, "basing" the debt on the wonderful fertility of the valley of the Nile. The Turkish collapse derives a touch of humor from the fact that it is accompanied by the establishment of a sinking fund, which is to be replenished by the customs duties, the tobacco and salt monopoly, the Egyptian tribute, and perhaps a portion of the sheep-tax. It is curious that the Vizier does not think of an issue of 3-65s.

The Hungarian budget for 1876, as submitted to the diet, is a very gratifying exhibit of the financial policy of the minister Szell. By stringent economy in all branches of his administration, he has been able to fix the expenses for 1876 at 228,000,000 florins, or at about 11,000,000 less than in 1875, while he estimates the total income at 216,500,000 florins. The deficit, which for the year 1875 is reckoned at 21,700,000 florins, is thus reduced to 11,500,000 florins. But this sum will in reality be increased to 16,000,000 florins, owing to an appropriation of 2,500,000 florins for improved cannon, and the creation of a special fund, promising to be an essential feature of M. Szell's financial reforms, which will require an annual interest of 2,000,000 florins. This fund, which is to be raised by a loan, is chiefly intended to guard against a deficit threatening the treasury in the first half of each year, when the demands on it are heaviest, and taxes not easily collectable. Szell proposes an income-tax of 3½ per cent. to do away with 8,000,000 florins of the deficit, while he mainly relies on the balance of last year's loan to cover the rest. He urges the sale of the iron and coal mines belonging to the Government, deferring that of the forests and lands until a more favorable moment; and, finally, advocates the plan, so successfully carried out in Cisleithania, of converting the entire debt of Hungary into rentes. The energetic and straightforward manner of Szell's dealing with unpleasant facts and figures, and the remedies proposed by him, meet with equal favor in Hungary and Cisleithania, which shares in the improved prospects. Securities have rallied considerably on the Vienna exchange, and the outlook in general is more hopeful than it has been at any time since the crash.

## HUMAN NATURE IN FINANCE.

EVERYBODY now admits that we have not seen the end of the contest over the currency. The result in Ohio has probably put an end to attempts to inflate, but in order to get back to specie payments, it is necessary to do a great deal more than refrain from inflating. We must both contract, and accumulate gold, and sell bonds in exchange for greenbacks to be destroyed, and this is sure to be a process to which there will be, as there has been, much opposition. So that the state of the popular mind about financial questions is and will continue to be of great moment until all United States paper is redeemable in coin on demand. This leads us to say a word once more to those who are engaged in the work of informing the popular judgment, as to the extreme importance of the mode of presenting the economical problems now before the country. It cannot be too constantly kept in mind that the phraseology used in discussing these problems, and indeed generally in teaching political economy, is apt to be misleading when addressed to persons unfamiliar with processes of abstract reasoning. For instance, when we say that Political Economy treats of the laws which regulate the phenomena of wealth, we convey to nine out of ten "plain men" an incorrect impression about it, and one which seriously influences their opinions on such questions as the currency. They come to think of the "phenomena of wealth," of the flux and reflux of coin, of credit, of imports and exports, of demand and supply, of price and value, and so on, as if they were physical phenomena with the production of which human action had little to do, but which might nevertheless be regulated by legislation or administration. They therefore do not see why the supply of money cannot be regulated as we regulate the supply of water for a city or hew stone for a building. When you talk of the value of a thing to them, they fancy that it lies either in some inherent quality of the thing itself or in some quality which can be communicated to it by the sovereign power.

What is needed to correct all this—and it is especially needed in a democracy in which some of the nicest economical questions have now and then to be submitted to the popular vote—is the diligent preaching of the fact that Political Economy has really to do, not with things external to man, but with man himself; not with goods or money, but with states of the human mind with regard to goods and money. When a lecturer on finance or any other department of political economy is examining the question of value, for instance, he is probably, in form, talking about gold or silver, or checks or bills of exchange, but he is in reality talking about the condition of men's minds in the presence of certain phenomena; that is to say, about the way they will feel, or think, or calculate when they are brought face to face with certain external facts. When I ask the value of a thing, I really ask, How do men in civilized countries feel about it? How much do they desire to get it? When I seek a measure of this desire, I have to take, not an arbitrary thing of my own invention to which I give a name, but something for which I already know their desire to be also strong, tolerably permanent, and universal. My own notions, therefore, about measures of value, or how they *might* be made, such as Kelley and Butler and Phillips preach on the stump, are of no sort of consequence. It might be well if we could make a standard of value out of paper, leather, ox-bones, or sausages; but the fact is that the matter lies not in the hands of the legislature, but entirely in the mind of the exchanging portion of the human race. The only permanent standard there can ever be is one to which they will attach value on its own account, without reference to what this or that government can or will do to it. What this standard is can only be learnt, not by the vapid speculations of metaphysicians, but by actual experience, or, in other words, by financial history. Interrogating this, we find that all civilized men prefer gold to any other substance as a measure of value, and if you ask them why, they will answer, because they know when they have got gold that they are independent of Kelley, and Butler, and all thrones and principalities and powers, and are secure against all revolutions and wars and panics, and can go to any part of the world and carry their fortune with them without loss or waste. This state of mind, whether wise or foolish, is the ultimate fact of all finance. There is no use in fretting over it or declaiming against it, any more than against the inability of water to run up hill. It cannot be overcome; a man in our day who is engaged in trying to overcome it, is a person more or less demented. He belongs to the small body of the unsound who are trying to discover perpetual motion and the elixir of life. There are such persons, and there will always be such persons, but the press of civilized countries ought to be by this time delivered from the necessity of arguing with them.

If it be said, as it is said constantly, that this view of the mental attitude of civilized men towards the precious metals is contradicted by the extent to which business is carried on through paper, in the form of bank-bills, checks, drafts, promissory notes, and book-accounts—or, in other words, through "Credit"—the answer is that Credit also is a state of mind, and not simply a set of physical phenomena. It is the state of mind which, with regard to other matters than trade, is called mutual confidence, and means simply the disposition of men in society to believe the promises of their neighbors. They believe them when they say they will at a certain date give them so much coin, just as they believe them when they say they will at a certain hour meet them in a particular place, or give them so many bales of cotton. When a man takes the note of a bank, he does simply what a great wholesale house does when it parts with its goods for a three-months bill. He says he is satisfied that he can have coin for the note when he pleases, just as the wholesale house says it feels sure it will have the money for the goods when the bill falls due. The bank-bill or the retailer's draft, therefore, could not serve the purpose of money unless it had a certain state of mind behind it; and what has led the crazy fellows astray who want to do away with a metallic currency altogether, is that as they see the notes and bills and do not see the state of mind, they think that all that is needed to make paper good money is the paper. "As you never draw your gold," they say to the trader, "you do not need it; banish it from your mind, and all will be well." To which the trader replies, that the paper is but a sign of his belief in certain facts; if this belief be destroyed, using the paper as money would be as foolish as trying to move a locomotive by making a puffing noise in the smoke-stack.

We have no doubt that if the part played by the human will in the production of economical phenomena were thus put forward more prominently in lectures, articles, and speeches on economical questions, a far clearer impression of their real nature would be made on a portion of the community which discussions on these topics do not now reach. If it could be got into people's heads that custom-house returns, bank statements, exchange quotations, price-lists, are all records, not simply of commercial transactions, but of the state of mind of some thousands of human beings at various times about various matters to which they are paying the closest attention, as deeply affecting their own welfare, we should assuredly see removed a great deal of the mystery which now surrounds "finance" in the eyes not only of Ungrammatical Plain Men, but even of lawyers, clergymen, and women of education and thoughtfulness, and the rapid disappearance from the public view of the Soft-Money Blatherskite. The wiseacres who are now sitting up at night devising schemes to enable the country to get rid of its debts without paying them, and at the same time do nobody any harm, would also rapidly rest from their labors; peace would at the same time enter into the souls of the publicists who are possessed with the idea that foreign commodities are imported by a few persons who are living beyond their means, and need the warning voice and restraining hand of a Boutwell or a Richardson to check them in their mad career.

There are some words of deep wisdom on this subject in the late report of M. Wolowski to the French Assembly on the monetary convention of the Government with the Bank of France. After admitting that a certain amount of irredeemable paper might be kept

afloat at par with gold—about $60,000,000—without working any *apparent* mischief, he draws attention, in pointed language, to the fact that the dangers or advantages of any system of currency do not appear on the surface, but are to be found in the state of mind which lies behind the currency, and goes on to explain that the whole of the legal-tender bank issues ought to be withdrawn without any similar substitute "on the part of the Government, because it would be dangerous for the state to begin the issue of paper-money; the ease with which such money can be created, even within narrow limits, might carry us further, and in order to reap a small advantage in the present, we should run the risk of a serious danger in the future, for the appearance of success already obtained might lead to an exaggeration of the system. It is better in a country as impressionable as ours is, and as ready to rush down the incline of bold enterprises, to give up an easy means of lightening the budget, than to encounter the risks of a seductive abuse. We must not tolerate even the harmless use of paper money to a very limited amount, for the limit is too weak to resist the pressure of growing demands. . . . Paper money is, as Napoleon I. said, the curse of nations; it is to the morale what the plague is to the physique. Let us take care not to let ourselves be assailed by such a peril."

## THE RED-CLOUD REPORT.

THE most noticeable thing about the report of the Indian Commission appointed to investigate the charges brought by Professor Marsh, has been the indifference with which it has been received. The report has evidently altered no one's opinion about the management of Indian affairs, and relieved neither Mr. Delano nor General Grant from any of the odium which that management has justly or unjustly brought upon them; and even the changes recommended in the Indian policy of the Government by the Commission—many of which are highly sensible—have not excited any discussion either in the newspapers or in any public quarter. The whole report, except so far as it corroborates the charges made by Professor Marsh, and so provides powder for the war upon the Administration, has fallen completely flat.

The report itself is fair enough. The Commissioners seem to have gone to work in a painstaking manner to sift to the bottom all accusations against Indian officials, and they have sifted them, and have thrown a good deal of light upon Indian affairs. Considering the extra-legal character of the enquiry, and the fact that instead of a prosecuting officer with an able staff of assistants to get at the truth, with all the machinery of the criminal courts behind them, and the hope of professional distinction and public rewards to urge them on, there was only on the side of the Indians and the people of the United States a college professor doing work to which he had never been trained, and incited only by the desire to do his duty, and having against him the united force of all the corruption, all the ignorance, and all the prejudice of the "practical men" of the Plains—the results are startling. They may be generally summed up as the removal of the head of one of the Departments at Washington, the dismissal of half a dozen subordinate officials or employés, and the probable removal of the head of the Indian office. Delano, Smith, and Saville, too, it must be remembered, have not been distrusted public servants, whom the Great Father merely wanted an excuse to get rid of, but were regarded by him as indispensable men, who had been tried and found full of all those qualities which were most needed for the maintenance of that policy with regard to Indian affairs—whatever it may have been—that the Great Father has been so steadily pursuing. Besides this, the more important of Professor Marsh's charges are all completely sustained, or, if not sustained, reported upon by the Commissioners in such a way as to show that they were probably true. Saville they declare to be "incompetent," which was exactly what was maintained by the professor; as to the overestimate of the number of Indians at the Red Cloud Agency, the Commissioners say that army officers examined have the same impression, but that it must be considered a matter of "opinion" rather than exact proof—a safe conclusion, certainly, which will probably not alter the belief of the professor, the army officers, or anybody else. The Commissioners exonerate Bosler, the contractor, but they show by his own accounts that he is growing rich on Indian contracts at a rate which is surprising enough to arouse suspicion and demand enquiry. The charge of having at previous times furnished inferior cattle does not seem to us to have been disproved by proof that a herd which the Commissioners inspected was up to the standard. Flagrant frauds were discovered in pork and flour, and also in transportation. On the whole, with Delano removed, Smith under a serious cloud, and a report recommending the removal of the agent against whose administration the investigation was chiefly directed, and of still another agent, as well as the exclusion of three contractors from all further connection with the Government, Professor Marsh must feel that as a "scholar in politics" he has had a considerable amount of success; and, if every one of his charges is not proved, and some of them turn out to have been too strong, he probably consoles himself with the reflection that nine-tenths of the prosecuting officers in the country, even with the courts and the machinery of justice to aid them, seldom get a verdict upon more counts in their indictments than he has done in his.

What, then, is the reason, in view of the externally respectable character of the report and the success of the investigation in unearthing abuses, that the report has fallen so flat and attracted so little attention? The real answer to this question is, we believe, of considerable importance to the Republican party, and it is the very simple one that the Commission was appointed by the very men whose official conduct was to be investigated, and the instructions issued to the court thus constituted were drawn up by the accused themselves. The whole affair was such an insult to the common-sense of the public that it is difficult to write with moderation about it; but the facts deserve to be recalled. Professor Marsh, it will be recollected, brought his charges not merely against the subordinate employés like Saville, but against Delano and Smith as well, and on this account made his application for an investigation to Grant instead of the Interior Department. Thereupon Grant immediately becomes so impressed with the fidelity and worth of Delano and Smith that he at once hands the whole matter over to them, and it is actually Delano who convenes the court, administers the oaths, and draws up the code under which he himself is to be tried. At such performances it is difficult to know whether the public is expected to laugh or to gnash its teeth, but it cannot be expected to await with interest or to treat as final the findings of a court so constituted. The only analogous case which we remember was Connolly's empanelling of Messrs. Astor, Taylor, and Roberts to examine the Ring accounts in this city. The irregularities then charged against Tweed and Connolly were very much the same as those now brought home to the Indian Department—frauds practised on the public through contracts—and it occurred to them that the only complete vindication they could have would be the report of a competent committee of business men that the accounts of the city were correct. Connolly accordingly appointed Messrs. Astor, Taylor, and Roberts, earnestly begged them to convene the court at once, himself produced the evidence and explained it, and, when he thought the examination had gone far enough, adjourned the proceedings and produced the most complete vindication, to the effect that the city finances were not only in admirable order, but, such were the economy and fidelity with which they were managed, that the entire debt of the city would be probably extinguished in a few years.

Here we have this Investigating Commission at Washington reporting that, while they have discovered some irregularities among agents and contractors, the motives and general character of the gentlemen who appointed them are beyond suspicion; while another Commission, appointed in the same way, has recently reported, almost as if they were rehearsing the Tweed farce, that the Indian policy of the President was such a complete success that not only are the civilized Indians making year by year rapid strides in the path of progress, but even the wild tribes among the Rocky Moun-

tains, with whom no means of communication exists, are beginning to show the effects of the atmosphere of reform which had spread over the plains below.

To put the matter in a very few words, the credulity and confidence of the public have been stretched too far, and it is very plain, from the cool way in which this report has been received, that the Republicans have brought matters to a bad pass for themselves. As a general thing, a respectful attention to the excuses and explanations made by any Administration at Washington is due from and readily yielded by the public at large. The machinery of Government is so complicated, and responsibility so divided, that this ought to be so. When, therefore, this readiness to accept reasonable explanations begins to disappear, and to be succeeded by a sullen determination on the part of the public to listen to nothing, to form their own conclusions regardless of the official explanation put forth, and to treat all officials under charges as probably guilty, the party in power may as well make up its mind that there are rocks ahead. The general spread of this sort of temper will, we may be pretty sure in a free country, not be delayed very long after officials begin to make a practice of "reform within the party" by appointing courts instructed by themselves for their own trial and "vindication."

## THE BARINGS ONCE MORE.

THE Philadelphia *Bulletin* has some talk about the attitude of the Barings towards this Government during the late war, apropos of what has recently appeared in our columns on the subject, and declares that, "unfortunately for the *Nation*, it has not hit upon the right period of the rebellion for its history of the Baring transactions, and is therefore either misled itself or is intentionally misleading others." It then proceeds to tell another story about the Barings, which it evidently considers a clincher. We quote it in its own language:

"It was at least a year before the time of which Mr. Ward or Mr. Aspinwall writes when the Government despatched a confidential agent to Europe to purchase cloth for the army. A special credit of $800,000 or $900,000 was opened for his use at Barings'. On his arrival in London he was cordially received by the bankers, and all the usual facilities were extended to him for the prosecution of his mission. His credit was fully recognized, and everything went along swimmingly. Not finding goods to suit him in England, he crossed to Paris, with letters from the Barings to Hottinguer & Co., where he made his purchases and his first shipments, but cautiously provided for the payments only so fast as the goods should be actually shipped. He returned to London to arrange for his remittances to the Paris manufacturers, and travelled up to London from Southampton *on the train that carried the passengers of the captured Trent.* On presenting himself to the Barings, it soon became apparent that a change had come over the spirit of their dream. They were cool, dilatory, evasive, and, after several days wasted in frivolous excuses, they came out with a downright refusal to honor the drafts, confessing their doubts of the stability of the American Government, and adding that they were already overdrawn by about £40,000, and that they would not pay anything on the special credit of £165,000 until this overdraft was settled. By the same steamer, on the same day, and, as we understand, by the same messenger, the demand was made on the Washington Government for the extradition of Mason and Slidell and for the settlement of Barings' balance. Whether this latter was a coincidence or not, we have no means of ascertaining."

Now, we do not know how much or how little truth there is in this tale. But, taking it as literally accurate, we cannot but regard it as something like a piece of self-stultification on the part of our Philadelphia contemporary, for this is what it amounts to: In the fall of 1861, after Bull Run, when the fortunes of the United States Government were apparently at their lowest ebb, the Barings cheerfully granted it a credit of $800,000 or $900,000, and "cordially received" its messenger "and extended to him the usual facilities." A few weeks later events occurred which clearly indicated the breaking out of a war between their own country and the United States. Everybody in England confidently expected it. Had it broken out, not only would an English banking-house have run the risk of losing whatever the United States Government owed it, but its continuing to supply that Government with money for any purpose would certainly have been a criminal offence, for which the partners would have been liable to punishment by the English courts. The Barings, therefore, in declining to continue the credit until the *Trent* affair was settled acted with perfect propriety; and if their messenger went out by the steamer which took the British ultimatum in the case, that was the very vessel in which he ought to have taken his passage. If the *Bulletin* will peruse Wheaton's chapter, "On the Commencement of War, and its Immediate Effects," it will find the chambers of its brain flooded with a strange but wholesome light, and will be prevented from ever again doing anything so ridiculous as calling the refusal of a banker, under such circumstances, to keep up his business relations with a foreign government "an act of disloyalty to his principals."

That our Government took the right view of the matter at the time is shown by the fact that its relations with the Barings underwent no change. They continued to be its bankers, and when the risk of war with England had disappeared, dark as the days were, honored its drafts as before, as Mr. Aspinwall testified. They were discarded nearly ten years later (1870), when the war had been long over, and then not because the Government had acquired any sense of the danger or difficulty of transacting its banking business with a foreign house, but because a mushroom concern started in New York by two obscure foreigners was willing to bribe some of the President's followers into giving them the handling of the public funds, and found them bribable, and our Minister of Finance silent and subservient. The whole story is a shameful one, which no respectable American can read without blushing, and not the least shameful part of it to our minds is the attempt, like this of the *Bulletin*, to provide an excuse or justification for a piece of pitiful jobbery. *Harper's Weekly* thinks that in spite of the appearance of the President's brother-in-law in it, the President cannot be held responsible—we suppose on the theory that to prove his complicity with any bit of corruption we must trace the money into his hands. We do not care to discuss a matter so repulsive. We shall content ourselves with saying that General Grant's attachment to his relatives and devotion to his personal followers are too well known and too persistent to allow us to release him from the operation of the good old rule which makes kings accountable for the character of their courtiers, and judges private men by the company they keep.

## EMPEROR WILHELM AT MILAN.

PARIS, October 7.

WHEN I was in Milan a fortnight ago, it was still doubtful whether the visit of the German Emperor to the King of Italy would take place. It was well known, however, that if the Emperor crossed the Alps he would meet the King at Milan and not go to Rome. The reason of this is obvious: no sovereign has yet gone to Rome since the question of the temporal power was settled by force, and since Rome has become the capital of united Italy. A visit of the two potentates who are carrying on a war against Rome to Rome itself would look too like an insult to the Papacy, and would only raise Pio Nono still higher in the eyes of the Catholic world. The Germans are a practical race, especially the Prussians; they are quite contented with crushing in Germany the power of the Catholic Church. The Falk laws are enough for them; they control now the Catholic seminaries, the education of the Catholic priests, the management of the Church property. These are tangible, solid advantages which the Prussian state has conquered and means to preserve. A visit of the German Emperor to Rome would only be a boastful and vain manifestation; the Catholic subjects of William would be more deeply offended by this want of taste than by the persistent enforcement of the Falk laws. Even the Catholic bishops are getting accustomed and resigned to those laws; but there would be in a visit of the conqueror of Sadowa and of Paris, of the Protestant Charlemagne, to Rome in its present state something which would shock Catholic hearts and Catholic imaginations perhaps for ages to come. "We will not go to Canossa," once said Bismarck at the tribune in one of the happiest outbursts of his easy and terse eloquence. This is what the French call the *cri de l'âme*. The memory of Canossa cannot perish. Now, fancy the Italian and the German sovereigns holding reviews and parading before their soldiers under the eyes of the prisoner of the Vatican. Victor Emanuel has never warred against Rome with any pleasure. He made himself the soldier of the national unity. A great principle, a great necessity, gave him the courage to incur the excommunication of Rome; but, in his heart, he is not the enemy of the Papacy. As he has absorbed in himself all the kingdoms and dukedoms of the Peninsula, he now wishes Italy to absorb the Papacy. During the periods of his greatest difficulties with the Pope, as temporal sovereign, he has always bowed before the Pope as his spiritual chief and ruler.

This must be well borne in mind by those who, all over the world, take a passionate interest in the great struggle against Rome. Italy is imbued, as it were, with Catholic ideas; her artistic glory is an emanation of the Catholic faith. What the Italians desire is a reconciliation of the Church with the new Italy, united under the house of Savoy; and the Savoy cross is still a cross. There is no fanaticism in the Italian religiosity (I can find no better word to express a state of mind which is antagonistic to pure materialism). There are now, and there always have been, in Italy men of

science, rationalists, unbelievers, but they only form an exception. To the immense majority of the Italians religion seems a necessity, an ornament of life and of civilization ; and they do not look at it from a dogmatic point of view ; they are not troubled with fears and doubts ; they are not, I repeat, fanatics in belief any more than in unbelief. They like an easy, fluent, poetical mode of existence, and the Catholic Church has for centuries fed their eyes with marvellous spectacles and their hearts with all the noble and inspiring images of the Old and New Testaments. To argue with an Italian on Christianity is quite useless : they have not the theological *rabies*. Nobody understood this better than Cavour ; he knew well that a duel of the state with the Church would be fatal to his hopes ; he invented the formula, "Libera chiesa in libero stato," which practically means let the Church alone as long as she does not hinder the work of the state, the unification of the land, of the legislation, etc. Go where you like in Italy now, and you see the religious and civil element working harmoniously together. There only remains the dangerous question of Rome ; this is practically settled, and with time a reconciliation of the spiritual ruler of the Catholic world and of the King of Italy will inevitably take place. Such a reconciliation is the wish of every patriotic Italian.

For these reasons it does not seem likely that the meeting of the German Emperor and the King of Italy will result in an offensive alliance against the Papacy. Such an alliance ought to be signed in front of the Vatican, not in the distant city of Milan. That there should exist a defensive alliance of the two sovereigns against what is called Ultramontanism, is quite natural ; this alliance has existed for the last five years, but its objects seem now well exhausted. Italy has accomplished her unity ; she is in possession of Venice and of Rome ; France has no desire to make war for "an idea" ; nothing threatens the crown of Victor Emanuel. Italy has her natural boundary in the Alps ; she is far too wise to engage herself in wild adventures for the sake of a little strip of land, of Nice, of the southern part of Tyrol, or of Trieste. She is isolated from Europe by a most formidable barrier ; and if great wars should rage from the Pyrenees to the plains of Moscow, she would be quite safe behind the Alps. She is in this respect far happier than Belgium, Holland, or Switzerland ; she is not in the path of the great war cyclones. The instinct of self-preservation, in lieu of high political wisdom (and she has never been deficient in wisdom), would teach Italy that her best policy now would consist in preserving friendly relations with all the great powers impartially, in not espousing any of their quarrels, and in adopting an attitude of complete neutrality in all the great struggles of the day. If this is the case, and I believe that all Italian statesmen agree on this point, one hardly sees what can be the sense of the visit of the Emperor of Germany to Italy. There was a time when Italy had much to fear from Prussia. When the Emperor Napoleon III. concluded the hasty peace of Villafranca, his secret reason was, not his horror of blood, or his generosity towards the young Emperor of Austria ; it was the news which had come to him from Frankfort. The Bund was then still in existence, and Napoleon learned that Prussia was exciting the confederation against Italy and France. These times are quite distant ; and few among the most Germanizing Germans would now speak of re-establishing the Teutonic influence or rule in Italy. Some time ago I was looking from the terrace of the Villa Serbelloni, on the Lake of Como, and I overheard two Germans expressing their admiration of the magnificent sight which was under their eyes. One of them said to the other : "Is it astonishing that our countrymen should always have been drawn to this country, and felt a longing for it ?" You will see in Goethe's works the poetical expression of this feeling : "Kennst du das Land wo die Citronen blühen ?" For centuries the German Emperor felt that it was a part of his mission to cross the Alps from time to time, and make himself the armed arbiter of the dukes, the cities, and the Pope of Italy. He represented the great principle of peace and order in a country convulsed by wars, rebellions, and rivalries. There lingers still in the German heart the old feeling that he belongs to a superior race, which has an inalienable right of domination over the effeminate Latin race. But this feeling has no longer any outward and political expression since the *white coats* of Austria were turned out of Lombardy and Venetia, since the vassals of the Empire who lived at Parma, Modena, Florence, and Naples became exiles. Italy is truly free, and the permanence of her freedom has become one of the great interests of the new German Empire.

We can, therefore, only look at the approaching interview as a great show, as a demonstration of a pacific tendency. The Milanese are preparing to receive the German Emperor—who comes to them with an olive-branch in his hand—with the greatest respect. The old houses which dishonored the noble square in front of the Duomo are being pulled down with great energy, so that the German Emperor may see the cathedral in all its glory. The Italians excel in this sort of operatic enthusiasm. What can exceed the beauty of the ceremonies of Rome ? Compared to an Italian *fête*, an English and even a Parisian ceremony seem tame and prosaic. From time immemorial the Italians have lived in the forum, in their public places ; they are all natural stage-managers. Those who saw the night entrance of Victor Emanuel into Venice, after the departure of the Austrians, declare that nothing like it was ever seen before. In Berlin the Emperor can offer little more to his guests than reviews, endless regiments in battle array. Victor Emanuel will be able to show his guest some fine troops, but even the uniforms of his army have something operatic : the *bersaglieri* look like so many Fra Diavolos. Berlin has a magnificent museum, which is becoming richer every day. But where can anything be seen more admirable, more delicious than the "Sposalizio" of Raphael in the Brera ?—this work which was never retouched, and which is, so to speak, the bloom of Raphael's genius when he left the school of the sublime Perugino. A look at the "Sposalizio" alone is worth a long journey. As much can be said of the famous "Cenacolo" of Leonardo da Vinci ; I went to see it again this year. The fresco has not suffered much lately ; the beautiful outlines are still there, and the inexpressible sadness of the head of Christ will for years to come still impress the spectator with curiosity, melancholy, and awe. I would recommend, however, those who admire Leonardo to look in the Brera for the drawing of the head of Christ which was the first idea, the first study, of the famous head of the fresco. There is a slight pink tint on the drawing, which makes it appear almost lifelike. I don't know anything more striking than this extraordinary head, so full of divine suffering, so noble, so superhuman.

I can only speak of the great artistic sights of Milan ; there are in every city of Italy two or three culminating works of art which rise above all the others as Mont Blanc rises over thousands of inferior peaks. Need I mention the famous Ambrosian Library with all its treasures, the frescoes of Luini in the Church of Sant' Ambrogio ? Modern Milan prides itself on its fine palaces, its enormous arcade, where hundreds of people are always congregated before the gay shop-windows or the new statues of Cavour, of Leonardo surrounded by four disciples. I confess that I have but a moderate admiration for these new works, especially for the arcade, which is the pride of the Milanese. We must not forget the Scala, the finest theatre in Italy ; no doubt some great gala representation will take place there, but gala representations have always seemed to me the worst of all ; the interest is too much outside the stage, and the real actors are in the boxes. After all, a ballet is not quite the thing for two stern warriors like Victor Emanuel and William ; the smiles of a *ballerina* have no charm for eyes accustomed to the topography of battle-fields, and even the noisy music of Verdi cannot compete with the sound of drums and the noise of guns.

It is still doubtful whether Prince Bismarck will accompany his imperial master ; if he does not, it will be an additional sign that the interview is to have no political character ; if he does, it will not prove that it has. There seems to be at present all over Europe a desire to put off the evil day, to ignore or postpone dangerous questions. I was reading in a German newspaper a few days ago that the mental state of things between France and Germany was becoming intolerable ; it was like "moral cannibalism." The German newspapers seem to extend to France a hand of peace ; France remains sullen, but she has no desire to raise any unpleasant question. Europe is at peace, and ardently wishes to remain at peace ; sovereigns can come and go, and see each other in opera-boxes or on parade-grounds without much inconvenience. The dogs of war are chained ; and the anxious mothers, who send their sons to the army, may read without too much tremor the details of the approaching interview at Milan.

# Correspondence.

## LEGALIZE THE GOLD STANDARD—THEN REFORM THE GREENBACKS.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : The "great mercy" in Ohio is doubtless a cause for profound rejoicing on the part of all honest men, but the acceptance of it by many of them as a "settlement of the currency question" is rather a discouraging symptom. Ever since that unfortunate day (Feb. 4, 1868) when Congress repealed the only honest legislation it has ever made in favor of specie payments (I mean the Act of April 12, 1866, under which McCulloch was allowed to "retire and cancel" forty-four millions of the legal-tender

debt), a "specie-payment plank" of various degrees of stiffness has formed a regular component part of most Republican political platforms, State and national, and has often been used to build up those of the Democrats. Spite of these fine words, however, a Presidential veto in April of last year was the only thing that prevented the Congressional inflationists from winning a decisive victory, and the present moment finds the nation staggering under a greater load of irredeemable paper than ever before, and pretending to believe that it can be got rid of by a sham "resolution" which names January 1, 1879, as the happy day.

The difficulty, as everybody knows, results from the fact that "platforms" are modelled as closely as may be after the political formulas of the "Latin races," which promise all desirable things in a general, abstract way, but avoid the advocacy of definite "particular measures" for securing them, as being inconsistent with "harmony." Hence, of course, it is that "pronounced hard-money men," like Blaine and Dawes, can play into the hands of the inflationists by favoring "happy adjustments" and tolerating illegal issues of cancelled legal-tender currency, without exposing themselves to rebuke at the hands of their constituents whose interests they have betrayed. They may favor "a little temporary inflation to preserve the harmony of the party," or may consent to have McCulloch's work all undone because they never advocated his "particular measure" for getting back the gold; but when they talk about "specie resumption" as a general, abstract duty, their voices ring out in trumpet-tones in defence of the national honor and good faith, so that the plain people who cast the votes, though they may have a vague feeling that they are somehow being deceived, cannot for the life of them see where they are to look for more zealous defenders of the right.

Now, since there are half-a-dozen straightforward plans for returning to a specie basis, and since no one of these is so much superior to the others as to make adherence to it alone the test of financial orthodoxy—in other words, since there can be found no one "particular measure" for bringing about the desired result which all the voters who wish for honest money can bind their representatives to favor, what prospect is there that we are ever to see the end of this shuffling and evasive treatment which the invertebrate, "hard-money" Congressional leaders, who have remained "loyal to the great party of progress," have given to the currency question for the last seven years? Presumptuous as may seem the attempt to answer this discouraging question, or to say anything new or worth saying about a subject which ten years' discussion has worn so thoroughly threadbare, I yet venture to suggest that there *is* one act of legislation which all friends of honest currency ought to favor, and which they *might* all be persuaded unitedly to insist upon, since in one form or another it must ultimately find a place in every effective plan of specie resumption, and since its adoption at the outset would in no way hinder the subsequent adoption of any one of those plans. Thus, suppose at the opening of Congress some fine young radical, with an abundant capacity for fighting, should offer a bill to this effect:

"*Be it enacted*, etc., That for all debts contracted within the limits of the United States on and after the 4th day of July, 1876, the standard coin of the United States shall be the only legal tender; and that all laws conflicting with this enactment be and are hereby repealed."

The passage of such a law would not reform our depreciated currency, nor would it forthwith bring about a hard-money millennium. People would still go on making sales for greenbacks; and the nation, the States, the cities, the private corporations, and the individual employers, would still find it easy to hire plenty of servants who would take their pay in the same substitute for money. The national-bank notes issued after July 4 would become *ipso facto* gold notes, and would have the same relation to those issued before that date as gold would have to the national greenbacks. In fact, the immediate outward effect of such a law, so far as concerns the use of currency, would be hardly perceptible; but its moral effect, in educating the popular intelligence to distinguish between names and things, in pledging the nation to at least take no more steps backward, and in concentrating public odium against all foes of the national credit, would be of incalculable value. Already, to be sure, the courts have agreed to sustain contracts made in gold, and the *Nation* has more than once urged that such contracts should be more generally favored by the parties to large business transactions. Indeed, their universal adoption among mercantile men would be the only alternative to ruin should the inflationists once carry the day. But if, after July 4, 1876, definite "greenback contracts" had to be entered into in each case in order to prevent the creditor from demanding payment in gold or its equivalent, "the boot would be on the other leg," the presumption would be reversed, and the "trouble" which now hinders the making of coin contracts would then help the making of them. As time went on, the large tradesmen would gradually grow weary of wasting the effort required to put the "greenback clause" into their contracts, and would become accustomed to base their plans and their business-talk on the true idea that "greenbacks are worth 85½ to-day" instead of on the delusive idea that "gold is worth 117 to-day." The small traders would not be long in following suit, and ultimately even the "laboring man" would get a firm grasp on the idea. Once let the people of this country get into the habit of using the greenback dollar for just what it is worth—once let the most thoughtless and ignorant of them get into the habit of thinking and talking about it as the equivalent of 85 cents in gold—and not even the most case-hardened demagogue would have the audacity to advocate any plan for "moving the crops" or "equalizing the volume of the currency," by cutting down the value of that greenback dollar to 80 or 75 cents. When the fraud is made popularly comprehensible, it will become impossible. When the people realize what a wretched thing an 85-cent dollar is to effect their exchanges with, they will make haste to supersede it by a 100-cent dollar, and so render their standard of value and their circulating medium once more identical.

Which one of the half-dozen plans for securing specie resumption they will then adopt need not be considered now, but it is certain that they will have no difficulty in the case supposed in concentrating opinion in favor of a "particular measure," and making a vigorous support of the same by Congressmen the "main question" of the latter's political existence. In other words, it seems to me that the Legal-tender Act has so confused the popular distinction between right and wrong, between shadow and substance, as to render it impossible for the public to formulate any correct ideas on the currency question while this disturbing force remains unchecked. Remove this disturbing force, let gold be the recognized standard of value, as in the nature of things it must always be the actual standard, and people will once more see the difference between names and things; but, until they are thus allowed to come to their senses, how can it be expected that they will take anything more than a languid interest in "financial reform"? The average man will continue to think that the greenback dollar is "good enough for him" just so long as he believes that "gold is worth 117"; it is only when you can convince him that his dollar is worth but 85 cents that he will bestir himself to get a better one. But how can you hope to convince him so long as an unconstitutional act is allowed to interrupt the working of a beneficent natural law?

That debts existing in 1862 may be paid in greenbacks has been settled by the Supreme Court's mournfully memorable decision of Hepburn *v.* Griswold in 1870; that debts more recently contracted may be equitably paid in the same medium is disputed by no one; but that debts contracted after a fixed future date (the earlier the better) ought to be paid in gold or its equivalent, except by special agreement to the contrary, is a principle which seems to me to lie at the basis of any practicable plan for regaining our national solvency. Is it too much to hope that all intelligent and earnest friends of an honest currency—whether editors, orators, or "managers"—can be made to join forces on this one simple issue, and carry through a movement for bringing the country back, not to specie dollars, but to common-sense? Is it too much to hope that the *Nation* at least will try to reconcile to this preliminary "particular measure" the friends of the half-dozen other supplementary "particular measures" from which is finally to be selected the one that will really bring about the resumption of cash payments? Hope, however, I feel to be an emotion rather out of place in connection with any discussion of the currency when I think of the letter in this week's *Nation*. If a clergyman of recognized ability, an influential social leader in a flourishing interior city, can look at first principles of finance under such a cloud of fallacies, what *can* be hoped for in the case of the uninstructed "common people"? Your answer to his assertion that "to re-enact that gold and only gold shall be legal-tender is a demonstrable absurdity," is of course sufficient; but I wish he might be persuaded to read the remarks made by Professor Sumner of Yale in his recent book about currency, in demonstration of that fundamental monetary maxim: "Whatever gold there is in the world is enough; for the metals will distribute themselves amongst the nations in exact proportion to their requirements, if there is no interference in the shape of inferior currency."

L. H. B.

West Springfield, Mass., October 16, 1875.

## THE MEASURE OF VALUE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Accepting the rôle assigned me by the *Nation* of a harmless and teachable lunatic, I recently ventured the assertion in the *Nation* (No. 537):

"Gold may be serving a use as a measure of value, but not as the only legal-tender."

Condescending to my low estate, the *Nation* replied :

"The little hallucination that lies at the bottom of his [my] difficulty is the notion that he can use gold as a means of measuring the value of an article in any other way than by an offer to sell the article for gold."

From the very next number of the *Nation* (538) I clip the following :

"The value of the greenback dollar has ranged from 85.47 to 85.83 (from 117 to 116½)."

I ask, Does not the editor of the *Nation* here measure the value of a legal-tender dollar by gold that happens to be standing by ? Does he not do this without offering to sell or buy a dollar one way or the other ?

It seems to me that there is a chance of reform in our market quotations. It would certainly be wiser, instead of saying that gold is at a premium, to say that legal-tender is at a discount ; thus recognizing the fact that gold is standing by and serving as a measure, whether we know it or not. I would as soon think of inventing a dodge to escape gravitation, which yields the foot-pound as a unit of value to all mechanics, as to try to escape from the supervision of gold as a unit of value in all commercial transactions. But what is *expedient* as legal-tender is one question. What is *inevitable* as a measure of value is quite another question.

THOS. K. BEECHER.

ELMIRA, N. Y.

[We assure Mr. Beecher solemnly that what we know in this office of the value of greenbacks is supplied by the testimony of veracious persons as to the price which they are on a given day bringing on Wall Street *by actual sale*. We do not go down and test the matter by selling them ourselves, because our informants have no motive for lying to us about it, and are men of good repute. We repeat that gold cannot "stand by and serve as a measure of value" except by being offered by *bonâ-fide* dealers in exchange for the commodities whose value it measures. It is not necessary that the owner should sell or offer to sell an article to ascertain its value, but it is necessary that sales of it, or *bonâ-fide* offers to buy it, or something exactly like it, should be made by somebody. This is not a contrivance of ours ; it is a law of the human mind.—ED. NATION.]

# Notes.

A. WILLIAMS & CO. will issue at once, by arrangement with the city government of Boston, two hundred copies of the 'Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill,' with an appendix containing a survey of the literature of the battle, its antecedents and results. The editor is Mr. James M. Bugbee. The work contains fifteen heliotype illustrations.——A 'Life of Lord Byron,' by Señor Castelar, and 'The Thrones and Palaces of Babylon and Nineveh,' by Rev. J. T. Newman, are announced by Harper & Brothers.——'Foot-Notes; or, Walking as a Fine Art,' by Alfred Barron, will be published by the Wallingford (Conn.) Printing Company.——J. W. Bouton has in press 'The Story of the Stick in all Ages and Lands,' from the French of Fernand Michel ; the third volume of Thomas Inman's 'Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names' ; and Knight's 'Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology,' edited by Dr. Alexander Wilder.——G. P. Putnam's Sons have undertaken a series of books consisting of characteristic selections, often of entire papers, from the British Essayists. There will be five or six volumes, the first being made up from the *Spectator*, the second from the *Tatler*, *Guardian*, and *Freeholder*, etc., etc. Mr. John Habberton will edit the series.——The Medico-Legal Society of New York solicits contributions to its library either in money or in books ; the proceedings of medical societies, and official reports of or concerning insane asylums throughout the country, are especially desired. Donors not members will be allowed liberal access to the library, which at present is kept by Mr. R. S. Guernsey, at 150 Broadway, and is likely to have a place beside the general law library of the Equitable Assurance Building.——The most noticeable feature of the 'Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at the semi-annual meeting in Boston, April 28,' is a discussion of the Christian name of the Rev. J. Glover, who is honored as the father of the American press for having in 1636 sent out the materials for a printing establishment to Cambridge, in New England. This became the first press set up on the continent, save one at Mexico, and the third on either continent. Glover himself died on the voyage over. Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull proves conclusively, from the results of enquiries set on foot by himself both here and in England, that his name was not Joseph, as has been generally supposed, but Jose or Josse (one syllable).——We are informed from Antioch College that "the reputed head and probably now the sole active member of the Great American Literary Bureau, of Yellow Springs, Ohio," is one William B. Hafner, whose character, mental culture, and ability are what one might infer from his circular. "He has never been a member of Antioch or any other college."——The *Athenæum* states that the introductory essays to the catalogues of the various classes of art-works in the South Kensington Museum, which are "the best-compressed manuals of the respective subjects in existence," will be published separately from the lists of objects at a low price—about a shilling each. They treat of furniture, textile fabrics, majolica, musical instruments, and ivories.——An entertaining book will one day be written upon the curiosities of sale-catalogues, and the chapter in it treating of the autograph dealers' price-lists will not be the dullest. Mr. John Waller, 58 Fleet Street, London, offers for sale, among other rarities, an "A. L. S." (autograph letter signed) of Mme. Malibran to Mr. Bunn, 1 p. 4to. : "I am not capable of singing baby's music," etc., *characteristic specimen*, 5s. 6d. Of Tennyson (Alfred) there is a "small A. L. S." as follows : "Send your clerk as soon as you can, please ; there is no need of further hesitation, and don't let him forget my banking-book. A. Tennyson," 10s. 6d. Of Mr. Emerson (R. W.) there is an 8vo "A. L. S.," 2½ pp., *neat specimen*, 2s. 6d. Washington Irving is represented by an "A. L. S." : "In compliance with your request I send you my autograph. Respectfully your obedient servant," etc., *very scarce*, 5s.——The desire of the Germans to take a moral as well as a political satisfaction in their recovery of Alsace and Lorraine is shown in their renewed researches into the linguistic divisions of the population of the new Imperial provinces. The latest map of their German and French-speaking boundaries is to be found in Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for August 19, 1875.

—In *Lippincott's* for November there is the usual strong proportion of sketches of travel, with and without illustrations. The paper on "St. Augustine in April," by Sidney Lanier, belongs in the former category, and the wood-cuts are very good indeed. It is more historical than descriptive, and Mr. Lanier's poetical licenses in prose are accordingly fewer than usual. He has an agreeable style when it is not surcharged with imagery. Even here his rhetorical-poetical foible of seeing "God in everything" displays itself once too often, in the passage where he speaks of "a morning which mingles infinite repose with infinite glittering, as if God should smile in his sleep." In a former paper of his, also on Florida, similes like this occurred several times, if we remember rightly. Mrs. Rebecca Harding Davis is a much more restrained and artistic writer, and her descriptions in "Qualla" of the natural scenery of North Carolina are excellent in point of taste and effectiveness. Buncombe County, for example, under her touch becomes something more than the shadowy foundation of a successful Americanism, and is likely to be long remembered by the reader as an enviable refuge for the weary. When we fairly reach Qualla, in an adjoining county, the climax, in a literary point of view, is too much like the squirrel-track, running up a tree, in which the proverbial cart-track ended. The story of the small Cherokee tribe which she found there, rather than saw, is certainly a very curious and a very shocking one—in a word, their swindling out of money and land by a white foster-child ; but we are told at the close that they have recovered their land by a suit, and that the Government is taking steps to educate and otherwise civilize them on the spot. Mrs. Davis calls for volunteer missionaries to them, but this seems to be one of those cases in which the experiment might profitably be made of distributing the tribe in small groups through a decent agricultural community, under some sort of supervision, but with intent to put upon them at once the necessity of earning a living, obeying the laws, and, as they acquired property, paying taxes upon it.

—*Harper's* contains no salient article, nor any of unusual merit. Mr. John Muir, the enthusiastic explorer of the sinks and gorges of the Sierra, tells in an unpractised way of more living glaciers, great and petty, than are commonly supposed to exist within the limits of California. Mr. James T. Fields makes Barry Cornwall the string on which to thread divers anecdotes of the poet's contemporaries whom Mr. Fields either met at his house or heard him discourse about ; and portraits of all these celebrities appear in their proper place in the text. Of Mr. Procter himself, who wrote "The sea, the sea, the open sea," it is related that he had rarely been at sea, and had so great a dread of it that he would not even cross the Channel to

see Paris. A letter which Lamb wrote him asks for some verses "Signed Barry C——" for a young lady's album. "They need not be very good," adds Lamb, "as I chiefly want 'em as a foil to mine." The paper on "Butter and Cheese" describes the process of cheese-making in factories, an American industry whose development is at least as creditable as that of any which has dictated our tariffs.

—The tributes to the memory of Mr. Frederick Hudson which have been widely published during the past week, recall the recollection of the "good old times" of journalism, when the New York press was in the hands of the founders of its present greatness and prosperity; when Bennett was the editor and proprietor of the *Herald*, and used to announce, for the benefit of his readers and the public, his own horsewhippings with sensational head-lines. Mr. Hudson was unfortunate enough to fill the position of Bennett's managing editor. If we were to say that the memory of having once been the employé of the most unscrupulous newsmonger that ever conducted a paper must be very bitter to any man who has any sensitiveness or feeling left, we should probably say what nine-tenths of the journalists of any self-respect would feel to be true; and it is curious to observe that the system of posthumous puffing can be carried so far that this fact should now be brought forward by the eulogists of Mr. Hudson as the brightest feather in his cap, and that yards of editorial should be wasted in glorifying him for having filled a position which required for the fulfilment of its duties the daily divestment of self-respect and of all the qualities which make life worth having. Mr. Hudson was, we have no doubt, a good managing editor of the *Herald* at the time when the *Herald* could be caricatured as the *New York Sewer*, and he no doubt faithfully performed the duties of his place. He was, however, a man without education, and with little or no literary ability, as those know who have taken the trouble to look into his very badly done 'History of Journalism.' He was, in fact, a man whose death was not of particular moment, and whose obituary might have been compressed into a single line. But when it is treated as the demise of a great and good man, and calls out as much criticism and discussion as if he had been an illustrious judge or great general, we must, in the interest of common-sense and historical truth, protest, however feebly.

—Now that science neglects nothing which will illustrate the history of man, it behoves scientists to be careful as to their authorities and wags to be merciful in their demands on human credulity. Our readers will doubtless recollect the currency obtained a few years ago in both hemispheres for a wild story of subterranean chambers opened in the excavations made for the St. Louis bridge. Some weeks since we observed in a Western paper a burlesque account of a cave discovered on the upper Mississippi, so grotesque in its details that the joke appeared too broad even for its object. Yet in so grave a periodical as the London *Lancet* of October 9 the story comes back to us treated with all seriousness. How far it has been disseminated it would be difficult to say, for the *Lancet* gives the *Union Médicale* of Paris as its authority for the statement "that in an island in the Mississippi a human skeleton has been found supplied with a wooden leg. The latter was fixed to the trunk with leather straps and some bronze-looking metal which had turned fossil," and it adds the sage remark: "Thus it would appear that oak as well as metal were [*sic*] used in prehistoric times." In the next editions of the researches of M. Lartet and Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Tylor we shall look to see extensive deductions drawn from this "fossil" metal and this "prehistoric" leather.

—The importance of the subject warrants a second reference to the Report on the cholera epidemic of 1873 in the United States, already briefly noticed in our columns. This, technically Executive Document No. 95, Second Session, is a work of more than a thousand pages, brought about by a joint resolution of the Forty-third Congress calling for the collection of all facts of importance relative to that epidemic, "with a view to the prevention or limitation of future outbreaks." The Supervising Surgeon of the Marine Hospital Service, Dr. John M. Woodworth, contributes a brief essay connecting the mercantile marine, especially the emigrant ships, with the importation of the disease, and insisting upon its possible prevention and the importance of an intelligent quarantine. His subordinates' papers he transferred to Dr. Ely McClellan, of the Army, by whom they were used in conjunction with those sent him directly by the writers. Dr. McClellan's report, in its seven hundred pages, based on the details of more than seventy-three hundred cases, gives a history that for all practical purposes is complete of the epidemic of 1873, which expended its force in the Mississippi Valley; and also traces the travels in Asia, Europe, and North America of the cholera epidemics that have visited this country. It is illustrated by many maps and plans. The foreign history of cholera is by Dr. John C. Peters, of this city, a well-known investigator of the subject, who also supplies a curious résumé of the history of the disease from before the Christian era to the famous Indian epidemic of 1817. Dr. McClellan believes firmly in the infectiousness of cholera through the ejecta of the sick; and although giving verbatim the antagonistic papers, his work is an argument, and a successful one, in favor of the limitation of the disease by neutralizing its active causes as they escape with the morbid discharges. He attaches no importance to the geological formations of infected localities, he does not assent to the ground-water hypothesis of Pettenkofer, but believes that unsanitary reception-beds favor its spread; he has little to say as to treatment, and his views as to the essential pathology of cholera are not likely to receive from physicians universal assent; but he has rendered the public most valuable service by tracing and plainly describing the from-man-to-man progress of the disease, and its possible arrest by simple but effectual disinfection. A few typical illustrations (*vide* pp. 132, 306, 315, 357, 441), that space forbids us to transcribe, would bring these truths plainly before every intelligent reader. Dr. McClellan does not believe that the cholera originates out of India, and consequently insists upon its importation being necessary before it can occur in America. To prove in this particular instance the negative that it did *not* originate *de novo* in New Orleans is impossible. But he has made as fair a case of probabilities as have his opponents, and a practical lesson from the whole is the value of enlightened quarantine. Unfortunately, Dr. McClellan does not appear to have had the time, or to have taken the time, to condense his ideas, and he shows an occasional emulation of the superfluous adjectives of the Southwest. A much graver fault is his almost uniform failure to cite references when he appeals to authors. It is impossible to verify one in ten of his authorities, because there is no clue but the bald name. Dr. Peters, however, writes pleasantly and to the point, and always gives title and page when he draws from others. The general index, which should double the usefulness of the work, is simply wretched. A bibliography of cholera, comprising about ten thousand titles, prepared by Dr. John S. Billings, of the Army, occupies the last three hundred pages. Completeness is disclaimed in a prefatory note, but it is great in extent and in the lucidness of its arrangement, and is probably unparalleled. It is at once a magazine of universal cholera literature for the student and a monument to the erudition of the editor.

—In the delightful 'Book-Hunter' of John Hill Burton there is much playful satire against the Grangerite, "whose peculiar glory it is to have his books illustrated," which consists in inserting in or binding up with them portraits, landscapes, and other works of art having a reference to their contents. "He is the very Ishmaelite of collectors—his hand is against every man, and every man's hand is against him. He destroys unknown quantities of books to supply portraits or other illustrations to a single volume of his own." In France, whose literature contains many volumes of memoirs and familiar correspondence which lend themselves readily to the illustrator, the art has been carried to higher cultivation than with us, greatly facilitated of late by the growing popularity of etching. M. J. Seurin has prepared a 'Manuel de l'Amateur d'Illustrations' (Paris: Adolphe Labitte; New York: J. W. Bouton), in which he attempts to describe, under authors' names, all line-engravings, etchings, and woodcuts, which, either singly or in series, may appropriately illustrate their works. He also gives a list of all the engraved portraits of each author; for instance, of Voltaire there are fifty-four, of Molière and of La Fontaine fifty-eight. M. Seurin only knows of eight portraits of Shakspere—a number ludicrously less than the actual count; there was, if we mistake not, one volume at Burton's sale containing over a hundred. He also omits all mention of Mr. F. O. C. Darley's illustrations to Fenimore Cooper, although he gives more than one hundred and fifty illustrations of the American author's works by French artists. Absolute perfection in a work of this kind is, of course, impossible. In general, M. Seurin's knowledge of foreign books is surprising, although it is rather a shock to find Sir Walter Scott catalogued under the W's. There would seem to be no end to the embellishment which some books will permit. The author gives sixteen pages to the illustrations made for La Fontaine's works. He says that eight hundred portraits can easily be collected for Saint-Simon's 'Memoirs,' and that he himself has added about twelve hundred pieces to Thiers's 'History of the French Revolution.' M. Seurin, who has the proper respect for the mysteries of his art, concludes his preface with the important observation that not every work nor every edition is adapted for illustration, and that old engravings often set off badly a too modern subject.

—A new Austrian university, called the Francisco-Josephina, in honor of the reigning Emperor, was formally opened, October 4, at Czernowitz in the Bukowina, with an address from Stremayr, Minister of Public In-

struction. Concerning the aim and spirit of the university there can be little doubt. It is to be the outpost of western, and especially of German, culture in the semi-Oriental region of the Dniester. Here, where the Poles and Ruthenians of Galicia, the Poles of Russia, the Russians proper, the Roumanians, and the Saxons of Transylvania, meet and jostle one another, is to be the basis of an aggressive movement in the direction of the Lower Danube. The new university is also a flank attack upon the ancient university at Lemberg (transferred there recently from Cracow), which seems hopelessly given over to Ultramontane and Polish influences. The Francisco-Josephina commemorates the centenary union of the Bukowina with the Austrian crown. Many of the universities of Germany sent delegates, others congratulatory addresses. The number of students for the first year is set down at nearly one hundred and fifty. There are three faculties : of Greek-Oriental theology, of legal and political science, and of philosophy. The Ultramontane press of Galicia having made some improper demonstrations, the landed gentry of the Bukowina, by unanimous consent, presented to Stremayr an address, in which they assured the Emperor of their unabated loyalty and confidence.

—The latest manifestation of the Ultramontane spirit in Germany is worthy of note. It seems that October 3 was to be made the occasion for another "demonstration" at the small pilgrimage-chapel at Oggersheim, near Speyer. Archbishop Ketteler of Menz was invited to preach the sermon. But to do this it was first necessary to get permission from the local authorities. Oggersheim being not only in another diocese, but even in another state—namely, Rhenish Bavaria. The local authorities refused permission, whereupon the Bishop of Speyer telegraphed first to the Minister in Munich, who replied in the negative, and then to the King of Bavaria direct. But without awaiting an answer from the king—indeed, the king never vouchsafed one—the archbishop delivered his sermon. The king is reported to be highly incensed at the entire proceeding. He looks upon the attempt to influence him in person, to the disregard of the ministry, as a breach of etiquette, and upon the sermon of Archbishop Ketteler and the connivance of the Bishop of Speyer as flagrant breaches of public order. The archbishop is out of reach, but proceedings are to be instituted against the bishop.

## TYNDALL ON SOUND.*

THE work of Prof. Tyndall on the philosophy of sound has won for itself, in its former editions, the highest possible recognition among scientific men, not only in England but in other countries. A little more than a year ago, the second edition of this book was translated into German under the special supervision of such eminent investigators as Helmholtz and Wiedemann. In the work before us we have the third revision of the eminent professor's observations under this head. In preparing it, he says, he has subjected the previous edition to a careful re-examination, and, in so doing, has "amended as far as possible its defects of style and matter, and paid at the same time respectful attention to the criticisms and suggestions which the former editions called forth."

In the preface to this publication it is announced by Prof. Tyndall that the new matter of greatest importance which has been introduced into it is an account of an investigation which during the past two years he has been conducting in connection with the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House. It may not be known to all our readers that what we call our Light-House Board at Washington is known in England as "The Trinity House." The title carries us back to the era when monasticism was prevalent in Europe. In its original charter, the body was named "The Masters, Wardens, and Assistants of the Guild, Fraternity, or Brotherhood of the most Glorious and Undivided Trinity, and of St. Clement, in the parish of Deptford Stroud, in the County of Kent." In the year 1836, an Act of Parliament vested in this "Trinity House," as then constituted, the entire control of the light-houses of England and Wales, and gave it certain powers over the lights in Scotland and Ireland. Prof. Tyndall appears to have entered on his duties as "the scientific adviser" of the Elder Brethren shortly after his return to England at the close of his lecturing tour in the United States in the year 1873. In the seventh chapter of the present volume, under the head of "Researches on the Acoustic Transparency of the Atmosphere in relation to the question of Fog-signalling," he gives the processes and the results of some very interesting observations which he has conducted under the patronage of the British Trinity House. The general results of these observations had already transpired, but in the work before us they have received the professor's definite statement side by side with a narrative of the researches from which they have been deduced. It is to this portion of the volume, containing "the new matter of greatest importance," that we purpose to confine our attention in this short review.

The reader who turns to this seventh chapter will find that it opens with an "introduction" professing to give "a summary of existing knowledge" in the matter of fog-signalling. The writer states that while the *velocity* of sound has formed the subject of repeated and refined experiments by the ablest philosophers, "the publication of Dr. Derham's celebrated paper in the 'Philosophical Transactions' for 1708 *marks the latest systematic enquiry into the causes which affect the intensity of sound in the atmosphere.*" And, after making this statement, the Professor immediately adds as follows : "Jointly with the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, and as their scientific adviser, I have recently had the honor of conducting an enquiry designed to fill *the blank here indicated.*" In order still further to impress on the reader a sense of the magnitude of this "blank," Dr. Tyndall indulges in one or two preliminary references which, he says, "will suffice to show the state of the question when this [his] investigation began." The first of these references cites the opinion of Sir John Herschel to the effect that fogs and falling rain, and more especially snow, had been found by Derham "to tend powerfully to obstruct the propagation of sound." The second of his references is made to what he calls "a very clear and able letter" addressed by Dr. Robinson of Armagh to the British Board of Trade in 1863. In this "very clear and able letter" Dr. Robinson states that sound is the only known means for coping with fogs, but about it, he adds, the "testimonies are conflicting, *and there is scarcely one fact relating to its use as a signal which can be considered as established.*" But Dr. Robinson is clear on one point—to wit, that "fog is a powerful damper of sound."

On the strength of these historical references, Dr. Tyndall ventures the remark that, prior to the investigation conducted by him, the views enunciated under this head by Derham, Herschel, and Robinson "were those universally entertained." It was in order to fill "the blank" indicated by the universal prevalence of such erroneous opinions that *his* enquiry, he says, was set on foot. And his enquiry, he tells us, was begun on the 19th of May, 1873.

Now, it is a matter not only of scientific knowledge, but of public notoriety in this country, that extensive researches on "the causes which affect the intensity of sound in the atmosphere" had been made by the United States Light-House Board long before Prof. Tyndall began his investigations. That he should have chosen to ignore the fact in the body of his present volume becomes only the more surprising when, on turning to its preface, we find that he was, as he confesses, "quite aware *in a general way* that labors, like those now for the first time made public, had been conducted in the United States," and "this knowledge," he subjoins, "was not without influence upon my conduct." If his knowledge of the similar labors conducted under this head in the United States was not, as he acknowledges, without influence on his conduct in giving direction to his researches, it will naturally occur to ordinary minds that this knowledge should also have been "not without influence" on his pen when he was professing to give a summary of the existing state of science on this subject. And when to this statement of the case, as acknowledged by himself, we add that he was made acquainted with the nature and purport of Prof. Henry's explorations on this question, not only "in a general way," but also in a very special way, it becomes still more inexplicable that in defining "the blank" which he claims to have filled by his recent enquiry, he should have disregarded the labors and results of American science, and that too while profiting by the instruments and methods of that science in the very conduct of his investigations. The reader will understand the force of our remark that Prof. Tyndall was acquainted with the researches of Prof. Henry, not only "in a general way," but also in a special way, when we state that a paper by the latter—on the abnormal phenomena of sound in relation to fog-signalling—was read by its author in the hearing of Prof. Tyndall at a meeting of the Washington Philosophical Society, called for the purpose of doing honor to the British savant while he was sojourning in the national capital. And the force of our remark that he has ignored the results of American science in magnifying "the blank" which he describes, while profiting by the instruments and methods of that science in conducting his enquiry, will be understood when we say that the researches of Prof. Tyndall were prosecuted with the help of a steam-syren, gratuitously lent to him by the Light-House Board at Washington, constructed and patented by a citizen of New York, and introduced by Prof. Henry into the light-house system of the United States.

We are now prepared for the next stage of this review. It so happened that while Prof. Tyndall was conducting his researches on sound in relation to fog-signalling, an officer of the United States Corps of Engineers, Major

* 'Sound. By John Tyndall, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.' Third Edition. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1875.

Elliot, had been deputed by the Light-House Board at Washington to make a tour of inspection in Europe, with instructions to report upon matters relative to light-house apparatus and the management of light-house systems. Major Elliot reached London a few days before Prof. Tyndall began his experiments at Dover, and was courteously invited to be present, but for want of time was compelled to forego the privilege. The results of the English experiments were, however, subsequently communicated to Major Elliot by Sir Frederick Arrow, the Deputy Master of Trinity House (who, we are sorry to say, has since deceased), and were embodied in his report on the "European Light-House Systems," as recently published. The publication of Major Elliot's report was accompanied, in the annual report of the United States Light-House Board for the year 1874, with the following observations :

"Major Elliot gives a detailed account of a late series of experiments by the Trinity House Board on fog-signals. Now, although this account is interesting in itself to the public generally, yet, being addressed to the Light-House Board of the United States, it would tend to convey the idea that the facts which it states were new to the Board, and that the latter had obtained no results of a similar kind ; while a reference to the appendix to this report *will show that the researches of our Light-House Board have been much more extensive on this subject than those of the Trinity House, and that the latter has established no facts of practical importance which had not previously been observed and used by the former.*"

The "appendix" here referred to is from the pen of Prof. Henry, the Chairman of the Board, and details elaborate experiments on sound in relation to fog-signalling, as pursued in the service of the U. S. Light-House Board since the year 1855. Brought to book by this "appendix," Prof. Tyndall asks his readers, in the preface of the present edition of his volume, to bear in mind that "the Washington appendix was published nearly a year after his [my] report to the Trinity House." But in so writing it seems to have escaped his notice that in a subsequent part of this same preface he has confessed that he was "quite aware in a general way" that labors like his own had been conducted in the United States, and that "*this knowledge was not without influence on his conduct.*" And in so writing he forgets, too, that he was an interested listener to the paper read by Prof. Henry on this subject in his hearing while he was in the United States, and before he had turned any attention at all to the phenomena of sound in connection with fog-signals. He states in the body of his book, as already mentioned, that his enquiry under this head began on the 19th of May, 1873, several months after his "general" and his special knowledge of what had been accomplished in this country. And yet, in the face of all these facts and acknowledgments he has allowed his "summary of existing knowledge" on the subject to stand without any recognition of American science in the premises—a suppression which does as little credit to his scientific generosity as to his literary art, for he can be convicted of delinquency in respect of the former by the inconsistency of statement into which he has fallen through a want of dexterity in the latter.

We may, therefore, safely leave the acknowledged record to substantiate the claims of the U. S. Light-House Board when they represent that their researches, running through many years, "are much more extensive on this subject than those of the Trinity House." It remains for us only to consider the second branch of their representation—viz., that the latter (the Trinity House) "has established no facts of *practical importance* which had not been previously observed and used by the former (the U. S. Light-House Board)." In support of this statement we may point to the fact that Prof. Tyndall nowhere pretends to have established by his researches any improvements whatsoever on the methods or instruments of fog-signalling as practised in the United States. On the contrary, he acknowledges that in the choice of fog-signals for British use his "strongest recommendation applies to an instrument for which we are indebted to the United States." He will remember, moreover, that while he was sojourning in the United States he sought and obtained opportunities from Prof. Henry to observe the operation of the steam-syren in the light-house at Sandy Hook. At that time, if not before, he was made acquainted with the progress not only of American science but also of American art under this head. And in view of the fact that, as the "scientific adviser" of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, he has counselled them to discard their English horns and whistles and to substitute for them the steam-syrens which have been, for several years, in the use of our American light-houses, it would seem that the second branch of the claim advanced by the Board at Washington stands in as little need as the first of any additional reinforcement at our hands. Bacon rejoiced in the fact that his philosophy was a philosophy which brought forth fruit in the service of man. The progress of American science in this department has been constantly bearing fresh fruit in the interests of commerce and for the relief of the mariner. Daboll's trumpet, an American invention, came to supersede the use of gongs, and bells, and horns, and guns. To-day the steam-syren, an instrument devised and perfected under the direction of the United States Light-House Board, is acknowledged to be without a rival as an efficient fog-signal.

It is no part of our present purpose to institute a critical enquiry into the conflicting views of Professor Henry and of Professor Tyndall with regard to the hypotheses respectively espoused by each for the explanation of the phenomena of sound in its passage through wide tracts of air. Professor Henry believes that the direction and the rate of wind-currents are important elements in the problems presented by the phenomena in question. Professor Tyndall admits that "the well-known effect of the wind is exceedingly difficult to explain," but he insists on making up the fagot of his scientific opinions on the subject at once and for ever without taking the "viewless winds" into his account. He finds a sufficient explanation of all the abnormal phenomena in the assumption of ideal clouds of vapor mingling with the atmosphere so as to disturb its homogeneity, and thereby to quench the body of sound. There is nothing in the working hypothesis of Prof. Henry which excludes any truth there may be in the working hypothesis of Prof. Tyndall. But in the present provisional state of his enquiries on the subject, the former is disposed to question the sufficiency of the explanation adduced by the latter as an efficient cause of all the phenomena in question. With the modesty and reserve of the true physical philosopher, in the present unfinished state of scientific enquiry, Professor Henry waits for the wider knowledge which shall furnish the basis of an assured induction meeting all the requirements of the problem.

Prof. Tyndall, however, is impatient of any contradiction. He admits that he has not verified the effect of wind-currents "by means of a captive balloon rising high enough to catch the deflected wave," but none the less he ventures to propound his hypothesis as the last word of science in the premises. Indeed, he takes great credit to himself for having been able to rise above "the authority" of Prof. Henry in this investigation. He says that in one of his "phases of thought" on the question he passed through the solution "which Prof. Henry now offers for acceptation," "weighed it in the balance," and "found it wanting." And, as if this language were not supercilious enough, he proceeds to indulge in the following self-complacent reflections :

"But though it [Prof. Henry's solution of ocean echoes] thus deflected me from the proper track, shall I say that *authority in science is injurious?* Not without some qualification. It is not only injurious, but deadly, when it cows the intellect into fear of questioning it. But the authority which so merits our respect as to compel us to test *and overthrow all its supports*, before accepting a conclusion opposed to it, is not wholly noxious. On the contrary, the disciplines it imposes may be inthe highest degree salutary, though they may end, *as in the present case, n the ruin of authority.*"

It is impossible to conceive of language more expressive of vanity, conceit, and arrogance than this ascription of intellectual superiority to which Prof. Tyndall treats himself on the assumption that he has laid "the authority" of Prof. Henry in "ruins" upon the question of atmospheric sound. At no time and in no place has Prof. Henry assumed to speak "by authority" on the subject. The man of straw whom Tyndall sets up under cover of Henry's name, in order to exhibit upon it the strength and prowess of his intellectual muscle, is a cheap device of rhetoric which a much inferior man might have disdained to employ in a case like this. The cause of science does not profit by the self-laudation of its votaries, and Prof Tyndall's praises are in the mouths of too many people to render it necessary for him to praise himself at the expense of Prof. Henry or of anybody else.

## THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW FOR OCTOBER.

THE most important paper contained in the present number of the *North American* is an article on the "Method and Province of Political Economy," by Mr. Simon Newcomb. Our space does not permit us to discuss the essay as it deserves, but, in brief, what Mr. Newcomb seeks to establish is the existence of what may be called abstract political economy, and to define its limits. That political economy is, or aims to be, a science of some sort, is no doubt admitted ; and its subject is generally agreed to be the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth. But this is so wide a definition that it has always been felt by writers to be without much value. Taken as it stands, it seems to include or involve in some way not only political economy but every branch of science, and a knowledge of all the phenomena of human society, including government. These phenomena, as Mr. Newcomb says, are really the product of a vast number of causes, some of which are always ignored by the economist, and the question is whether he is right in doing so, whether there is an abstract science of political economy like the abstract science of mechanics, and whether here are economical laws as fixed and unalterable as the law of falling

bodies, and which can be separated from their concrete concomitants as readily as the first law of motion can be. Obviously, unless there are such laws we may as well give up economics to Messrs. Carey and Kelley, and admit at once that the so-called science is nothing more than a bundle of empirical rules got together by the sages of any country or state for the benefit of their own fellow-citizens, and that these rules have at bottom no principle whatever. Such a science Mr. Newcomb says there is, and he defines it as that of the operation of those causes which affect the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth, "in so far as they act through human volition." This limitation may seem at first sight trifling, but it is fundamental. The introduction of human volition "brings in causes of a character different from those which act where it is not an element," and the latter class of causes "belongs for the most part to the physical sciences." The state of the weather, for instance, is a powerful agent in determining the amount of wheat or cotton produced in any one season, but the study of this cause belongs to the physical sciences, not to economy. But the prospect of a good crop, "inducing the farmer to sow a large area in wheat, would be an example of the operation of an economic cause, because it would be one acting through the volition of the farmer." It must not be supposed from this reference to volition that Mr. Newcomb countenances "the vulgar notion that the prices of certain things—public securities, for instance—are arbitrarily fixed every morning by the brokers over their coffee"; it is not the independent caprice of individual men, women, and children with which the economist has to deal; it is the volition of mankind or of bodies of men, so far as that volition is determined by the desire of everybody to "employ his productive powers in the way that will yield him the maximum amount of enjoyment." That each man feels this desire and acts upon it, is the fundamental principle of political economy.

The definition of Mr. Newcomb being admitted, the next question is, how are the phenomena of human volition to be studied and brought under the domain of this law? Most people will at once say—in the same way that modern science studies the course of nature. But this is not the fact, for the introduction of the human will separates the science from the physical sciences completely. The fundamental difference is that "the operations of nature depend entirely on "antecedent causes, whereas deliberate human acts are the result of what the older philosophers might have classed as final causes" In other words, some result of the act, or rather some expected result, is itself the cause of the act. "The cause of all the phenomena of political economy is the desire of mankind to enjoy wealth, or the fruits of wealth, and it is the prospect of this enjoyment, and not the antecedent conditions, which is the proximate cause of the efforts of man to acquire wealth." This fundamental distinction between the laws of human action and those of nature is very aptly illustrated by the case of the navigation of a ship in a storm. The motion of the storm-centre takes place without any regard to the ships it may encounter, and a ship drifting in the current moves without any regard to the storm; if, however, the ship is under human guidance, and if her navigators are acquainted with the course of storms, her sails are reefed as soon as the barometer falls. Now, explaining this as a matter of physical science, the observer would have to say that ships reef their sails whenever the pressure of the air rapidly diminishes. But this would be absurd. The rule has not the characteristics of a natural law. The sails are reefed, not in obedience to such a law, but *in order* that certain evils which would result from not reefing them may be avoided; whereas no natural law, so far as we know, operates *in order* that anything may happen.

Without attempting to follow Mr. Newcomb through all the deductions he makes from his fundamental assumptions, we may say that it is from overlooking this essential distinction which the case of the ship illustrates, and which the great writers on the science, like Smith and Ricardo, have felt clearly, though they may not have formulated it, that most of the confusion and error which seem to be creeping into the modern study of the science has come. The modern student, trained as he generally is to purely physical methods, when he undertakes to examine the laws of wealth, is confounded at finding that these laws have not been inductively discovered by a minute accumulation of cases, and immediately says to himself that they cannot be laws at all. He then proceeds, as he supposes, to verify them, by getting together a quantity of cases of economic action, and he finds that in many cases the law does not work; he therefore concludes that it is no law at all. Students of this sort generally begin by demolishing Ricardo's law of rent, by showing that historically it can be proved that the best land has not been occupied first, but colonists have frequently begun with poorer kinds. But the law does not depend on any facts in the history of agriculture; it is a simple deduction from the fact of human volition that men will try to get out of land as great a profit as they can. In the field of practical affairs, the bungling and misgovernment that have been caused by overlooking this fundamental economic fact are incalculable. A legislature, for instance, sees that there are two kinds of currency in a country, one of coin, the other of paper. The latter is by far the most convenient and the easiest to produce. Why, then, should it not pass a law for the issue of a quantity of paper, and at the same time another law requiring people to treat it as of the same value as gold? The answer is, because people will not treat it as of the same value. In fine, the fundamental question of economics is not how, under a given state of circumstances, particular men or bodies of men may be observed to act, but how, under a given state of circumstances, will the universal desire of mankind to get the most enjoyment out of their means influence the action of its will? In clearly formulating the distinction between the method of this science and of physical science, Mr. Newcomb has rendered a great service, and one much needed.

All criticisms of General Sherman have been so overshadowed by the appearance of General Boynton's scathing "companion volume," that less attention will be given to the article on the Memoirs, by Mr. F. W. Palfrey, than it would otherwise have attracted. The author more than earned the right to discuss military affairs in the command of one of the hardest-fought Massachusetts regiments in the Army of the Potomac. He calls attention to the fact, which we have not seen elsewhere noticed, that as a fighter of battles Sherman's "record" for that of a great general is somewhat peculiar:

"A defeat at Bull Run, a defeat at Shiloh, an assault made and repulsed at Haines's Bluffs, two assaults made and repulsed at Vicksburg, a flank attack at Chattanooga, in its immediate results very near a drawn battle, an assault made and repulsed at Kenesaw, three attacks received and repulsed with heavy loss on both sides at Peach-tree Creek and before Atlanta, a little success at Averysboro', and an attack received and repulsed with heavy loss to himself at Bentonville—these make up a fair general statement of the engagements in which he took part."

He thinks General Sherman deficient in tactical genius and the capacity of selecting the best subordinates and making men do precisely what their commander wishes. With the general verdict that Sherman is a great soldier he does not quarrel at all, notwithstanding these drawbacks. The revelations of inaccuracy made by General Boynton are beside the point here, for there has been at least one soldier before General Sherman, admitted by military critics as well as the public at large to have been great, who had less regard for truth than is commonly though unfairly attributed in journalistic controversies to Ananias.

A State University, with the part of the State left out, is, as far as we can make out, what Mr. Charles Kendall Adams would produce as a solution of the problem of the Higher Education, and it might, indeed, be a very good thing if a State could be found which would liberally endow a university, and then leave the administration of its affairs in other and more skilful and honest hands. There is no doubt that in the early colonial days university education was taken in hand in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, and elsewhere by the State, nor that the multiplication of colleges all over the country since the State system was abandoned is an evil, nor that the concentration of what used to be called "philosophy" in great seats of learning, where intellectual activity is stimulated by numbers, active competition, and generous rivalry, is a good thing, nor that theoretically this concentration is for the interest of the State to effect and also within its power; but, for all that, we fear it will be a long time before any State is found sufficiently enlightened to first endow and thereafter shut itself entirely out from the control of a university; and yet, unless this can be done, even Mr. Adams seems to think the meddling of the State would result in no good; and, as if to disprove his own arguments in favor of State universities, he gives some startling facts from the history of the University of Michigan, the first attempt on a grand scale of the sort. The University of Michigan was modelled in some measure on the Prussian system, was endowed by the State, made a State institution, and to it were handed over the inferior public schools throughout the State. The result is worth noticing. The university had a large Congressional land-grant, which was so well located that about 1830 the value of the lands was estimated at $20 an acre. Of course, the lands were squatted on, and of course the squatters went, just as the university had done, to "the State," or, in other words, the legislature; and, lo and behold, the legislature, instead of doing what they ought as "the State" to have done, did exactly what they wanted to do as average men, and, sympathizing rather with the plain, ungrammatical man who had squatted on the university lands than with the university, they took the lands away and gave them to the squatters. Some of the

lands were released to them on condition that the university should have other lands equally good—there being no others to be had equally good—while later they resorted to a simpler plan, and passed an act enabling the squatters to buy the land worth $20 at $1 25. This outrage was only prevented by the governor's veto, which, as Mr. Adams himself says, "saved the university." By an act of 1840 the university was robbed of $78,000 out-and-out, and, indeed, the principal occupation of the legislature in connection with education during these early years of the university seems to have consisted in "fixing" the price of the lands at some figure below their actual value, and mulcting the college of the difference. In one instance they fixed the price *retrospectively*. In fact, they acted throughout like the Grangers of a later period. "It requires," Mr. Adams says, "but a very simple computation to show that had the policy of the regents never been interfered with on the one hand, and had the legislature never made any appropriation for the university on the other, the institution would now have been far richer than it is." Meantime, the connection of the university with the schools, which was an important part of the scheme, needed money, but, as the State was employed in robbing the university and handing the money to the squatters, it had no funds to attend to this matter, and what Mr. Adams calls these "adverse influences" finally severed the official bond between the university and the schools. These seem to us, we must say, rather singular facts for any one to bring forward who believes in "State universities," as does also the conflict of the regents and the legislature over the professorship of homœopathy. For twenty years a law requiring the appointment of such a professor has been on the statute-book, and the Supreme Court has twice decided that the legislature had no authority to interfere for such a purpose; so the legislature passed a new act making a special provision for a school of homœopathy, thus carrying their point against the university and the Supreme Court together. Mr. Adams's account of the connection between the State and the university is one of the most convincing arguments against "State universities" that we have ever met with.

Besides these articles, this number of the *Review* contains a continuation of Professor Whitney's paper on Surveys, an article by Mr. T. S. Perry on the two Ampères, and a number of book-notices, among which is an excoriating review of Thompson's 'Social Science and National Economy.'

*Trees and Shrubs of Massachusetts.* By George B. Emerson. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1875.)—Tree-lore is no longer confined to the few, and books like this address a large and various audience, or will do so when they become better known. Mr. Emerson's original volume was published twenty-five years ago, "agreeably to an order of the Legislature, by the Commissioners on the Zoölogical and Botanical Survey of the State" of Massachusetts, being a supplement to the Geological Survey of that period, prosecuted under Edward Everett's governorship. It was the most popular report of the series, and the edition was ere long exhausted. When this came to pass—without waiting for the new survey which the State last year came near authorizing but failed to do so—Mr. Emerson, unassisted, set about the preparation of a new edition, devoted several years to it, and to the study of what had been done for the preservation and utilization of forests in the Old World, and for their waste and destruction here in the New; and he has at length brought out this second edition, in two goodly octavo volumes, illustrated and adorned by a large number of well-executed plates. These being interspersed through the pages, unnumbered, and nowhere enumerated, the only way of ascertaining their actual amount was to count them. We find 144 plates, of various kinds and merits. The least satisfying to us are those of *portraitistic* or scenic character, borrowed from the German 'Der Wald' and the very French 'Vegetable World' of Figuier; yet to others these may be the most attractive. Very good, though unpretending, are figures, mainly in outline, contributed by Mr. Isaac Sprague to the first edition, here reproduced. Best of all are those contributed by the same hand to the new edition—original figures of the foliage, flowers, and fruit of many of our trees and shrubs not before illustrated, transferred from Sprague's drawings to stone, and printed in colors. The plates representing our two northern Azaleas, the Roxbury Waxwork (as they name it around Boston), the Virginian Creeper in its autumn dress; the Red Maple, both in vernal and autumnal robes; and the Flowering Raspberry, from which seemingly one may almost shake the mountain dew, are good illustrations of what may be done in this way. Hand-coloring is too expensive, and chromo-lithography can really be turned to excellent account in its place for natural-history illustrations, whatever be its merits or demerits in other regions of art. The letterpress we find is a reprint of the first edition, as to the descriptive part. The popular descriptions seem to have hit the mark.

Mr. Emerson's instructions and appeals for the planting and care of trees, and for the renovation of our woods, wherever practicable and profitable, are worthy of all attention, as his efforts in this regard are worthy of all honor. They began long ago, and have been redoubled now in his later years, in this work and elsewhere. The memorial addressed to the President and Congress by the American Association for the Advancement of Science he took a large part in preparing; and his personal furtherance of it at Washington, of which he makes modest mention in the preface, may yet be fruitful of benefit. It may not be improper to add that the only permanently-endowed arboretum in America—the Arnold Arboretum, entrusted to Harvard University—owes its existence to our author's thoughtfulness and sense of the importance of tree-culture.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* | |
|---|---|---|
| Art-Journal, October, swd | (D. Appleton & Co.) | |
| Bigelow (M. M.), Leading Cases on the Law of Torts | (Little, Brown & Co.) | |
| Brown (Capt. T.), Taxidermist's Manual | (G. P. Putnam's Sons) | 1 25 |
| Burr (Rev. E. F.), Toward the Strait Gate | (Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) | |
| Corfield (Dr. W. H.), Water and Water Supply | (D. Van Nostrand) | 0 50 |
| Davillier (Baron Ch.), Spain. Illustrated by Doré | (Scribner, Welford & Armstrong) | 18 00 |
| Dodge (Mrs. M. M.), St. Nicholas. Vol. II | (Scribner & Co.) | |


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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1875.*

## The Week.

ON Tuesday elections were held in ten States—Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Maryland, Minnesota, Kansas, Virginia, Mississippi. New York State appears, as we go to press, to have gone Republican; the city decidedly Anti-Tammany. In Pennsylvania the currency question brought many voters into the Republican ranks for the purpose of defeating inflation, and the State went Republican by a large majority. Minnesota, whose Republican majority of over twenty thousand in 1872 was reduced last year by half, went Republican by about the same majority. Maryland, Virginia, and Mississippi went Democratic, and Mississippi is to be added to the long list of Southern States emancipated from carpet-bag rule, though Ames still retains the governorship. The election passed off quietly, and the agreement for a fair vote, recently entered into by both parties, seems to have been observed. The Congressional delegation will probably be Democratic by two to one. In Massachusetts the election figures for the last few years have been very perplexing. In 1868, the State went for Grant against Seymour by 77,069 majority out of a total vote of 195,885, and these figures were not materially changed in the Grant and Greeley contest of 1872. In 1873, however, the total vote fell off to 131,543, and the Republican majority fell in proportion to 12,823; last year, on a total vote of 185,720, the Republican majority disappeared, and Gaston was elected Governor by 7,032 majority, the Lieutenant-Governor still retaining the old majority of 12,013. This year the State has gone Republican, electing Rice by a majority not far from that which Gaston had last year, and putting the whole machinery of the State government in the hands of the Republicans. The contest was close and exciting, and the defection of the Prohibitionists, which last year did much to decide it, was this year not so marked. Wisconsin, which last year went Democratic by 10,387, but in 1872 polled a Republican majority of 18,520, has gone back to the Republicans with large gains in the vote. Large Republican gains have been made in New Jersey, but, at this writing, it is difficult to state results with much exactness. The upshot of the Maryland election is unfortunate, as the opponents of the Democrats were engaged in an honest attempt at reform, which the corrupt condition of politics sadly called for.

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The news of the elections has caused much rejoicing at Washington, where it is received as a vindication of the party, and a proof that it has retained its strength with the people. On the whole, taking the general result of the elections this fall, they must show the Democrats that they cannot count merely upon the disgust of the public with the maladministration of affairs at Washington to give them the ascendancy, but need a definite and honest policy as well; and it is to be observed that the attempt of the Western chieftains to give the party a definite and dishonest policy in the leading States of Pennsylvania and Ohio has met with a signal defeat. Perhaps the balanced condition of parties in which the elections leave the country is the best thing that could have happened, and may bring better nominations next year than we should be likely to have were either party absolutely assured already of success.

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The elections both in this city and in Brooklyn have been fatal to the respective Bosses of the two places, the Anti-Tammany ticket here having been elected by large majorities, and Boss McLaughlin having been beaten in Brooklyn. Phelps and Hackett are elected by majorities of over twenty thousand. John Morrissey goes to the Senate, and, in short, the alliance between the Republicans and the "short-hairs" has proved a complete success. The gloom in Tammany Hall on Tuesday night, as the returns came in, was very great, John Kelly making a pathetic speech, in which he said he had tried to be a good Boss and give the city good government, and the responsibility of selecting such men as Hackett and Phelps must rest with the people who chose them, and not with Tammany Hall. The audience, however, were impatient, one man crying out, "Put Wickham out," and others, coming probably very near the mark in their explanation of the returns, shouting, "A dollar sixty a day did it." The election, no doubt, puts an end to the first show of an attempt to carry on the government of the city on business principles, for it proves that the Boss needs every cent he can get of the money from the Treasury to bring out the working vote. The "boys" will not vote for a Boss who cuts down their wages when they know he has only to put his hands in the public till for money. We are unable to feel any great enthusiasm over the result, both for this reason and on account of the character of many of the men elected. It shows, however, that the healthy feeling in the community on the subject of secret party management, which was first brought out by the Tweed outrages, is still to be relied upon as an active force in politics.

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The new Missouri constitution has been adopted by a light vote, though the probabilities are that if a heavy vote had been cast the result would have been the same. Indeed, it is noticeable with regard to the vote on new constitutions in general, that though the number of votes cast may be small, the majority seems to be generally on the side on which public opinion had already declared itself through the press. This new Missouri constitution, as we have before now pointed out, carries the judicial control over the proceedings of the legislature further than any previous instrument, by making the fraudulent tricks in legislation—as, for instance, passing bills without the proper number of readings, etc., etc.—cognizable by the courts. It does away also with special legislation as far as possible, and in fact reduces the legislature in practice to a position which corresponds with that which it already holds in public opinion.

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Rapid Transit is at last an accomplished fact, or rather there is a certainty of it in the near future. During the past week the Commissioners opened the books of the new company, and the required two millions of capital was subscribed at once. There seems to be no doubt that the subscriptions are *bonâ fide*, and that the lines will soon be built. The history of Rapid Transit has been very much like that of other New York enterprises. It has pushed itself slowly ahead by the force of the wonderful prosperity and wealth and energy of the community, and spite of almost innumerable drawbacks in the way of rivalry of conflicting interests, corruption of legislative bodies, and the adverse influence exercised by the conservatism of the very property-owners who would be benefited by it. The struggles over rival charters and lines were at length brought to an end by the choice of a commission, under cover of whose operations the two most powerful lines, the Greenwich-Street road on the west side of the city, and the Gilbert Elevated on the east side, united; and they have now by their union "captured" the greater part of Rapid Transit, Vanderbilt having obtained control of one important share of it at the upper end of the island. On the whole, the public are much to be congratulated on this termination of the question. It will probably give us better and quicker transit than any public corporation under control of the city would have done.

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There have been during the week "corners" in cotton, pork, and oats, and the prices of these commodities have been temporarily varied in the interest of one class of speculators, where the contracts

to deliver fell within a given time. There have, however, been no important changes in prices or in trade from legitimate causes. The "corner" in cotton was confined to the New York market, and was rendered possible by the overestimate by speculators here of the receipts at this port during the month of October. The receipts of cotton at all the ports was larger during the week than in previous years, and altogether the cotton movement was such as to give encouragement to those engaged in Southern trade. The gold market, as might be expected, considering the small supply of gold, was more or less deranged, as suited the interests of speculators controlling the stock here. Early in the week gold was scarce, and the price advanced to 116⅝, and finally closed at about 116. The Treasury operations added little to the amount of gold in the market, and bid fair not to raise the holdings of the New York banks above $10,000,000 until the January interest comes out. The Syndicate bankers took about $2,500,000 gold out of the market to complete their settlements (for $14,000,000 New Fives), which was necessary last Thursday. This gold was, however, almost immediately restored by the sale of $1,000,000 that day and by the redemption of called 5-20s; so that the bank statement, which covered the week, showed an increase in specie by reason of the fact that during the early part of the week the specie average was a rising one. The fire at Virginia City was used to strengthen the price of gold, and without doubt it will reduce the supply of bullion for the next few weeks. On Monday the Treasury issued another call for $10,000,000 of 5-20 bonds, interest to cease February 1. The public-debt statement showed a reduction of $4,069,015; the currency balance now stands $9,736,671—a balance sufficiently large to justify the Secretary in selling only $2,000,000 during November, his gold sales being regulated by his currency needs. At the Stock Exchange the tendency of prices has been upwards. Greenbacks have been worth in gold from $86 76 to $85 83. The money market has ranged from 3 to 5½ per cent. for brokers' loans on demand, the uniform rate at the banks having been 5 per cent.

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A meeting of the stock and bond holders of the Erie Railway has recently been held in London to listen to a report made by Sir E. Watkin, who, a month or two since, made an inspection of the road. He informed his audience in substance that the capital of the road was about $141,000,000; that the road was not making enough money to pay the interest on its bonds and to settle the floating debt, to say nothing about the stock; but that he thought the road might be made to earn enough to "give back to every bondholder his capital, and leave a reasonable hope for the preference shareholders and ordinary stockholders"; that nothing could be done, however, without a plan, which ought to be at once formed. He advised that "not another shilling should be sent out to America till they saw the dawn of hope with regard to better law and a larger diffusion of common honesty"; and for himself declared that "till that dawn became perfect day, he would not be a party to sending out more money." He added that among the assets of the Erie were claims against the Atlantic and Great Western, and he had no doubt there were claims on the other side too; so that, if the two "were not married, they were living together, and the sooner they formed an honorable union, the better." We have not derived a great deal of additional light on the subject of Erie from Sir E. Watkin's speech, but perhaps we shall from the report of the committee appointed on his recommendation. There is one fact with regard to the road which seems to be kept steadily in the background, and that is, as one might naturally suppose, that during all these years of fraud and peculation the road itself has been running down. We believe we speak within bounds in saying that at least $10,000,000 are needed to put the road in a first-rate condition—to alter the gauge of the track and rolling-stock, lay steel rails, build stations, etc., etc. How the union with the Atlantic and Great Western Railroad—itself a hopelessly bankrupt concern—will enable the owners of the road to get this, we do not know.

The leading topic of the day in England is the Turkish bankruptcy, which caused the late panic on the London Stock Exchange in the foreign, and especially in the semi-barbarous, securities. As "the funding of the coupons" amounts practically to a forced loan of about $35,000,000, raised from the holders of certain loans, there is considerable curiosity as to the country on which the loss will fall most heavily. At first it was supposed to be undoubtedly England; but it is now believed that Englishmen have during the past year been working out of the Turkish loans to some extent, so that it is not believed that the total amount of Turkish securities held by them brought in more than $17,500,000 a year in interest. This is now cut down by one-half, so that, if the calculation be correct, English bondholders will lose about twenty-five per cent. of the amount now "funded." Curiously enough, the French and Italians seem to have invested heavily, especially of late, in Turkish securities. The French investors in them are supposed to be mainly small men, who were attracted by the high rate of interest, and the Italians mainly Ultramontane malcontents, who bought Mussulman bonds to show their disgust and contempt for the securities of the new Italian kingdom. The Great Powers have been urged by the moneyed men to remonstrate with Turkey in some fashion or to interfere; but they have all declined, except France, which is said to be carrying on some kind of negotiation, but of course it can result in nothing. A semi-official notice has been published by the Government, saying that it does not well see how it can do anything in the matter, but that the Minister of Finance is engaged in an investigation for the purpose of discovering as nearly as possible the amount of Turkish bonds subscribed for in France, and that the question whether the representations made by the Porte when the loan was contracted do not furnish fair ground for intervention, is under consideration, and that if England and Italy would only co-operate, something might possibly be accomplished.

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What the financiers who are urging interference ask the Government to do, is to compel Turkey, instead of "funding her coupons," to make now a definitive settlement with her creditors once for all, "scaling the debt" down to the point at which she can certainly pay interest on it, and then giving security by handing over the control of the customs duties and taxes to a sort of European commission established at Constantinople. This suggestion is due to the characteristic way in which the security already given for the loans on which the interest is now stopped disappeared at the very moment it was wanted, and it furnishes, too, an excellent illustration of the value of the process of "basing" loans on things which the creditors cannot get at. The Turkish loans are not only "based on the entire wealth of the people," but some of them, including those on which default has just been made, on particular portions of the revenue, such as the tobacco and salt tax, the customs, and the stamp and license taxes. But, then, these taxes are of course, like "the entire wealth of the people," wholly within the control of the debtor. Consequently, when the creditor calls for the security on which he "based" his loan, he is told that he cannot have it; and the Turkish Government is actually at this moment proposing to pledge things in support of new financial combinations which are already pledged at least once and in some cases twice—so that he is absolutely helpless. In fact, nothing can be more delightful to borrowers than the custom of "basing" loans on things the creditor cannot seize. If it should become general, we should all be able to get as much money as we please, because it would make little difference to the lender what security he took. Another man's land or cow or brown-stone house would do as well as the borrower's own. Some hopes are held out by the *Economist* to the English creditors, owing to the fact that the loans of 1854, 1855, and 1871 are secured by the Egyptian tribute, which amounts to about $3,700,000 annually, and of this the Khedive was ordered by the Sultan to pay into the Bank of England $1,414,350 towards meeting the interest on the above loans. If the Sultan could stop this, there is little doubt that he would now do so,

but it is believed that the Khedive will consider himself bound to continue his payments in the manner prescribed, no matter what the wishes of the Turkish Government may be.

The foreign consuls in Herzegovina have joined in a memorandum declaring, in their opinion, that although the insurrection has been suppressed the Turkish Government is unable to pacify the province, and that the interference or assistance of the Great Powers will be absolutely necessary; and this view is supported in articles in the St. Petersburg press. The difficulty in the way of any real restoration of order now is that a very large body of men have been either burnt out of their villages, or have, before taking part in the revolt, sent their families over the frontier into Servia and Montenegro. 50,000 refugees of this sort are said to be in Montenegro alone, 30,000 in Dalmatia, and as many more in Servia and Croatia. These men have therefore no more attractive occupation before them for the winter than making raids on the Turkish proprietors, or guerilla attacks on the troops. The Sultan's *iradé*, or programme of reforms, inspires no confidence and produces no effect, and, even if the plan is good, it cannot be carried out. It is evident, in fact, that nothing short of a social revolution, which shall change the relations of the Christian peasantry to the soil and deliver them from the tyranny of the Mussulman landlords, will suffice—something, in short, like that which took place in France in 1789, and in Russia after the late emancipation. The only solid result of the insurrection thus far is the bankruptcy of the Turkish Government. The change in the tone of the Russian press is exciting more or less speculation; it was at first coldly hostile to the insurgents; it is now friendly, and even sympathetic.

The Prince of Wales has started on his six months' tour in India, taking at Brindisi a large troop-ship, which has been fitted up as a floating palace. A good deal of interest and importance attaches to the visit, both because he is the first member of the English royal house who has set foot in the Eastern Empire, and because the opportunities of turning him to serious account and making his rôle in the Government look really weighty are not numerous. How much anxiety his goings and comings cause in the mind of the British public has been curiously illustrated by the prayer of Dean Stanley at the service in Westminster Abbey, the Sunday before his departure, that the Prince and his suite might, during his stay in India, uphold the moral repute of England; that "the sensual flag might not be raised"; and that they might be led to seek the things that were "pure and lovely and of good report." In fact, the Dean's language showed that the most he looked for was decent behavior, and that he did not anticipate any advantages to the people of India from a close view of their social and political condition by their future monarch. The Prince's companions are in the main, unhappily, neither savants, soldiers, nor statesmen, but fast young men of fortune, who want to hunt tigers and see the Hindoo girls.

There is nothing new in French politics, except the open revelation of a split in the Republican ranks, which has been long impending. The Irreconcilables, headed by Louis Blanc, have fairly broken away from the Moderates, headed by Gambetta. The former are not satisfied, and demand the good old Republic of 1792, with one big Chamber and no President and no Church, and a policy of Redness of some shade on all subjects. Louis Blanc is troubled in particular by the concession made to the Clerical party by the recent legislation, giving complete liberty of education—that is, permission to all qualified private persons to start schools and universities. He says the Church will use this privilege with such vigor and persistence, and with so much money, that it will give a distinctly ecclesiastical and Ultramontane tone to the youth of the next generation. Gambetta and Jules Simon, on the other hand, have been delivering speeches boasting of the gains made by Republicanism during the past three years, and urging a policy of strict moderation and respect for legality and order, as all that is needed to give the Republic such a hold on the popular mind as to make it not only the actual but the permanent government of France.

The French-American Union Committee propose to erect, with the aid of subscriptions, in this city, a colossal statue next year in the harbor of New York, in memory of the ancient friendship between the two nations. The statue is to be in copper, about a hundred feet high, on a pedestal of about the same height, and is to represent Liberty enlightening the world. It is to be placed on an island in the harbor, where the first blood was shed, according to the circular, in the Revolution, and at night "a luminous aureole, projected from the head, will radiate on the far-flowing waves of the ocean"—or, in other words, it is to be a light-house and Colossus combined. Several excellent names, as those of Henri Martin, Oscar de Lafayette, Paul de Remusat, and Wolowski, as well as that of Laboulaye, are attached to the circular, and we understand that the French sculptor is at work on the statue. With the artistic or scientific questions raised by this proposal we do not propose here to deal, but it may not be amiss to say that one reason why the project has excited apparently so little interest as yet on this side of the water, arises from a doubt in the minds of a large part of the citizens of the United States, both in and out of the city, whether this is the time or place for us to "celebrate ourselves" by putting up a statue at the entrance of New York harbor of Liberty enlightening the world. The recent history of New York has not been, as we know here better, perhaps, than is known in France, the history of Liberty enlightening the world and the progress of law and order, but of monthly and yearly struggles between a community of property-owners and the thieves whom those property-owners elected to govern them; of exorbitant taxes tending year by year to confiscation or repudiation; of judges selling decisions, and politicians votes, and legislators laws; of Liberty trampled under foot by a government of thieves and murderers, and law turned into a burlesque for their protection. The French gentlemen who have devised this statue must remember that though the experiment of free government is in New York an accomplished fact, it has not freed us from many of the wrongs and oppressions that have characterized the despotisms of the past, and that the last statue which we were asked to erect by subscription, and one which called out more popular enthusiasm than this has done yet, was to Tweed.

The Bavarian Ministry is in a small minority in the New Chamber of Deputies, and is undoubtedly unpopular with the masses, who are mainly Catholics; but it is thoroughly anti-Papal and German in its feelings, and has the wealth and the intelligence of the kingdom on its side. It foresaw the possibility of defeat at the late elections, owing to the fierce opposition of the clergy, and tried to strengthen itself by a process of redistricting, which might perhaps be called gerrymandering, and its failure, of course, only increased the rage of the Ultramontanes, who found themselves in a majority of two when the Chambers met. They have, accordingly, succeeded in carrying an address to the King, by a vote of 79 to 76, calling on him to dismiss the Ministry, after a debate so violent that the Liberal members left the House in the middle of it. They base their prayer on the gerrymandering and the alleged subservience of the Ministry to Prussia, and accuse it of the design of surrendering Bavarian independence wholly to the Empire. The King, however, sides with the Ministry, and does not seem much disturbed by the tempest. Parliament is to meet again after adjournment early in January, and if the opposition is troublesome will, it is said, be dissolved. There is little other news of moment from Germany except the Emperor's visit to Italy, and the growth among the Socialists, both common and professorial, of a movement in favor of increased protection for native industry, which has caused a good deal of excitement and alarm among the free-traders, owing to the partial adhesion to it of the North German *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which is Bismarck's own organ. The excuse for this apparent disposition to recede on the tariff question is the same as the excuse here for the "soft-money" movement—"the hardness of the times."

## BOSS GOVERNMENT.

DURING the year 1871, while the rising against the Tweed Ring was in progress, we published several articles on the crisis in the government of this city, which we wish we had space to reproduce now, so striking has been the illustration which they have received from the present struggle against Kelly. Suffice it to say that we then pointed out, at the cost of some obloquy, that Tweed, bad as he was, was not an isolated phenomenon, but the product of a state of things which his overthrow would not fundamentally change; that he was a Boss because the condition of the voting population and the nature of the governmental machinery made Bosses inevitable; and that although he was probably more audacious and corrupt than any Boss who would come after him, he would certainly be succeeded by other Bosses. In the excitement of the time it was, of course, difficult to get anybody to look at the problem of municipal government calmly and rationally, and most people, headed by the New York *Times*, which had fairly won the honors of the struggle, were frantically trying to persuade themselves and their neighbors that the overthrow of Tweed would bring in a new era in city politics, during which "the people would rule" and "the bad men" retire into private life.

In No. 328 of the *Nation* (Oct. 12, 1871) we gave as clearly as we could, in an article entitled the "Boss's Dominions," some account of the social conditions which produced Bosses. At that time the Citizens' Association (a reform association now, we believe, no longer in existence) had ascertained by careful enquiry that the number of voters who could be, and most probably were, reached and controlled or influenced by the agencies which the then Boss had at his command—offices, sinecures, contracts, employment on the public works, untried indictments, suspended sentences, penalties, licenses, ordinances, and so forth—was 60,000, or about half the total voting population of the city. That these agencies were all used unflinchingly there was no question, and they were made all the more effective by the fact, to which we also drew attention at the time, that the more moral, industrious, educated, and public-spirited portion of the community, to whose exertions any system of government would have to owe its purity, was separated from the bulk or, at all events, from a considerable body of the voters by a wide gulf, created by difference of origin, religion, manners, and social ideal.

Now, the overthrow of Tweed was not accompanied or followed by any change in these conditions. The lower stratum of the voting population in this city is to-day what it was in 1871, and bears about the same relation to the upper stratum. There has been no improvement in its morals or manners, and no increase in its political intelligence. Moreover, since Tweed's overthrow there has been no serious change in the methods of government. All the men who have succeeded the Ring in the management of city affairs, from Mr. Green down, believe in and use the processes by which he rose to power—that is, they believe in the expediency and necessity of spending the city revenues in such a way as to secure votes for themselves or their party. This was the essence of Tweed's system. The difference since his time is mainly in degree. Of course, there is no open stealing, but there is the covert stealing involved in making the interests of the taxpayers the second instead of the first consideration in the management of city affairs. In the employment of all labor, the awarding of contracts, the administration of the Fire Department, of the Police, and of criminal justice, Tweed's system has been more or less steadily adhered to. Long lists of suspended sentences figured in the papers during the late canvass as charges against the criminal judges and the District-Attorney, just as they did in the Ring days; and we have had the same stories of "pigeon-holed indictments." The grumbling of a Police Commissioner because the District-Attorney would not do him the favor to let an old burglar go free, which has been revealed in the late canvass, is an incident in all respects worthy of the Tweed régime.

The fundamental fact of Boss rule is, however, the mental and moral condition of a large body of the voters—say half. They are mostly persons whose main interest in life is to make sure of their daily bread for one or two weeks ahead, and they have drifted into New York from all quarters of the globe, and have therefore no feeling in common except a strong desire for a little money. They have little or no comprehension of the elaborate machine by which the city is governed, a compound of three different kinds of legislation and taxation, conducted by a host of officers with a great variety of powers and functions, elected at frequent intervals, for the most part obscure persons selected from three or four times the same number of still more obscure candidates. About "the cause of constitutional government" or of "free government on this continent" they do not care one cent. They are not theorists or doctrinaires, but practical men, to whom all forms of government are good provided their bellies are full and their backs warm, and provided, if their occupations are tainted with illegality, that they are not too closely pursued by the police. There is one essential difference between their views of public men and those of "the property-holders and substantial men" with which everybody, who has had occasion to converse with them during a "rising" against a Boss, must be familiar. The well-to-do citizen, when he is discussing the character of a Boss, always lays great stress on the way in which he (the Boss) got his money. To the Boss's followers, however, this is a matter which possesses no interest whatever; what they concern themselves about is his manner of spending it. So, while the *Times* is thundering away about the Boss's frauds and defalcations, the liquor-saloons are resounding with stories of the way he helped poor fellows who were "in trouble," and of his distributions of coal and flour. About the frauds and defalcations they care little or nothing, and if they turn their minds to them at all, they look on them as legitimate fleecings of the rich. This was true of the Tweed period; it is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Kelly period; it will be true five or ten years hence of the post-Kelly period. Besides, even if the moral perceptions of the Kellyites were naturally keener than they are, they would be blunted by their daily experience of the fact that nearly all the other politicians connected officially with the city government do, on a smaller scale and with less vigor and boldness, the things which make up the sum of Kelly's evil repute.

The fuss that is made by the Anti-Tammany people about the number of Irish liquor-dealers who are found on the Tammany General Committee, and whom it nominates for office, is another illustration of their imperfect comprehension of the nature of the situation. Liquor-dealers are the medium, and the only medium, through which political preaching or control can reach a very large body of the voters of this city. The liquor-dealer is their guide, philosopher, and creditor. He sees them more frequently and familiarly than anybody else, and is more trusted by them than anybody else, and is the person through whom the news and meaning of what passes in the upper regions of city politics reach them. The selection of such men as the Boss's advisers and lieutenants, the captains of hundreds and fifties, is therefore not only expedient but necessary. They are the natural administrators of Boss government. The notion that city missionaries or Republican philanthropists, or scholars and gentlemen from Fifth Avenue, can be substituted for them is absurd. Neither the Republican party nor any reform party has at its command any agents or propagandists who can compete with them.

It will probably be said by many that this is merely destructive criticism, the gospel of despair, and that if our view be sound there is nothing left for the better class of New York voters but to quit the city or submit to plunder without resistance or complaint. On the contrary, in politics as in business, the very first step towards successful reform consists in seeing things as they are without falsehood or illusion. As long as the city government is framed, administered, and discussed on the theory that the great body of the citizens are a kind of cross between a jurist and a political economist, who pass their leisure hours in thinking how they can best promote the public welfare, or shed lustre on republican institutions, we

shall have nothing but the disorder and corruption of the last thirty years. Before we can have an upward progress we must have an end of humbug and deception, and an end of the hypocrisy which leads so many lawyers, merchants, editors, and politicians to deny stoutly in public the existence of evils which in private they deplore. We must openly acknowledge that a very large proportion of our voters are ignorant and grossly corrupt persons, to whom the rule of a Boss is entirely acceptable, and who are led into setting it up both by their inability to comprehend any other, and by their overpowering anxiety about their daily bread. To preach, as some of us do, that the reason the Tweeds and Kellys succeed is that their constituents do not know what kind of men they are, and that they would desert them if made acquainted with their real character, is an attempt at imposture of which respectable men ought to be ashamed. It is aggravated, and converted into a positive insult to the public intelligence, when, as has now twice happened within five years, a reform movement directed against the reigning Boss has included vigorous support of blacklegs and gamblers like "Jimmy" O'Brien and John Morrissey. We know of nothing in recent political history more repulsive than the moral exhortations uttered by the Republican party in encouragement of these men.

There are two ways, and two only, in which the reappearance of Bosses can be rendered impossible: one is, the conversion of the municipality into a business, instead of a political, corporation, and the administration of its finances by those who pay the taxes, or believe they pay them. At present they are administered in the interest and virtually under the direction of persons who either pay no taxes, or fancy they pay none, which, for practical purposes, is the same thing. This plan is probably at present impracticable; very likely it will always be so. The other is the simplification of the governmental machinery to such an extent that it will not need professional manipulators, and that attention to its working will not interfere with that close attention to his private affairs which is each citizen's first duty. Such a simplification would render possible and easy the union of the industrious and intelligent classes against the mere proletariat of which New York is becoming the favorite resort, and it would involve, of course, very great concentration of power and responsibility. Since Tweed's overthrow, some approach has been made to it, but very little. Virtually, the city government is, in its main features, what Tweed left it—a mass of complexity, in which it is impossible to tell who is to blame for anything that goes wrong, the understanding of which requires the study of a lifetime, and the management of which necessarily falls into the hands of one man, but without making him amenable in any way to the best public opinion. As long as this is the case, and reform consists in calling him names, and bawling out invective over him every two years, there will never be any improvement worth working for or rejoicing over.

## THE WINDING-UP OF THE FREEDMEN'S SAVINGS-BANK.

WE told in No. 511 of the *Nation* (April 15, 1875) the dismal story of the Freedmen's Savings-Bank, constituting, altogether, as grave an accusation as was ever brought against a political party. We told it, too, book in hand; the facts as we there stated them have never been disputed, and are indisputable. Amid the numerous frauds and defalcations then as now pressing on the public attention, this one attracted but little notice, probably because its victims belonged to the humblest and most helpless class in American society—the freedmen of the South. For the Republican newspapers, the subject was not a savory one; for the Democratic papers, the cheating of the emancipated blacks by their liberators and protectors seemed only worthy of a passing joke—and so the matter passed out of sight and out of mind. But it ought not to be overlooked or forgotten. Although exposure of it at Republican hands is now not to be expected, we earnestly commend it to the notice of the honest men of the Democratic party when next winter in Congress they begin the great work of investigating the dark places in Republican history. Nothing in that history deserves investigation more than this; nothing will repay it better.

Some of our readers have perhaps not forgotten the pitiful tale; how, in 1865, by way of encouraging frugality among the freedmen, a savings-bank was chartered by Congress in Washington for the exclusive use "of persons heretofore held in slavery and their descendants," not as a money-making corporation, but as a charitable institution, whose trustees were charged simply with the duty of receiving the deposits of the class above described, and investing them in "the stocks, bonds, Treasury-notes, and other securities of the United States." The trustees had no authority to establish branches or carry on the business anywhere but in the District of Columbia (and, indeed, Congress could not have given them any such authority), and no authority to invest money in any other way than the above. The trustees had no personal interest in the charter, and the charter reserved a right of inspection by the United States Government, which, however, was never exercised. In fact, it seemed on the face of the transaction as if the Government guaranteed the safety of the deposits, and the depositors—poor, ignorant, and unlettered as they unquestionably were—so understood it.

The business went on swimmingly for five years. The original trustees, who were mostly noted philanthropists, had made way, in the manner provided in the charter, for a body of "successors" who were by no means noted philanthropists. They unlawfully established thirty branches in various parts of the South, and received a large sum in deposits. Having secured it, they got tired of tamely investing it in United States securities, so they got a little amendment to the charter passed in April, 1870, allowing the trustees to invest in mortgage securities and to hold and improve real estate in Washington. It passed without debate, and without a word of objection from anybody except—to his honor be it said—Mr. Simon Cameron. The reason of this silence was that the District Ring was behind the bill, and they were then all-powerful. The investments that were then made almost baffle description. They included not only mortgages on unsalable Southern plantations, on "forest tracts" in the same region, but loans for large amounts on chattel mortgages on furniture (there was one for $50,000), on paintings—we suppose of the Boss school of art—on jewelry, on groceries, and on stock of the "Seneca Stone Co.," of the "Metropolitan Paving Co.," of the "American Seal Lock Co.," and the "Capital Publishing Co." In "securities of the United States" there was found, when the concern was pronounced insolvent in 1874, just four hundred dollars. The miserable truth was then apparent that the Washington Ring and its friends had descended on the earnings of the Freedmen and divided them between them, and the Great Party had nothing to say about the matter. It was too much occupied with the "intimidation" of the depositors at the South.

The bank is now being wound up. There was no respectable reason why it should not be wound up under the Bankruptcy Act, like any other insolvent concern. Machinery for the purpose exists under the Act, and has worked with perfect success in the case of the Washington City Savings-Bank, under a receiver appointed by the courts. Instead, however, of leaving the affairs of the Freedmen's Bank to be settled in this way, the very trustees who have played ducks and drakes with the funds of the institution were allowed, by an Act of June 20, 1874, to nominate three commissioners, who, on approval by the Secretary of the Treasury, became statutory assignees, and are charged with the collection of the debts and the sale of the assets and the distribution of the proceeds among the depositors. These commissioners are allowed $3,000 a year each as their compensation out of the assets, and they are authorized to employ "as many agents as are necessary to assist them in closing up the said company, and to pay them a reasonable compensation for their service out of the funds of the company." The commissioners give a bond to the United States for the faithful performance of their duties, but no depositor or creditor has, under the statute, the right to sue on it. They are not required to make

any report; they are not made accountable to anybody; nobody has the right to inspect or supervise them; and their decisions are final. Two of them are lawyers in large practice, and, we are credibly informed, have never appeared in court in a single case arising out of the affairs of the bank, preferring naturally to employ agents at "a reasonable compensation out of the funds of the company." One of them is already retained on behalf of the United States before the Alabama Claims Commission, at a salary of $10,000 a year. Probably no such machinery for the settlement of the affairs of an insolvent bank was ever before set up. Congress has power to pass a "uniform bankruptcy law," but what is this?

Several questions of law are raised by the matter which we trust will be pushed vigorously. The first is, whether Congress has any right to create a special agency of this kind for settling the affairs of one bankrupt. The second is, whether the trustees are not liable personally for the violation of their charter in establishing branches and in receiving deposits from persons who were neither "heretofore held in slavery" nor the descendants of such persons. The third is, whether colored depositors are not, therefore, preferred creditors of the institution, whose claims must be satisfied before the white depositors can receive anything, and whether the trustees are not in any case personally liable to the white depositors, whose money they received without a shadow of authority. These questions will, of course, not be raised by the three commissioners, and it is a not unnatural assumption that one of the objects of appointing them, with full powers, and without any obligation to report, was not only to prevent their being raised, but to prevent all unpleasant light being thrown on the history of the bank. We trust, however, that the colored depositors have intelligence enough and have found legal advisers honest and able enough to carry their claims into court, and we trust that Congress, when it meets, will consider a rigid and searching examination of the whole matter one of the first and most imperative of its duties.

## THE CAPITAL OF SCOTLAND.

London, October 10, 1875.

THE Highlands are deserted. Chill October has enveloped the mountains and the inland seas and the swollen rivers of Scotland with cold, raw mists, alternating with heavy gales of wind from the Atlantic and the Northern Ocean, and torrents of rain and hail. Englishmen and Englishwomen and all other foreigners have flown, like the swallows, to the sunny South. The Highland lairds who had evicted themselves from their Highland homes during the pleasantest months in the year, are beginning to show here and there, like the rabbits and roe-deer, in their own woods, now that the bracken has turned to a rusty brown and the trees are stripped of leaves. They have come back—these Celtic chieftains—with a balance at their bankers' to tide them through the winter, and they will have some pretty sport during the late autumn out of the leavings of the English sportsmen. Some red-deer hinds to stalk, some wild grouse and black game to kill, and in the crisp, bright, December days, when the thermometer is at zero in the shade but the sun is warm and kind, flocks of woodcocks will be found in the woods along the shore, and will afford some pleasing excitement to the chieftain and his friends.

Like all the rest, I too, who have dwelt in Arcady for six delightful weeks, have turned southwards, and on my way have sojourned for a short space of time in what Mr. Tennyson somewhere calls "the gray metropolis of the north." Edinburgh is admitted by all who have seen it to be one of the most beautifully situated cities in the world. An eminent traveller and still more eminent divine of the present day once told me that there were only three towns on this side of the Atlantic which he considered comparable in situation with Edinburgh. These were Luxembourg, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, and he could not say to which he would give the palm. I should say with little hesitation that, in point of situation, Edinburgh was finer than any of the three. If one could imagine Edinburgh under a Mediterranean sky, instead of the sulky gray or dull leaden atmosphere which habitually surrounds it, and if instead of the hideous uniformity of straight stone houses and Presbyterian ecclesiastical edifices—the least artistic form of building among civilized or uncivilized nations—one could, even in a dream, see the outline of the town broken up, as in most Oriental towns (and in Constantinople conspicuously), by a pleasing variety of architectural structures, I think my verdict would be generally accepted. Any one who has read the 'Life and Times of Lord Cockburn,' Edinburgh's greatest "worthy" during the present century, knows the efforts made by him to protect his native city from the ravages of vandalism, and the small success he had. I do not know that things have much improved since he stopped writing. Hideous new houses now desecrate many spots that he mentions with admiration, and the style of architecture adopted by architects of churches and public buildings has not altered much. A new post-office has been erected, which is a fine massive structure, and they are building an Anglican cathedral, which promises to be successful; otherwise, I do not know that they have done much since Lord Cockburn's time either to damage or amend the natural beauties of the place.

But if externally they have not advanced, I fear from what I learned during my short stay that they have, if anything, retrograded internally. "Scotland is no longer a kingdom," as a well-known Edinburgh lawyer said when they abolished the sinecure office which he had long worthily held, and Edinburgh is no longer a metropolis. At the beginning of this century Edinburgh was to Scotchmen the centre of the universe. Most of the leading Scotch families had their private houses in Edinburgh, just as the leading families of the empire now have their private houses in Belgravia and Mayfair. Each winter during the season—and the season in Presbyterian Edinburgh has always been at its height during Lent—the Scotch aristocracy occupied their houses, and entertained and were entertained in the usual way during a festive season in any other capital. Society was as good in Edinburgh at that time, as fashionable, as intellectual, and as interesting as it was in London, and it was probably much more amusing. Those were the days when Lord Palmerston, and Lord Brougham, and Lord Russell were attending the Edinburgh University; when Sir Walter Scott, Cockburn, Horner, Jeffrey, Lockhart, and Sydney Smith were among the men whom you met and with whom you conversed every day—the time when the *Edinburgh Review* was started and *Blackwood's Magazine* set up to pull it down; when English bards were torn to pieces by Scotch reviewers, and when the Waverley novels were issued at intervals from Constable's printing-office and delighted every man and woman who could read from Land's End to John-o'-Groat's. These royal times and royal men are gone. "The Flowers o' the Forest are a' wede away." Edinburgh, they tell me, has become provincial, and society in Edinburgh is commonplace. There never was much trade or commerce in the town; what little was transacted in that way was always done at Leith, the seaport of Edinburgh, some two miles off. Manufactures—except gas, and they do make very good gas—there are none. Shipping, from natural causes, has no existence, and there are no special industries to bring about an industrial population. And yet Edinburgh has close upon 200,000 inhabitants, and the annual value of lands and heritages within the burgh amounts to something like £1,300,000 sterling. And what, you may well ask, brings all these people to a dead capital, and from what sources do they collect this not inconsiderable sum of money? On what, in short, does Edinburgh thrive and maintain its position as the second richest town in Scotland?

Edinburgh owes its prosperity to three agencies—prestige, law, and education. It possessed, as I have indicated, an intellectual community, and one of the chief attractions of the town is the vague reputation for intellect which has hung around it, like the warm glow of sunlight after the sun has set, since the days of her giants of the early part of this century. This reputation has of late years somewhat faded as the lapse of time increases, and it seems more certain that the wit and worth of the past are buried in a grave from which there is no resurrection. But something there is still to warrant the belief in the intellectual superiority of Edinburgh over all other town communities in Britain. No one who is not deterred by a cold, unfriendly climate would hesitate in choosing to live in Edinburgh in preference to such places as Cheltenham or Bath or Leamington or Brighton. The society in Edinburgh may be provincial in comparison with what it was of old, but it is not provincial in the sense in which the society of these places is provincial. It does not consist of retired tradesmen and half-pay officers, nor of fox-hunting men and showily dressed women, nor of second-rate fashionable people. The Scottish Bench of Judges, the Senators of the College of Justice, as they call themselves, and the Scottish Bar may not number so many distinguished names within their ranks as they once did; but the cadets of many of the old country families still look upon the Scottish Bar as one of the natural fields for their energies, and to be an advocate, as barristers are called in Scotland (one among the many illustrations of the intimacy which of old subsisted between France and Scotland), is no mean ambition even for some of the junior members of the British peerage. And it is not very wonderful that it should be so. I think I am within the mark when I say that there is no profession, except the Irish Bar, which an Englishman, a Scotchman, or an Irishman can enter

that offers so many prizes as the Scottish Bar. There are thirteen Judges of the Supreme Court to administer justice to three millions of people. There is a public prosecutor, a solicitor-general, and five deputy-prosecutors. There are some twenty sheriffs or county-court judges, and about ninety substitute-sheriffs. All these excellent offices, and several that are rather less honorable, though not less lucrative, such as clerkships of court—one of which was held by Sir Walter Scott—are paid by the Crown. The salaries vary from £600 to £5,000 a year. The work is uniformly pleasant and light. The posts are all, with the exception of those held by the public prosecutors, who go in and out with successive Governments, permanent posts, and very nearly all of them are reserved exclusively for members of the Bar. When I tell you that admittance to the Bar costs in one way or another nearly £500; that the number of advocates does not much exceed three hundred; and that there are about one hundred and fifty comfortable posts of one kind or another to distribute among them, you will not find it difficult to understand that the profession is considered a good one, and that the younger sons of even the best among the ordinary good Scottish families do not scruple to join it. From this circumstance the tone of society in Edinburgh is different from what it is in the provincial towns of England. The lawyers are as a rule a good class of men; they have married a good class of women, and have brought up a good class of families. And this brings me to the third agency in the prosperity of Edinburgh. It is the seat of the Metropolitan University, with its celebrated school of medicine—living like the whole town to some extent on the prestige of the past; and there are probably more schools and educational institutions in Edinburgh than in any three towns of its size. People flock into Edinburgh in numbers from all parts of Scotland, and from England too, and from India, in order to educate their families. The University professoriate and the leading schoolmasters amalgamate pleasantly with the legal element in the town, and these conduce not a little to the intellectual character of the society, and to the reputation for wit and worth which, as I have said, still hangs about it, though in fainter colors than of old. But whence comes the wealth of Edinburgh—this £1,300,000 of annual assessable value? These lawyers and professors and schoolmasters are not wealthy; and the people who flock into Edinburgh for the education of their children cannot be numbered among the millionaires. This is true, and the absence of wealth and ostentation constitutes one of the main attractions of the place. Comparatively few people care to keep their carriages; distances are not great, and the streets are tolerably clean. There is not a household in the whole town which possesses or cares to possess a powdered footman—that curious relic of the past who is always lolling about Belgravian door-steps, and turns up from time to time in English provincial towns. People do not vie with each other in expenditure in Edinburgh. The wealthy people are not the professional classes; they are comfortably off, and live a comfortable, quiet life. What wealth there is will be found among the shopkeepers and tradesmen who have made their money out of the professional classes. Socially, they live apart from the latter, or perhaps it may be that the latter take trouble to keep themselves to themselves. But all the power, certainly the political power, is in the hands of the shopkeepers. Not so very long ago the "Parliament House" (the name given to the law courts and their accessories, from the fact that the old Scottish Parliament used to sit where the courts now sit) was omnipotent in all matters political. A leading lawyer used always to represent the city. But these days are past. The power of the Parliament House is waning. The leader of the Bar was defeated some ten years ago by a haberdasher in the old town, and that haberdasher still holds the seat. At the two last elections the Bar was nowhere. The haberdasher brought in a civil engineer with him at the first, and a paper-maker at the last. But these little misfortunes do not affect the happiness of the professional classes in the Northern Metropolis. They solace themselves with the reflection that the constituency of Edinburgh was ever fickle, and that not so many years ago a greater man than even the leader of the Scottish Bar was ousted from his seat, when Thomas Babington Macaulay, the historian of England, and one of the best speakers in the House of Commons, was defeated by a Free-Church paper-maker called Charles Cowan.

# Correspondence.

## THE LATE CHAUNCEY WRIGHT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir May an Englishman be allowed to express the hope that the countrymen of the late Mr. Chauncey Wright will not suffer his writings to lie buried in the obscurity of the back numbers of periodicals, but will collect and republish them in a more permanent and accessible form? Few indeed are the writers whose contributions to periodical literature deserve this honor, though the number of authors who think good to elect themselves thereto is becoming formidably numerous. But that Mr. Wright is one of the few will be questioned by no competent judge, so remarkable is the depth of thought and so exceptional the mental power displayed in his writings. The author of the brief but admirable account of him in your number of the 23d ult. deems him "defective in the shaping faculty, failing to emphasize the articulations of his argument, to throw a high light, so to speak, on the important points." It might, I venture to think, be more justly said of him that he carried out in his literary productions the "principle of parsimony" which he saw exemplified in the works of nature. And herein to my mind lay one of the peculiar charms of his writings. Unlike the majority of critics, he did not write for the "casual peruser" but for the cultivated and discriminating few. He never said more than was sufficient to express his meaning, and if he could wrap up a "world of searching consequences" in a single word, this was for him reason enough for using no more than one word. Hence the pregnant suggestiveness of his criticisms, hence the delightful stimulus they give to thought, the impression they convey of a master-mind putting forth, unconscious of the effort, the precise amount of power necessary for his purpose; the sense, too, of moderation and quiet self-restraint indicative of the store of power in reserve. His last article—that on "German Darwinism"—is an excellent illustration of his merits as a writer. To take a single point: how admirably he indicates in a few brief but adequate sentences the position Bacon occupies among philosophers, and the pre-eminent services he rendered to experimental philosophy. I know of nothing to equal it in all the many treatises, English and foreign, that I have met with on the subject. The keen feeling of pleasure with which I read the whole of that his last essay was exchanged for a feeling of regret as keen when I shortly after saw in your columns the announcement of his sadly premature death, and felt that the delightful chance was gone for ever of lighting upon one of the unmistakable productions of his pen on opening the weekly numbers of the *Nation*.

I remain, Sir, yours sincerely,

E. Hawksley Rhodes.

11 Norfolk Road, N.W., London, England,
October 7, 1875.

[We understand that a collection such as our correspondent suggests is in contemplation.—Ed. Nation.]

## THE QUINCY LIBRARY CATALOGUE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The many and very gratifying responses to the notice in your issue of 14th ult. of the catalogue of the Quincy Public Library which have come to me from all quarters, induce me to call attention to an error in it. The writer of the notice, in apparently attributing the work solely to me, does me more than justice, and another less. I wish to remedy this by quoting the following words from the preface:

"The catalogue, both properly as such and in its cross-references and references to contents, is almost exclusively the work of Miss M. B. Merriam, who also prepared a number of the shorter notes."

As Miss Merriam is not only a professional but a most accomplished cataloguist, whereas I am neither, I sincerely hope that she may receive all the credit which, in consequence of your notice, seems likely to accrue to our Quincy catalogue.—I am, etc., Charles F. Adams, Jr.

Quincy, Mass., Monday, November 1, 1875.

## TURKEY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The following I find in your paper of this date:

"Turkey has 'funded her coupons'—that is, half of them—for five years. All American bondholders know what this means. There is a deficit of $25,000,000 in the year's revenue, and it is likely to continue; funding half the coupons will reduce the outlay by about $35,000,000 a year; and thus it is hoped to bring about an equilibrium in five years, if the Turkish Empire last so long. The loss will fall mainly on British investors, and the announcement is producing great depression in London, and has caused further decline in all semi-barbarous stocks. The money market is, however, at last waking up to the fact that it is not vast material resources, but the honest and efficient government, which makes a state a safe borrower. It is expected that Egypt will go next, as the Khedive has been borrowing frightfully, 'basing' the debt on the wonderful fertility of the valley of the Nile. The Turkish collapse derives a touch of humor from

the fact that it is accompanied by the establishment of a sinking fund, which is to be replenished by the customs duties, the tobacco and salt monopoly, the Egyptian tribute, and perhaps a portion of the sheep-tax. It is curious that the Vizier does not think of an issue of 3.65s."

This is probably the most successful example on record of the destruction of a once great and powerful empire by that "free trade" which allows foreigners to send their goods, wares, and merchandise into a country at a less rate of taxation than home producers would have to pay if producing the same kind of goods. In a word, Turkey is dying of three centuries of "free trade" with Great Britain. "An issue of 3.65 bonds" would not save her; but will you be kind enough to let your readers know why it is that the *Nation's* specific, "free trade," has not done so? If this nostrum is all its friends claim for it, Turkey should be one of the foremost nations of the world to-day, instead of being just on the eve of becoming the dead man of Europe. H. C. B.

PHILADELPHIA, October 28, 1875.

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[If any free-trader has ever been so foolish as to maintain that free trade, without regard to the character of the government or the constitution of society, would make a country prosperous and happy, we have never heard of him, and do not believe that any such person exists. "H. C. B." is therefore really combating a creature of his own imagination. Why can our protectionist friends not read, even cursorily, some plain treatise on logic, in its application to politics, and save themselves the trouble of writing such letters as the above? Mr. Mill's chapter, for instance, on the "Chemical Method in Social Science" would surely be sufficient to put anybody on the right track, or at all events keep him off the wrong one, in enquiring into the causes of the failure of the Ottomans as a ruling race.—ED. NATION.]

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## THE TWEED CASE AGAIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. J. Q. Adams, in his diary of Feb. 9, 1827 ('Adams's Diary,' VI. 233), says: "The Chief-Justice [Marshall] said Judge Peters had written to him to enquire if C. J. Ingersoll's six hundred indictments could not be consolidated." Were not those "six hundred indictments" a series of indictments, in the cases of U. S. *v.* Thompson, charged with fraudulently importing teas? Was it not claimed by the defendant that all the charges, being of the same grade and against the same defendants, should be joined in one indictment; and that it would give the prosecution not only a great and wrongful advantage, but would cruelly oppress the defendant, to try each charge separately? Was there not a general outcry at this supposed attempt to make costs for the prosecution by a false rule of pleading? And what was the judgment of the Court? As I cannot find it reported, perhaps some of your Philadelphia readers may answer. The case is of interest as directly bearing on that of Tweed. X.

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[We do not know what disposition was made of the case referred to by our correspondent, but in the last volume of Illinois Reports may be found a decision in point as to cumulative sentences. We find the opinion in full given in the Chicago *Tribune* of Oct. 25, from advance-sheets of the volume. Lewis Martin had been indicted for selling intoxicating liquors without a license, to be drunk on the premises where sold. The indictment contained twelve counts. On a trial, the defendant was found guilty, as charged, in each of the twelve counts, and the Court rendered judgment for a fine of $600, and ordered that the defendant be committed to the county-jail for 180 days. The opinion is: "The judgment in this case was fatally defective. The judgment for imprisonment was for 180 days in gross. It should have fixed the imprisonment for a specific number of days on each count on which the jury found the defendant guilty, the imprisonment on the several counts to commence at the expiration of each preceding term of imprisonment. This is the rule announced in the case of People *ex rel.* Manyx *v.* Whitson, 75 Ill. (7th *Legal News*, p. 19). That case governs this. The judgment of the Court below is reversed and the cause remanded."—ED. NATION.]

## DE LUNATICO INQUIRENDO.

DR. WELLS'S OPINION IN CONSULTATION ON MR. BEECHER'S CASE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am not altogether satisfied with your reply to Rev. Thomas K. Beecher in the *Nation* of October 14, under the head of "De Lunatico Inquirendo." Not that I dissent in any degree from any of your conclusions, but because I think that Mr. Beecher needs the *primer* of fiscal economy rather than the advanced text-book. Suppose you therefore allow me to try my hand in answering his interrogatories.

Mr. Beecher says he detects in the general flow of commerce what he is pleased to term "closed circles of exchange," and asks why some currency other than gold may not be used and continue to revolve for ever independent of gold in such circles. To this I reply that I, for one, see no objection to the use of such other currency, under the conditions specified. For example, take the illustrations which Mr. Beecher brings forward; and, *first*, that of the grocer and the milkman, who exchange between themselves groceries for milk-tickets. What objection can there be to their so doing, or why should any one interfere to prevent this little arrangement any more than any other mutually agreeable trade or bargain the grocer and milkman may choose to make? So, in the *second* case supposed by Mr. Beecher—namely, that of the Government issuing notes promising to pay and made receivable for a year's taxes—I can see no objection to that either, further than that, as a general rule, it is better for Government and individuals alike to pay cash down, rather than issue their I. O. U.'s or get trusted. And if the Government wishes to obtain commodities or services, and promises to pay for them in its own notes or in cabbage-leaves, and people are found *willing* to take such notes or cabbage-leaves in exchange, I see no reason for entering any protest against it, or calling on any one to prevent the Government from issuing, on the one hand, or the people from receiving, on the other. The highest right of property is the right freely to exchange it for other property; and the highest attribute of personal freedom is for each person to determine for himself under what conditions he will render service. Thus far, then, there is no disagreement in our respective positions. But when Mr. Beecher goes a step further, and says he is unable to see "any unwisdom or injustice in requiring citizens to recognize Treasury notes [whether the same be greenbacks or cabbage-leaves], which are legal tender to the Government, as legal tender also in the settlement of private accounts," then Mr. Beecher and I walk apart; and it is just here, in my opinion, that Mr. Beecher's mental obscurity about money and legal tender begins, for he seems unable to recognize any broad distinction between "may," or the *permissive* sense, and "must," or the *compulsive* sense, in its application to money. To make this clear let us take an illustration.

Suppose I go on a certain Saturday to Elmira, to hear Mr. Beecher preach. Time hanging heavy while waiting for Sunday to come, I stroll on Saturday evening to Smith's pleasant gambling-saloon to have a little amusement, and being at the same time on "frugal thought intent," I conclude to risk but five dollars for my evening's diversion, and so bet but fifty cents at a time on the green cloth. To enable me to do this, I get a five-dollar greenback exchanged at the cashier's desk for ten red ivory counters, or "*chips*," as they are technically called; and after playing to my heart's content I leave, and Sunday morning finds me at Mr. Beecher's church. (I acknowledge that my conduct is rather inconsistent; but it is not my conduct that we are looking after just at present.) The sermon pleases me so much that at its close, when a collection is taken up to help pay Mr. Beecher's well-earned salary, I determine to contribute; and finding one of those red chips I received in exchange the night before in my pocket, I put it in the hat. When the money comes to be delivered over to Mr. Beecher, he very naturally expresses some surprise at finding this strange-looking visitor nestled in among the bank-notes, the fractionals, the cabbage-leaves, and the milk-tickets, and asks what it all means.

To this I may be supposed to respond that the chip is currency, "revolving perfectly in the close circle" of the faro-bank, and fulfilling within that circle all the offices of money, independently of gold. Mr. Beecher has only to go, after church, down to Smith's saloon, and present the red chip I have given him to Jones, the cashier, and Jones will either allow him to bet with it or, if the bank was not cleaned out the night before or seized by the police, will probably redeem it in a fifty-cent scrip. "But, my dear sir," responds Mr. Beecher, "I am a minister, and I don't want to be seen going into Smith's saloon." I answer: "I suppose it would be somewhat disagreeable to you, but you can give this chip to the milkman, the grocer, or the Government tax-collector to-morrow morning. They understand all about these 'close circles' of exchange; they will take it." "But I am not so certain of that," says Mr. Beecher. "How will they,

any more than I, know what its value is, or whether it will be redeemed in anything else?" "Don't trouble yourself about that matter," I rejoin; "I have fixed all that. I happened to be a member of Congress last year, and after devoting two weeks' earnest study to the subject of finance, I was not able to see, any more than you now are, 'that there is any unwisdom or injustice in requiring citizens to recognize Treasury notes' and gambling chips—the one of which is legal tender to the Government, and the other legal tender in the faro-bank—'as a legal tender also in the settlement of private accounts.' More than this, the ivory chips are prettier than the greenbacks, and more convenient for carrying; and what better device can there be for indicating their difference in value than by a change in their color? They have also in perfection another attribute of really good money, inasmuch as they are non-exportable; and if we take into consideration the number of fights, feuds, and murders that take place in gambling-saloons, I think that we are fairly entitled to claim for the chips that they are 'battle-born' and 'blood-stained.' So I accordingly persuaded the national legislature to pass a law making Treasury notes, gamblers' chips, milk-tickets, and every other instrumentality of exchange which is capable of revolving perfectly in a closed circle, legal tender in payment of all private debts. 'You see it now, don't you, Mr. Beecher?" "I rather think I do," responds Mr. B.; "but at the same time I wish that when you next come to hear me preach, and feel that I have rendered you a service and strengthened you up to further good work in Washington, you would give me something that don't belong to a closed circle of exchange—something that I shall not feel obliged, before accepting, to examine a statute-book, read my Bible, consult the resolutions of the last political convention, or wait the news of an election in Ohio, to decide whether I had better take it, and, if I do take it, how much I can get for it."

Seriously, however, the trouble with Mr. Beecher and a good many other persons is, that they fail to recognize that "legal tender," whose father is Government and whose mother a Statute Law, is a suspicious character, and has been engaged in all manner of disreputable transactions ever since he was born; whilst gold and silver, of acknowledged weight and purity—*i.e.*, coined money—are nature's noblemen, whose patent of honesty is so written on their front that they require no passport, in the shape of a legal-tender statute, to find acceptance everywhere, as the universal equivalent for all exchangeable commodities and services, and as the universal solvent for all debts; and, furthermore, that no matter how great may be their recommendation on the score of cheapness, it is very poor economy for a man or a community to work with poor tools or dishonest, tricky servants if good tools and honest servants are available.

Money existed before statute, and owes its origin to man's instincts or natural promptings. Gold and silver came into use as money also before statutes, and were made choice of for use as money for exactly the same reason that men have made choice of cotton, flax, wool, and silk as materials for clothing, and stone, brick, and timber as materials for houses; because they best of all things supply certain wants and necessities.

If the Government will confine itself simply to the business of saying how much pure gold and silver shall be entitled to use the name of "dollar"; that the standard of a dollar once judiciously fixed shall never be changed; that everybody who talks dollars shall always and under all circumstances be understood to mean but this one kind of dollar; that any promises to pay, without specifying what the payment is to be in, shall also be interpreted to mean the acknowledged standard—if the Government will do these things, and these things only, then all legal-tender laws may be wiped at once off the statute-books, and everybody will be better for it. And when that day comes, if the milkman, grocer, keeper of faro-bank, or children on a rainy day up in an old garret, want to trade, swap, barter, or exchange, and use milk-tickets, ivory chips, or pieces of old newspapers respectively, to serve as memoranda, checks, counters, or symbols, I will promise Mr. Beecher that no one will object; unless the milkman, grocer, faro-bank keeper, or garret children want to make them legal tender, and compel him, and me, and all other persons, because of the artificial character thus given them, to take them in payment of commodities and services, when we don't want to.

I am yours, most respectfully, DAVID A. WELLS.

# Notes.

THE valuable catalogue, in two volumes, of the Wisconsin State Historical Society's library, which was published in 1873, has now been enlarged by a supplementary catalogue. It embraces the additions from July 1 of th t year to August 1 of the present. The number of registered titles is about 65,000, an increase of upwards of 8,000 in the above-mentioned interval. Among the notable accessions are works relating to the American Revolution, the Rebellion, and the American Indians—the last being derived from Mr. T. W. Field's sale.——G. P. Putnam's Sons have in press 'Spiritualism and other allied Causes of Nervous Derangement, in their Medical and Medico-legal Relations,' by Dr. Wm. A. Hammond.——Bulletin No. 35 of the Boston Public Library, besides the usual list of accessions for the month (October), contains carefully-prepared bibliographical helps to students of the following subjects; Waterloo and the Campaign of 1815; Newspapers; John Wesley; and Architecture. It appears that the Library of Congress has 4,800 volumes of newspapers; the Boston Athenæum, 4,500; the American Antiquarian Society (Worcester), 4,000; the New York Historical Society, about 3,800; the Boston Public Library, 3,500; the Wisconsin Historical Society, about 2,500.——Mr. Justin Winsor is to be the editor of a new quarterly whose interest and importance will be apparent when its title is named—the *Fac-similist*. It will be published by J. R. Osgood & Co., and each number will contain from twelve to sixteen heliotype reproductions of rare engravings, MSS., title-pages, etc., accompanied by twenty pages of letterpress. The size is folio.——Hardy Mahony, Philadelphia, announce with the new year the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, which will fill the gap just occasioned by the demise of *Brownson's Quarterly*. Dr. Brownson will himself be one of the contributors. The editorial direction will be in the hands of Drs. James A. Corcoran and James O'Connor and Mr. George Dering Wolff. It is expected to "become a valuable auxiliary to the Church in her warfare against modern error."——Mr. Benjamin R. Tucker, Princeton, Mass., has translated, and will publish in December, Proudhon's 'What is Property? or, An Enquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government,' in one octavo volume. If this venture meets with encouragement, the French author's other works will be brought out by the same admirer.——Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., on another page, corrects an unintentional injustice on our part to a meritorious cataloguer, a woman. We have also been informed that it was Miss and not Mr. E. J. Trimble who compiled the 'Chart of General Literature' noticed on page 260 of our No. 538.

—We asked the other day, in good faith, when noticing Miss Alcott's 'Eight Cousins,' what had become of the original Rollo Books. Our readers will be glad to share the enlightenment which we have since received from Messrs. Sheldon & Co., who send us the whole series of fourteen volumes contained in a generous paper box, and bound, not indeed in the simple fashion to which our memory goes back, but still tastefully and attractively. We confess to a certain satisfaction in finding the letterpress bearing unmistakable signs of antiquity. These battered stereotype plates, like the veteran's honorable scars, tell of long service in behalf of good manners and good morals. For a generation to come, as for more than a generation past, we hope our youngsters will be able to make the wholesome acquaintance of Jonas, and Rollo, and Nathan, and Mr. Holiday, and the rest. Modes of life and of travelling have changed considerably since these books were first written, so that they may be said, in a small way, to have even an historical value.

—The last numbers of *Scribner's* and of the *Law Review* both contain articles on copyright by Mr. E. S. Drone. Of the two the *Scribner* article is the more professional, and, notwithstanding that, the more interesting, inasmuch as in the *Law Review* the author allows himself, in his enthusiasm for the rights of authors, to be carried away into regions of speculation as to the twin relics of barbarism, literary piracy and slavery, in which we are unable to follow him. The common law may be to blame for a great many inconsistencies, but we doubt if it can be made any less chaotic at this day by introducing analogies between the rights with which the negro becomes invested on setting foot on board a British vessel, and the rights of which the British author is divested by the agency of the American publisher. We may hope a great deal from the abolition of slavery, but we fear the issues of the war are fading too fast from the public mind to permit this argument to be used with great force in courts of law, or even in the halls of debate at Washington. Mr. Drone in *Scribner* devotes himself to the consideration of the rights of foreign dramatists under American laws. It must have occurred to a good many starving poets and novelists that the wages earned by dramatists at the present day are rather startling; but it may not be known to them that this depressing fact arises in a great measure from the advantages which the dramatic author has in the form of his composition. The foreign author, every one knows, as long as he keeps his thoughts to himself, or confides them only to his manuscript, will, even though he lend the manuscript to a

friend or two, have at common law the same rights over it that he has over his hat or his horse. The moment, however, he publishes his work the right is gone, and in the absence of some treaty or law there is nothing to prevent the foreign pirate from at once descending upon him. Far otherwise is it with the dramatist. In his case the courts have held that to represent a play and invite all the world to come and see it is not "publication," and therefore it is possible for a dramatist to retain all his rights if he keep his play in manuscript. This is the explanation of the frequent purchases of French plays for the American stage and lawsuits that arise out of them. No court has yet explained satisfactorily why producing a play on a stage is not exactly the equivalent of publishing a book; but, as if to counterbalance the grotesqueness of this distinction by another on the other side still more ludicrous, the doctrine has been asserted that a play being produced for the benefit of the audience, the audience may put it to any use they please, and among other things any of them may carry it away *in their memories* and afterwards sell it to anybody. They may not write it down on the spot nor get it by short-hand notes; but anything that comes *memoriter* is fair game. This doctrine, Mr. Drone thinks, will soon be exploded by the courts, and it certainly seems as if it should be.

—Mr. Horace E. Scudder contributes to the *Atlantic* for November a curious piece of criticism on Andersen's short stories for children, tracing the connection between these and the old fairy-story. As he says, the old fairy-story has ceased to be a living literary growth, and is now relegated to science, which explains very clearly its origin, rise, and progress, classifies it, reconstructs it, but can never revivify it. We may add to our collections of myths from various parts of the world, and may preserve for the nursery the giants, dwarfs, fairies, elves, goblins, and brownies, from generation to generation, but we do not believe in them, and no one in literature undertakes to make new sham fairies and sham fairy-tales, or, if he does, does not succeed. Andersen, however, really invented a new kind of fairy-tale of his own, altogether different from any of the natural folk-lore which survives in the nursery. In his world the first peculiarity that we observe is the animation of all inanimate things. Not only do animals live, and move, and speak, and possess souls, but so also do tin-soldiers, balls, tops, coins, shoes, and even darning-needles, and these souls are, so to speak, always in character. The inanimate world and animals are not given voices as in the old-fashioned fable for the purpose of inculcating a moral, but in speaking and acting they do so exactly as we might naturally suppose tin-soldiers, balls, tops, coins, etc., to speak and act of themselves. We may add to what Mr. Scudder says, that in thus animating the inanimate world Andersen has done what some children are very fond of doing themselves, and all children do more or less unconsciously when their passions are aroused, and they wreak their vengeance for supposed injuries on tables and chairs. The human race, too, in its childhood, as all students of "primitive culture" know, animates the "trees and stocks and stones" with souls, while children in their imaginative beliefs are known to preserve in each generation the animistic capacity of their remote ancestors. So we may perhaps see the explanation of Andersen's success partly in his having satisfied in a literary form this childish yearning for the reawakening of the dead world, so that if we do not actually

> "Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea,
> Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn,"

our children have at least an escape from dull prose in these pretty fables, disclosing the wonders of everyday life which dull adult eyes can no longer see.

—One of the most amusing and impudent instances of pot calling the kettle black is afforded by Dr. Edward Sears in the September number of his *National Quarterly Review*, a publication whose prolonged existence is explainable in two ways—first, by the ease with which the form imposes on people even when the substance is wholly lacking; and second, by the well-known difficulty which a periodical or newspaper when once established has in dying. Whether there is not also a third explanation the reader may judge presently. Dr. Sears takes up for "review" a worthless and therefore very properly gratuitous 'School and College Directory,' and in slipshod English proceeds to expose its still more wretched style, and the absurdity of its paid puffs of various institutions. The poor compiler's offence is constantly brought home to him, that he has puffed only the chools that have advertised with him. The way in which his omissions are pointed out is the very acme of effrontery. Dr. Sears denounces him for not naming—the very schools, and those only, which are advertised in the same number of the *Review!* Thus: "Not a word does our School and College Guide tell us about —— —— College, which is 'located' in the same place, and which, as most of our readers are aware [see p. xi. of the *National Quarterly Review* Advertiser], ranks among the most efficient and faithful colleges in the United States." And again: "Does this 'risk' [the spiritual risk of the Roman Catholic schools] present itself at —— Female Academy [see advertisement on p. xxviii.], whose rector is an Episcopal clergyman as well as a scholar and educator? Does it exist at —— —— Seminary, Poughkeepsie [p. xxx.]? If not, still less can it be said to exist at —— Female College [p. xxii.], or at —— Institute, Pittsfield, Mass. [p. xxvii.], since the head of each of the two latter institutions is a Presbyterian clergyman, but not at all sectarian as an educator." We believe we need not multiply our extracts. In the course of his diatribe Dr. Sears makes an attack on President Eliot, of Harvard, which would be thought uncalled for except that we are led to infer an unsuccessful attempt to obtain, not to say extort, advertising. Dr. Sears probably had his reasons for not assailing President Eliot in Latin. Of his powers in this direction he gives us two samples as foot-notes—the one highly abusive, the other, addressed to the Latin professor at the college advertised on p. xi., highly effusive. The Latin of both these epistles "would have made Quintilian stare and gasp." Dr. Sears's implacable hostility to puffery appears further on in his insurance appendix, where precisely those companies are lauded which advertise with him, and *vice-versa*.

—The *Portfolio* for October (J. W. Bouton) contains a capital notice by René Ménard of Corot, illustrated by a photogravure; it is not the least successful of a series contributed by this critic, all of them showing tact and catholicity. The quotation from Corot's own writing of a passage describing daybreak—"on voit tout: rien n'y est plus"—is invaluable as describing this particular painter's mode of regarding nature, always oblique, veiled, and myopic. The article on Wiertz, now concluded, is of unusual interest, and seems candid and fair. The etchings are of a portrait by Il Moretto, and an architectural subject, and the technical notes are continued.

—Mr. Ritchie, the engraver, has finished a plate in mixed style, called "He Leadeth Me," and containing two hagiological figures in a landscape. The latter has some merit, but the human element is treated in a way that only illustrates too justly the intellectual abasement to which the artist who caters for what is called the "great religious public" is expected to stoop. The design is the engraver's own, however, and, being not absolutely false to art, the fact constitutes the claim of the print to our attention. Messrs. Gebbie & Baker of Philadelphia publish an etching of a well-known German picture, the "Roman Chariot-Race." There is not an inartistic line in this etching, though the effect halts a little in expressing the color and atmosphere of the original. Mr. P. Moran, who executed the galloping Numidian horses, is the artist who contributed the best cattle-piece to our last Academy exhibition, while the figures were done by Mr. Ferris, known by a beautiful study in aquafortis of the head of Fortuny. The publishers of the *Atlantic Monthly* send us a life-size lithographic portrait of Longfellow, by Baker, which we think may be praised without reserve as an excellent likeness, beautifully executed. It is for sale only to subscribers to the magazine.

—We discuss, in a book review on the following page, the character and merits of the controversy between the "Manchesterians" and the "Kathedersocialisten" of Germany. It will assist the reader if we define here certain terms more sharply than has been attempted heretofore. The words "free-trader" and "Freihändler" have been treated almost universally as equivalents. This use of language, we are persuaded, rests upon a misconception, and may lead, and indeed has led, to grave misunderstandings. We all know the meaning that the English word "free-trader" has acquired. It serves to designate one who is opposed on principle to tariffs, who regards freedom of commerce between nations as the ideal to be striven after, even although it may not be for the while practically attainable. But the German term "Freihändler," as its etymology suggests, has a far wider meaning; it designates not merely one whose "trade" is unfettered, but whose "acts" are free. This distinction is anything but hypercritical: it is the linguistic expression of a fact in German political history which is as substantial as for instance compulsory military service, but which has been strangely ignored. When a German declares himself to be a "Freihändler," he identifies himself—consciously or unconsciously—with that party in German politics which has effected numerous social reforms under the North German "Bund" and the subsequent "Reich." Among such reforms we place the emancipation of the trades from the restrictions imposed by the old guilds (*Zunftzwang*), the right of changing one's domicile at will (*Freizügigkeit*), the conferment of a sort of common citizenship (*Indigenat*) upon all the natives, first of the "Bund," and subsequently of the "Reich." We might instance other reforms, but the above will suffice to illustrate our position. In other words, the "Frei-

händler" party have obtained in the last ten years for Germany what was accomplished in France by the Revolution of '89, what has existed in England for centuries, and what has always been the policy of our country—to wit, the emancipation of the individual from all petty restrictions, the establishment of man's right to go and come at will, to set himself up in business where and as he may see fit, to hire his labor to whoever will pay the highest wages. This right, which to our American notions seems "born with a man at his birth," has cost the Germans hard fighting and protracted parliamentary debate. However much the exercise of it may have been tolerated, it was never legally acknowledged prior to 1867. To us Americans, Bismarck is known as the successful diplomatist, the founder of the new realm. But the German common man knows him to be, with all his squirarchical tone and testy arrogance, the founder of the new German social order, the leader of the emancipation party. Hence it is that Treitschke, who is not a blind devotee of Bismarck's, exclaims, "Why, 'Freihändler' we all are, every one of us. If the social laws passed by the North German Bund did not exist at this present day, we should have to proclaim them to-morrow, despite the bitter experiences that we have had since their passage." Treitschke is referring, not to the revisions of the German tariff, but to the abolition of the *Zünfte*, to the *Freizügigkeit* and *Indigenat* above-mentioned, and also to the questionable gift of universal suffrage. The entire force of his utterance lies in the assertion that *such* changes, despite the support they have given to the machinations of the so-called "Socialist" party, were nevertheless salutary and even necessary.

—Another term calling for fuller explanation is "Manchesterthum." Primarily and rightfully, the word designates the free-trade principles advocated by Bright, Cobden, and their followers. But with this meaning the young school of German publicists has at times coupled a suggestion of moral weakness and political inertia. Thus used, "Manchesterthum" is a term of reproach, conveying the idea that those who regard the acquisition of wealth as the chief determining motive in life are unconsciously traitors to their country, and that the country itself, in tolerating individual freedom to the neglect of its moral vocation at home and its might and dignity abroad, is on the high-road to ruin. That is to say, the free trade which has degenerated into mere money-making, and the peace-policy which cries for peace in any case and at any price, tend to undermine the national edifice and strip it of its defences against the encroachments of its neighbors. Thus Treitschke himself, in speaking of the neutral policy of England during the Franco-German war (see the essay entitled 'Die Feuerprobe des norddeutschen Bundes'), characterizes the Manchester doctrine as a mighty flood threatening to drown out all belief in the ethic value and aim of life. Whether such views of English politics are right or wrong is a point which we are not now called upon to decide. We have only to bear witness to their existence, and to show how they co-operate in bringing about a confusion of ideas and party distinctions. This confusion may be briefly formulated as follows: German sympathizers with "free trade" proper come in for a share of the denunciation heaped upon "Manchesterthum" as above defined; on the other hand, those who denounce the "Freihändler" fail to perceive that they are in a measure denouncing the party whose chief aim has been internal reform rather than the regulation of foreign commerce. The "Freihändler" movement and the "free-trade" movement, it is true, spring from a common origin, namely, the more or less radical belief in the liberty of the individual; but they are not identical. A man may belong to the one party and not to the other. Thus, the Hamburg or Berlin merchant may be a zealous advocate of "free trade" yet look with disfavor upon the "Freizügigkeit" that is flooding his city with adventurers from all quarters. Conversely, the Chemnitz or Westphalian manufacturer, while praising this same "Freizügigkeit" that gives him abundance of labor, may be in favor of a strong tariff.

## POLITICAL ECONOMY IN GERMANY.*

A FEW weeks ago, in No. 532, we gave our views concerning the New German Economists, as we styled them, and in No. 534 we published Professor W. F. Allen's reply, together with our rejoinder. Since then we have come in possession of an essay by the well-known German publicist, Treitschke, entitled 'Der Socialismus und seine Gönner,' which not only tends to corroborate our views, but throws a strong side-light upon the origin and present status of the controversy. In consideration, therefore, of the inherent importance of the subject, and of Treitschke's reputation and influence, we deem it advisable to take up this new German school once more, incorporating Treitschke's observations with our own. The essay, which appeared originally in the 'Preussische Jahrbücher,' has been republished with others by the same author, under the collective title which we give below.

At the time when Adam Smith's doctrines were ushered into the world there was no Germany, strictly speaking. There was only a congeries of states, large and small, each constituting a despotism by itself. The subjects of each were trained to implicit obedience. The advantage which Prussia had over its neighbors was that its despotism was an enlightened one. With the great Frederic at their head—it will be remembered that he was fond of styling himself the first *Beamte* in the kingdom—the Prussian officials were a class of active, intelligent, and thoroughly conscientious men. However rough and domineering its method, there can be no doubt that Frederic's régime had for its supreme object the public weal. To this régime and its immediate successors, then, the new ideas and inductions of Adam Smith came as a revelation. To use the language of Treitschke, Smith's work was the first ray of light to fall upon the brainless compilations dubbed cameralia. Smith became the teacher of Stein and Hardenberg; his translator, Kraus of Königsberg, educated Schön and the entire body of East-Prussian officials. But these German disciples of Smith were themselves independent in their way of thinking and acting. They accepted his teachings, not as absolute scientific verities, but rather as practical rules to be applied as circumstances might admit. So far from following the doctrine of *laisser-faire*, they acted upon the very opposite principle; the Crown, through its officials, forced upon the people judicious reforms which the people did not always accept without murmuring. The movement, not doctrinal but altogether practical in its nature, communicated itself to the other German states, which acted after the fashion of Prussia, and at last, after innumerable delays and rebuffs, culminated in the establishment of the Zollverein (1828–1841). While the German folk was either resting in apathy or indulging in idle dreams of democratic national unity, the foundations of the first and only true unity that the country ever possessed until 1866—its customs' union—were being laid stone by stone by the bureaucrats of absolute government. This mode of procedure is characteristic of Germany. Ever since the monarchical system prevailed, the Germans have been accustomed to look up to the throne not only as the seat of power, but as the source of progress. It is foreign to German ideas to seek for energy of initiative in the people. All the great changes in education, in trade and finance, in the relations between church and state, in the establishment of national unity, have been wrought from above downwards. Even at this day, it can scarcely be said of any legislative body, whether Reichstag or Landtag, that it originates a measure; it merely discusses and votes. We should err, therefore, were we to account for the present temper of the "Kathedersocialisten" by attributing it exclusively to the exaltation produced by the military and political successes of 1866 and 1870. The Austrian and French campaigns, it is true, have strengthened and quickened the feeling, by contrasting skilful autocratic leadership with the fiasco of 1849, but they have not created it. It is, if not innate, at least inbred through centuries of habit.

While German officials, as we have shown, were engaged in the work of slowly and cautiously adapting to German circumstances the new doctrines advocated or suggested by Adam Smith, a new era dawned upon the theories of state and nationality in general. We refer to the advent of the Hegelian philosophy. That philosophy, it is well known, sought to explain all life, the life of the individual and the life of a people, upon the theory of development, or, to use the German term, of "Werden." Everything was a phase in the development of something else, and could not be understood without being regarded as an outgrowth of the past and a germ of the future. By no mere coincidence, but in accordance with those unseen influences which govern the outward manifestations of national intellectual activity, we find—contemporaneous with the Hegelians in speculative thinking—the renowned "historic school" of jurisprudence springing into birth and gaining the ascendancy in a more practical field. Savigny, Eichhorn, and their followers demonstrated that the laws and legal institutions of a country are the growth of ages, the tangible embodiment of forces hidden from sight, which no one generation and no one man can permanently repress or essentially change. They proved, in short, that beneath the surface-life of each nation was an independent continuous organism which must be studied from the beginning. This doctrine of continuity, which is little else than Hegelianism applied to everyday life, led to a more profound conception of the state and its mission. The state, accordingly, was not the transitory form given to administration by individual caprice or spasmodic popular fancy, but the concrete and stable expression of the national life. The form, indeed, might change slowly, but the principle must abide, that the

* 'Zehn Jahre deutscher Kämpfe. Von Heinrich Treitschke.' Berlin: Georg Reimer. 1875.

state and the laws are the folk as it had become in process of development.

In passing from the domain of jurisprudence to that of political economy, we cannot do better than give Treitschke's own words. They explain succinctly what is known as the "historic school" of economists. Treitschke says, p. 539 :

"Following the lead of Savigny and Eichhorn, Roscher endeavored to arrive at an understanding of politico-economic life in its historic 'Werden'; then came the able treatise by Bernhardi on Real Property, the writings of Knies, etc., etc. Some of the older economists even began to look more closely into the ethic significance of their science, for instance Schüz, in his essay on the Ethic Laws governing Political Economy. This was carrying German thought to its legitimate conclusion. The historic school attained to the conception of political economy as a link in the chain of state-sciences, consequently as an ethic science ; they comprehend it in its connection with the totality of national life ; and they acknowledge the right of the state to interfere and to arbitrate amid the conflict of interests of society. In all this there is not a trace of 'socialistic' influences. On the contrary, Knies declared twenty years ago that the equality set up by the socialists conflicted directly with every historic conception of the state, and Roscher, ten years before that, in Schmidt's *Historische Zeitschrift*, pronounced his condemnation of socialism. The whole movement was in its nature a learned one ; it sought rather to understand how the politico-economic forms of successive ages were justified in relation to one another, than to play the part of a daring reformer in the struggles of the present."

This passage will place Roscher in his rightful position, namely, as a founder of the "Historic School" in distinction from the "Kathedersocialisten." These latter are only an offshoot of the former. They are, according to Treitschke, chiefly young professors, trained after Roscher's method and developed under the influence of the Berlin Bureau of Statistics The name "Kathedersocialisten," given to them as a nickname by their opponents, has been adopted by them in a fit of student-like humor. Their origin and influence are due to a variety of circumstances. After Prussia had succeeded in establishing the "Zollverein," Cobden's movement in favor of free trade spread to Germany. Men of business and journalists espoused the cause, which found comparatively few advocates at the universities. Like all reformers, the free-traders pushed their doctrines to the extreme. With the establishment of the "Bund" there came, as we have already shown, a radical reconstruction of political society and domestic trade. The change, which wrought so much good, brought in its train not a little evil. The French war, the establishment of the "Reich," and the French indemnity-money, served to aggravate the evil. All Germany was handed over to speculators ; the age of the "Gründer" set in, to the alarm of every sober thinker. Prior to the Vienna and Berlin panics of 1873 there seemed to be no check to the feverish pursuit of gain ; in appearance, trade, finance, and even society itself were threatened with disintegration. Stock-jobbers, railway contractors, house-builders, stepped into the foremost ranks of the world, while those who lived upon fixed incomes, all professors, teachers, officials, and officers of the lower grades, saw themselves reduced suddenly to comparative insignificance and poverty. It is not surprising, then, that a party of reaction should have arisen ; this party is personified in the "Kathedersocialisten." They have little in common with the socialists proper, and that little is due rather to circumstances and to bewilderment of ideas than to innate sympathy. They are men of science who misapply their doctrines, who in the heat of angry controversy go further than they are aware of ; the socialists are rude and, for the greater part, illiterate demagogues. The "Kathedersocialisten," suffering from the evils that mark the present state of transition, claim for the Government the right of interfering and curbing the license of individual speculation. But they do this with the tacit understanding that it is the mission of the state to foster true liberty. They wish for interference, but only for such interference as may enable each one to do his work best without the risk of being driven to the wall by the unscrupulous ; whereas the socialists proper wish to convert the state into a sort of employment-bureau that shall see that each man is fed and clothed, and that all are brought down to the same glorious equality of besotted ignorance. We are not to be understood, of course, as advocating or justifying the views advanced by the "Kathedersocialisten," for we regard their course as prompted by mistaken zeal. We are merely explaining how and why it is that they have risen to sudden prominence. We believe, furthermore, that this prominence has been greatly overrated, and will speedily disappear. It is the passing manifestation of a spirit which is to be found in every society, even in our own—witness Judge Kelley and his 3.65 panacea—but which is inbred, as we have already shown by implication, in the German character : we mean the impulse to look to the Government for active measures in times of great social distress, instead of trusting to the relief which comes with time, good sense, and hard work. Treitschke calls the quarrel between the Manchesterians and the "Kathedersocialisten" a windmill-fight, and calls upon sensible men to give it up. His argument, confirmed by the course of recent legislation, is that the moment both parties quit the field of pure theory, and discuss practical measures, it is possible to arrive at a satisfactory working compromise. We ourselves are inclined to this opinion. It seems to us that the future policy of Germany will hold the middle course between two extremes. On the one hand, the military constitution of the empire, bureaucratic spirit, and the force of habit will always render a formal acceptance and sanction of the doctrine of *laisser-faire* impossible. On the other, the empire is committed beyond revocation to a course which will end in the greatest individual freedom compatible with strong government.

In conclusion, we wish to call attention to a side-phase of the question which should not be overlooked. Prince Bismarck is not a theoretician. He has read much, probably far more than is generally supposed ; but he does not attach importance to abstract principles in affairs of state. As his speeches show, he is familiar with the history of his country, enough at least to know the weaknesses of the race. These are, in brief, deference to enthroned authority and proneness to sweeping theories and hair-splitting distinctions. The deference he accepts as his working-tool, the theories and casuistry he brushes aside as so many cobwebs. He has avowed on more than one occasion his contempt for the "professors," and this feeling is shared by his associates. German statesmen are too familiar with the empty lucubrations at St. Paul's, Frankfort, in 1848–9, to take for pure gold all that is proffered by the "Gelehrtenstand." Even Gneist and Virchow, who are unquestionably the best of their class, have betrayed on several occasions their impracticability in a manner which must have been extremely irritating to the ministry, and which stood in marked contrast with the conduct of men like Lasker. It is probable, therefore, that the influence of theoreticians and university men in Germany will diminish more and more, although it will never cease to be an active power. It may not be unprofitable to dwell for a moment upon the approximation thus suggested of American and German ways. In Germany, the influence of mere learning on the wane ; in America, we hope at least, on the increase ; and both changes a great gain. True, our hopes for America are not of the liveliest ; they are dashed every now and then by the revelations of "rings" and lobbies and inflation schemes. Still, there are symptoms in the older States which encourage us in the trust that politics are on the mend, that a wholesome respect for scientific training and personal integrity is spreading from the learned circles to the men of action. As for Germany, we can only wish that she may indeed enlarge the sphere of practical wisdom, and set narrower limits to ex-cathedra dogmatism.

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*The Life and Writings of John Howard Payne.* By Gabriel Harrison. (Albany, N. Y. : Joel Munsell. 1875. Pp. ix.–410.)—Mr. Harrison is a member of the Faust Club of Brooklyn, before which, in 1872, he read a paper upon Payne with the view of calling forth subscriptions for a memorial to the author of "Home, Sweet Home." In this he succeeded, and on September 27, 1873, in Prospect Park, Brooklyn, a bronze bust of John Howard Payne was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies, including the reading of an occasional poem by Mr. John G. Saxe. To the customary account of such a celebration, Mr. Harrison has prefixed his original paper with additions. The material for a full biography is abundant ; Payne was nearly always before the eye of the public, and his movements were duly recorded by the press. But in addition to the sources of information already in print, Mr. Harrison is in possession of many of Payne's MSS., including his diary and his correspondence with his sister. It would be difficult to make other than interesting the life of one so well known, who was the friend and correspondent of Talma, Kemble, Kean, Sheil, Moore, O'Connell, Allston, Irving, and Elliston. Mr. Harrison has succeeded in overcoming the difficulty : his book is dull. Its four hundred pages produce the effect of a mere mass of matter undigested and ill-arranged. The style is diffuse, the English is deplorable, and the grammar will not always bear inspection. Grotesque errors like the following are not rare : "Among the gentlemen who contributed were Mr. James Hart, Mr. Gabriel Harrison, . . . Mrs. Nagle, and others" (p. 230). From this specimen we should judge that Mr. Harrison, as Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, was responsible for the programme of the Prospect Park celebration, one paragraph of which reads : "4. *Home, Sweet Home !* sang [*sic*] by one thousand public-school children, in which the assemblage are requested to join the chorus." The misprints are numerous ; in the programme (p. 112) of the benefit given to Payne at the Park Theatre, November 29, 1832, we read that "Mr. Cooper has obligingly consented to recite in the course of the

evening Alexander's 'Faust'" (*sic*). Finally, the book has not even a table of contents; of course there is no index.

Mr. Harrison adds to the volume, if not to the value of the book, by reprinting "Our Neglected Poets," an article from the *Democratic Review* for February and March, 1838; "Lispings of the Muse," a selection of juvenile poems privately printed for presentation, in 1815; and "Brutus," the tragedy written for Kean. Although generally identified in America with Junius Brutus Booth, and latterly with his son, Mr. Edwin Booth, this is the only one of the author's forty dramatic works which keeps the stage to this day, and the only tragedy by an American which has been successful in England. Mr. Harrison, having Payne's album in his hands, has actually filled over twenty pages of this volume by reprinting from it various poems by Washington Allston, Barry Cornwall, and others. If this system of biographical writing is to obtain, the work of future biographers will be easy. They need only get possession of their hero's commonplace-book, and whenever facts are wanting for the life they can fill up with fancies from the album. Mr. Harrison, to do him justice, has not always acted upon this principle; his researches have fixed the dates of Payne's birth (New York, June 9, 1791) and of his death (Tunis, April 9, 1852). These are inaccurately given in all biographical dictionaries, including Allibone. They are not even right upon the monument erected over his grave by our Government.

In 1835, in its celebrated review of American literature, the London *Athenæum* doubted if there were seven men in England who knew Payne to be an American. From the correspondence in an English literary weekly two or three years ago, it seemed as though there were not then seven men in all England who knew that Payne was the author of "Home, Sweet Home."

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*American State Universities: their Origin and Progress.* By Andrew Ten Brook. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1875.)—The title of Mr. Ten Brook's book is misleading. The volume contains 410 pages. Of these, four are devoted to the index, and twenty-one to an appendix containing documentary matter of little moment. Of the remaining 385, no less than 309 contain a history of education in the State of Michigan simply, and more particularly of the University of that State. In fact, this is the only American State University of which he says anything worth saying. His work ought therefore to have been entitled a 'History of the University of Michigan, with Some Remarks on the Past and Future of Education in America.' His accounts of the earlier attempts to provide popular education in this country, and of "the state of early culture in the West," as he calls it, and of the early Congressional land-grants for universities, contain nothing which every tolerably well-informed reader of American history is not already familiar with. Indeed, the chapter on the "State of Early Culture in the West" is misnamed altogether. It is simply a descriptive sketch of pioneer society, which shows that there was not for a generation or two after the first settlement of the West any culture whatever in that region, either "early" or other. The history of the University of Michigan is merely the tale told, in very slipshod English, of the attempts of a New England settlement which loved learning to build up, with little or no money and plenty of wild lands, an institution devoted to the higher education. There is nothing very remarkable in the struggle. There was an abundance of the "financing" and of the conflicts between the scholars and the politicians with which all observers of American business and politics are now familiar, and many of Mr. Ten Brook's pages are devoted to the minute recital of squabbles which can hardly interest anybody outside Ann Arbor, and were well forgotten even there. The portion of the book which will possess most interest for the general reader is the chapter on the "Prospective University," in which the author states clearly enough the nature of the various problems which now vex or occupy the friends of University education in this country, and he makes some good practical suggestions about them, but we cannot say that he makes any important contribution to their solution. His discussion of "self-education" is clear, if not very novel, but he indulges in a large amount of platitude, which produces a somewhat comic effect when thrown into italics and announced as an important sociological generalization, like the following: "*That the course taken* [by individuals or nations] *will be successful in the ratio, and only in the ratio, of its conformity to the Creator's purpose, known or unknown, in the constitution of the human mind, and its habitation, the world.*"

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*Spain.* By the Baron Ch. Davillier. Illustrated by Gustave Doré. Translated by J. Thompson, F.R.G.S. (New York: Scribner, Welford & Armstrong. 1876.)—Baron Davillier is a very unsentimental tourist, and what he has produced is really only a guide-book of the better sort, to which the printer's art has given its chief distinction. The personal element of the travellers (the author and the artist were companions) counts for very little in the narrative. Doré, indeed, is scarcely more than a lay figure, so that we are doubly surprised when (p. 312) we find him taking the fiddler's place at a dancing academy, where he "played the *jaleo* with marvellous skill. It is well known," continues the Baron, "that our great artist is a violinist of the first order; Rossini, who knew him, gave him a brevet with his own hand." By the way, we may notice that the fiddler is called by the translator a "blind *ciego*," and afterwards "the *ciego*," as if the word were untranslatable in both instances, or even were Spanish for fiddler. It is well to know the sober truth about Spain, but a matter-of-fact observer like Baron Davillier seems tenfold more so when contradicting the poets. At Barcelona he tried in vain "to discover the least trace of the 'Andalouse au teint bruni' of Alfred de Musset." At Valencia—which, according to Victor Hugo in one of his 'Orientales,' "has spires to three hundred churches"—"after the most painstaking and exhaustive search, we failed to discover a single example of the forest of spires described by the poet." It must be said in favor of our author that his journey with Doré (apparently in the year 1872) was made when Spain had become an old story to him, and that he supplements his meagre diary with knowledge and experience drawn from his previous visits to the country. Of Doré's illustrations we spoke last year when noticing the original French publication. It may be said, in a word, that they are characteristic (without being brutal, as too commonly in Taine's 'Pyrenees'), and that they forcibly reveal the artist's defect as a colorist. The paper, print, and binding make this work an elegant gift-book for the holidays.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* | |
|---|---|---|
| Abbott (J.), Rollo Books. Fourteen vols. | (Sheldon & Co.) | |
| Asmus (Dr. P.), Die Indogermanische Religion, Vol. I. | (B. Westermann & Co.) | $2 60 |
| Baunard (M. L.), Life of Saint John | (Catholic Publication Society) | 2 00 |
| Biddle (H. P.), American Boyhood: A Poem | (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) | |
| Clark (Prof. F. W.), Weights, Measures, and Money of all Nations. | (D. Appleton & Co.) | |
| Darby (J.), Two Thousand Years After | (Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger) | 1 00 |
| Opium Eating | (Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger) | 1 00 |
| Du Boisgobey (F.), Golden Tress | " " " | 1 50 |

# Fine Arts.

## TIETJENS.

THE appearance here of Teresa Tietjens in opera fifteen years ago, or even ten, would have been a musical event of great interest; her appearance here now in the concert-room has not produced a very deep sensation. And yet no lover of music whose taste has been cultivated to the appreciation of the highest school of vocalization can listen to her without great pleasure, for there is no doubt that she is the most eminent living exemplar of the grand style of singing. Indeed, she is almost the only prima donna of note now before the world who has that style in anything like perfection. Of mere musical declaimers there are enough—some with pretty good voices and some without; of brilliant vocalists, performers of musical ground and lofty tumbling, there are not a few; of singers with agreeable voices and a fluid, pleasant style the musical world is always pretty full; but of singers with voices of the prima-donna rank, and who add to that the grand style, there is never a very large supply, and of late years it has been notably diminishing. The reason of this is twofold. First, nature does not furnish the material in any great abundance. Fine voices, voices that by their quality and their power are fitted to command the attention of the world, are rare; and the union of such a voice with the musical capability, the emotional susceptibility, and the feeling for art that are required to make a great singer, is rarer still. Next, the musical tendencies of the last twenty-five years have been toward the suppression of the grand style. Verdi on one side and Offenbach on the other may be regarded as the representatives of those influences; and the greatest admirer of *Ernani* and *Il Trovatore*, or of the *Grande Duchesse*, must admit that, whatever the merits of the music of those compositions—and even the latter has merits of a certain kind—they do not tend to foster a noble style of singing, but rather to destroy it; to crush it, on the one hand, with the gross and heavy hand of mere sonority, and to fritter it away, on the other, by triviality and musical clap-trap.

Of singers in the grand style we have had in America some notable examples during the last twenty-five years—few in number but of great distinction. The first who is likely to be remembered by any of our readers was Katarina Barili, the mother of Adelina and Carlotta Patti. She did not sing here often, and she was in the decay of her powers, or rather of her voice. The latter never was first-rate, but her style was—so great, indeed, that if her voice had been equal to it she would have been one of the great historical prima donnas. The majesty of her musical elocution, the dignity of her

carriage, the delicacy of her inflections, and last, not least, the fierce flame of her passion, made her performance, notwithstanding the defects of her voice, which, however, was full of meaning, something ever memorable. And her style was grand ; large, simple, all-satisfying. She could not sing the most insignificant musical phrase without showing it. Her daughters, even Adelina the "diva," as they call her in Europe, never approached her in this respect. After her we had Lind and Alboni, the two great singers of the generation ; and they came to us in the fulness and perfect freshness of their great powers. Grisi came too ; but not in her freshness. Her voice was like some parts of her wardrobe—a somewhat limp and soiled magnificence. Moreover, with all her superb qualities of person and of voice, and her delicious vocalization, she lacked in some degree that fine artistic intelligence and that richness of moral nature which go to the making of a prima donna of the very highest class.

Since their day we have had no examples whatever of the grand style of singing until the appearance of Madame Tietjens. Tietjens shows her high quality first by the perfect simplicity of her manner, and by her calm consciousness of power. With a nature capable of all the strongest impulses of passion and a power of manifesting them with all the resources of her art, she has that serenity which goes with great strength, and which we see expressed in the heads and in the poses of the great Greek sculptures. She leaves no doubt ; she asserts herself at once. After hearing her sing one phrase we have no question as to her quality. She shows an artistic nature of the highest order in everything that she does, and with it the results of the most thorough training in the best school. She has in affluence those qualities of mind and soul in which Grisi, as we have said, was somewhat deficient. Every phrase has meaning ; every inflection purpose. She is never uncertain, and has in a marked degree that trait which is one of the strongest indications of the possession of great powers—a clear knowledge of what she can do and what she means to do. In all art there is no surer indication of inferiority than fumbling. This is particularly manifest in music. Consider for a moment the works of the great composers, Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, how every movement marches steadily on from the first bar with direct, clear consciousness of purpose, and then compare this trait with the manner of composers even of the second class, who never assert themselves after this godlike fashion. The same trait is shown in the execution of music, and Madame Tietjens is one of the few who have this grand manner.

All this is true—true without qualification or reserve ; and yet to those who have never heard Madame Tietjens until now, it may seem somewhat extravagant laudation. And with reason ; for this great artist is not now able to give us the full flavor of her real quality. The musician can perceive what she is ; but that indefinable something which comes with youth and lasts through maturity, and which gives, and is necessary to give, perfection its zest, is gone. It is a sad thing to say of a woman, How beautiful she must have been ! And so it is to say of an artist, How great she must have been ! And yet unhappily we are obliged to say this of beautiful women and of great artists. We would by no means imply that Madame Tietjens's voice is gone. Far from that. It is still fine ; and although her highest and lowest notes do show the effect of the pitiless hand of time, in the middle and most essential part of her register it still remains firm, pure, and clear. But the bright, elastic, incisive quality which pertains to an unimpaired organ of good quality, and which may be found in numberless voices much inferior to hers, is lacking. We listen to her with admiration for the sake of her singing ; we should not listen to her for the mere delight in the quality of her voice. Moreover, her intonation has ceased to be absolutely faultless. No one, indeed, would say that shesi ngs out of tune ; but that absolute and exquisite certainty of interval which we expect of a prima donna of the highest class is occasionally conspicuous by its absence. Moreover, to add one item to this brief, reluctant record of defects, Madame Tietjens never had a first-rate voice. First-rate voices are such sopranos as Lind's and Grisi's, such contraltos as Alboni's. With these, in richness and still less in volume, Madame Tietjens's voice could never compare. In its meaning, in the significance of its inflections, it was equal to theirs, and to Grisi's superior ; but in mere musical quality, and in power, it never was at their level. In justice, it should be added, however, that theirs are the only first-rate voices—first-rate in power, in compass, in quality, and in flexibility—that have been heard among prima donnas for a generation. There is another difficulty with which Madame Tietjens has to struggle, and which, as it is of a physical, and almost of a mechanical nature, is to be alluded to rather than bluntly told. Madame Tietjens's phrasing is as perfect as can be—in design, and generally in execution ; but her ideal sometimes fails of realization from this cause. The ability to phrase well depends, for its mechanism at least, upon breathing. A breath so short that it breaks a phrase which should be continuous, or which fails to carry it firmly and clearly to its proper close, makes false musical punctuation, and, to a certain degree, feeble delivery. Now, perfect breathing depends on a free movement of the diaphragm and expansion of the lower part of the chest, and when this latter becomes from any cause so large that violent means are necessary to bring its outlines anywhere within the proportions which are deemed desirable at all costs and hazards by most women, the result is unfavorable to perfect phrasing, and the vocalist is reduced to the condition in which Hamlet's mother said he was when he was fencing with Laertes. Owing to this condition of things, Madame Tietjens sometimes comes up rather short at the close of a flowing passage of semiquavers.

Our chief regret, however, is that our enjoyment of Madame Tietjens's noble singing has been, and is likely to be, confined to the concert-room. The full exhibition of her great powers requires the stage. For there she not only displays her matchless musical elocution, but exhibits powers as an actress which would have made her great if she had not been able to sing a note. Her face is mobile, expressive, and, without being unfeminine, grandly strong. Like her style of singing and her bearing, it commands attention. You cannot turn away from it with indifference. It is one of those faces to which it is hard to say no. In the concert-room she seems as if she were singing in fetters and in a cage. For she is a natural actress in a grand way—everything about her is grand—and she has acquired by profound study and patient practice the rare art of making her musical utterance and her dramatic action work together and each enforce and illustrate the other. However, let us be thankful for the opportunity of hearing her even as we do, for there is no prima donna now before the world of her quality. No artist worthy of her companionship has appeared with her in her concerts, except Miss Drasdil, who, although not a great singer, is forming herself upon the grand style, and deserves a more marked recognition of her fine qualities than she has yet received.

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*work on Correggio, written by Mrs. Charles Heaton, and just published by Macmillan & Co., is examined by "The Reader" on page* ii.

# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE completed election returns show that there was a great deal of what Mr. R. G. White calls "heterophemizing" done last week by certain newspapers in announcing the results. The Republican newspapers in this State generally stated as late as Wednesday afternoon that New York had gone Republican; but while they wrote "Republican" they clearly must have thought "Democratic," for it seems now that the Bigelow ticket has upwards of fifteen thousand majority. This is not an overwhelming majority, nor was it what the Democrats expected; but, considering that the party had united against it the Canal Ring, the remnants of the old Tweed Ring, the Short-Hairs, the "Gravel-Train" vote, and the Anti-One-Man-Power vote, and had raised in "administrative reform" a rather too scholarly slogan for the masses to take up, this was doing pretty well. The Legislature is Republican in both branches. In Massachusetts the vote has fallen since last year from 185,720 to 172,809, and Rice is elected by 5,277 plurality; the Prohibitionists, however, threw away some 9,000 votes, which are practically to be counted on in important years as Republican. There were some 2,000 scattering votes, most of them being cast for Adams. In the same way, in Pennsylvania, Hartranft has a majority of 11,945, while the Prohibition vote is estimated at from 10,000 to 15,000. The returns from Wisconsin show that the State is so closely divided that the election cannot be considered a triumph for either party.

The "arithmetic man" has gone to work upon these returns with the usual astonishing results. During most of the year the arithmetic man is quite silent, doing little or no work so far as the public knows, though no doubt thinking a great deal; but on the morning after election he is roused from his inactivity, and begins to perform those wonderful feats of calculation which have established for him his world-wide reputation. He has apparently little or no connection with the editorial department of the Press, for his calculations in one year invariably refute the editorial predictions founded on his calculations the year before. We have before us no less than four calculations by this expert, any one of which should enable us to forecast with certainty the results of the Presidential election of next year. On the cardinal fact that there are 369 votes in the Electoral College, he is at one with himself; but we are sorry to say that in some of the details he makes a good deal of allowance for diversity of tastes. In one paper, the Washington *Chronicle*, he declares the result of "a careful survey of the field" to be 228 Republican votes, 101 Democratic, and 40 doubtful, which considerably impairs the value of the prediction considered as an absolute prophecy. On the other hand, in the N. Y. *Herald* he allows himself less "margin," and gives 188 votes to the Democrats and 181 to the Republicans; while in the Milwaukee *Sentinel* he gives the Republican votes as 180 and the Democratic as 177. Inconsistently enough, in the Albany *Express* he makes 179 Democratic and 190 Republican. These figures, as they say, speak for themselves. The variations may be attributed by cavillers to a vacillating disposition and a desire to "trim," but those who have followed the checkered course of the arithmetic man attentively during the past few years will take a more kindly and genial view of the matter.

The "Reformers" at the late city election are beginning to rub their eyes and ask themselves seriously wherein does the reform consist. The *Evening Post* in particular gives signs of serious mental perturbation. In fact, the whole party remind one of the mob who burnt the obnoxious banker's bills in order to punish him. The plain facts of the case are that the Reformers solemnly called on Tammany two years ago to reform the organization and expel the bad men. So Kelly, assisted by a few respectable men like Mr. A. S. Hewitt, did drive out Morrissey and his following, probably the worst lot of rascals by which any Christian city was ever infested. There is no other civilized city in which such rogues and vagabonds have an equal share in the municipal government. These malcontents formed the Short-Hair party, headed by Morrissey, and began to wage war on Tammany as Swallow-Tails or aristocrats, their main object being to quarter themselves on the public treasury by obtaining fancy wages for nominal work. The Mayor and the Public Works Department then made the first practical and fundamental reform that either the Democratic or any other party has made in city politics, by laying down the rule that the city was a business corporation, and would only pay the market rate of wages. In doing this, they arrayed themselves against the most dangerous and alarming feature in municipal demagogy, the one which is most capable of proving a means of covert confiscation, and which is most likely to grow and become uncontrollable. The duty of the Reformer was plainly to support this stand by every means in his power, and to unite all the tax-paying classes in support of it, and put up such a ticket and such a platform as would have satisfied the Swallow-Tails and Tammany that this and things like this were what they must do if they meant to remain in power, and would have convinced the Short-Hairs and their leader that the only road to comfort or power in this city lay through honest industry, and that it was a poor place for tramps, vagabonds, blacklegs, and gamblers.

What followed, now that one looks back on it, was little short of ludicrous. The Reformers, including the Brown-Stone Voter, made the remarkable discovery that Tammany was still impure; that there were "bad men" on the General Committee; that Kelly could not compare with Peter Cooper as a citizen or Christian; and then went to work and alleged that Kelly had tried to bully Recorder Hackett into allowing his court officers to be appointed by politicians, which was of course reprehensible, but which, even if true, in no way changed Hackett's character. But the Reformers at once took up Hackett, who is an old friend and comrade of Judge Barnard, and extolled him to the skies as a model judge. They joined forces with Morrissey and the Short-Hairs, and helped them in every way they could, by suppression, evasion, and distortion. Nothing can be more delicate, and require a more careful consideration of consequences, than any transfer of power in this city. The Reformers achieved it, not only without consideration but in a kind of frenzy. For two weeks they cursed, blackguarded, called names, bawled, made "charges" and counter-charges, like so many acute maniacs, and ended by raising Morrissey to the rank of the most influential, popular leader; by convincing the dangerous classes that he is the man to follow, and that they are an all-powerful body in the city; by convincing the Mayor and the Commissioner of Public Works, and Kelly and Tammany, that they cannot count on support in any reform as long as the Tammany Society is not composed of professing Christians; and by restoring the old rule, that the lazy vagabonds who do city work are to receive fancy wages. Under all the circumstances, Did any one ever see the like? is the only appropriate question. They are now solemnly trying to prove that Kelly was not in favor of market wages, which is a comic reason for helping to set up another Boss who is in favor of fancy wages, and makes this his sole stock-in-trade, and who is besides an habitual criminal.

The Republicans in Washington have celebrated their victory in a curious fashion by serenading the President and Boss Shepherd. They both made a speech, the President assuring the crowd that

the "rag baby" had been "effectually killed," and that the party would carry the election next year. Three cheers were given for "the President's school policy," and the crowd then went on to the house of the Boss, who made a much longer address than that of General Grant, congratulating his audience on the fact that the "tidal wave" had left its opponents "stranded on the beach"; declaring that the people had again shown their unwillingness to deliver the Government into the hands of a party which "has well-nigh demonstrated the incapacity of man for self-government"; referred with pleasure and gratification to the downfall of Tammany in this city, and with pride to the "great and good President" who presides over the party "which has redeemed the national metropolis from the squalor and filth in which it had lain mouldering for nearly half a century, a by-word and reproach among the cities of the earth, and transformed it into a thing of beauty, making it worthy of the hallowed name it bears." He added to this that he was, "in the future as in the past, for good republican government, the advancement of the material interests of this great nation, the preservation of our national life, the payment of our debt in money, and for all that tends to the progress and advancement of my fellowmen." Bristow, Jewell, and Pierrepont were not serenaded.

The discussion now going on in the Democratic ranks on the subject of the next Speaker of the House is a curious illustration of the benighted condition many people seem to be in about "hard" and "soft" money. On one side it is urged that the recent elections having conclusively proved that inflation has no strength, the inflationists ought to give way, and allow their opponents to put their own man in the Speaker's chair, and thus secure the Currency Committee; on the other, it is maintained that there should be no factious disputes over a matter like the Speakership; that the Speaker ought to be an able, impartial man, who, recognizing the fact that there is a diversity of opinion in the party on the subject of money, will make up a fair, impartial, non-partisan committee, with say six hard-money men, six inflationists, and one member who has not wholly made up his mind. This is the way the Republicans have generally settled the question, and why is it not the fairest and most statesmanlike way? The reason why it is not is simply that it ought to be impossible for any intelligent Speaker of a parliamentary body to recognize any such body as an inflation party in appointing his committees. "Specie payment" is not a question on which intelligent men who have looked into the matter differ, and it is a perfectly well-established fact that the only persons among whom paper delusions still linger are charlatans, demagogues, or men who have given no thought to the subject, and are therefore incompetent to have an opinion on it. Putting "soft" money men on a currency committee is in reality very much the same thing as it would be to put on men who believed in the philosopher's stone, or to make up a Board of Health partly of men who believed in scientific medicine and partly of those who thought diseases ought to be cured by charms, exorcisms, and the elixir of life.

Professor Marsh will, we understand, bring a mass of evidence before Congress this winter, for the purpose of discrediting the report lately made by the Red-Cloud Commission, and in order that a full and impartial investigation may be made into Indian affairs. There is probably nothing which Congress could better apply itself to than this; and we suggest that the first thing that is undertaken should be an enquiry into the behavior of the Commission itself. The *Tribune* at the time of the appearance of the report made a statement that seemed at the first blush incredible enough, to the effect that the chairman of the Commission, Thomas C. Fletcher, had occupied a good deal of his time while the investigation was going on in writing letters, under an assumed name, to a Western newspaper, defending Delano from the charges against him; or, in other words, whitewashing the Interior Department and the Indian administration, and generally taking the part of counsel for the defence. We had supposed that this was a pitch of indecency and rascality which not even the present condition of Washington affairs could produce; but we find on investigation that the charge is perfectly true, and cannot be denied. We hope the "party of hate" will look into this little matter when Congress meets.

The letter of Mr. A. G. Browne, jr., on the curious proceedings of the Court of Appeals in the Canal Ring and Tweed cases will not do much to inspire the public with respect and regard for the Court of last resort in this State. The things which are susceptible of proof with regard to the Court are—1st, that at least one of its judges was "counted in," and is really no more a judge than the first man you may meet in the street; 2d, that with regard to another there was a vast amount of counting done, though whether it actually determined his election or not may be doubtful; 3d, that the chief judge is a noted politician, who has no hesitation at being "interviewed" and loudly abusing counsel practising before him; 4th, that some of the judges were from a part of the State in which the Canal Ring is all-powerful and may be supposed to influence judicial as well as social opinion; 5th, that the Court was elected in 1870, at the height of Tweed's power, and when Tweed and the Canal politicians were notoriously intimately allied; 6th, that for some singular reason all the cases they have had an opportunity of deciding as to Tweed have been in his favor, and all the cases they have had an opportunity to decide as to Canal contractors have been in their favor. They have gone, too, so far as practically to override entirely the provision of the constitution that was intended to prevent the letting of any canal contract except to the lowest bidder, and have declared acts of the legislature which destroyed this safeguard constitutional. There may be no connection between these facts, and we do not wish to impute corruption to the judges in any way, but the warmest believer in their purity may be challenged to deny that in the discussion as to the Court into which the newspapers have been absolutely forced during the past few months, by charges openly made by counsel practising before it, a spectacle of judicial degradation has been given to the public which it would be difficult to match in the annals of any civilized community.

The week has witnessed a decided change in both the gold and foreign-exchange markets. The price of gold fell about 1½ per cent., and concurrently the rates for sterling exchange advanced, until bankers' demand bills commanded a price within half a per cent of that at which gold coin can be exported to Europe without loss. The decline in gold was caused primarily by the fact that Saturday's bank statement showed that the New York banks possessed an amount of specie which it was not expected they would hold until the January interest began to come out of the Treasury by prepayment in December. Where the gold came from is not susceptible of explanation, except on the theory that a large amount previously withdrawn from the markets had been restored. The Treasury disbursements were large, but did not exceed calculations made by bankers. Secondarily, the decline was due to a belief that the result of the elections last week makes the success of hard money, as a political issue, more probable—a belief strengthened by the speech of President Grant, which has been construed to mean that he intends in his message to Congress next month to throw his influence even more decidedly in favor of specie payments than he did last winter. The decline in gold has further been aided by the drift of speculation being "bearish," as is shown by the fact, that notwithstanding the increased supply of gold here, the borrowing demand is so large that holders of coin get it carried free of interest. The influences which have worked against a decline in gold, but which have not, however, effected an advance, have been (1) the fact that the San Francisco money market has been so active as not only to stop the flow of gold thence to New York, but to compel shipments from here, and (2) that the London market has been so disturbed, by the fear of political complications growing out of the Eastern question, by the large failures at home, and by the report that a new Russian loan is soon to be brought out there, that securities have fallen to figures which justified exports to New York.

General trade during the week has, considering that the elections drew attention from business, been fairly good. The movement of the crops has been extraordinary in respect to cotton, and otherwise not worthy of special mention. Railroad receipts are increasing, but the money market does not show the activity which should accompany a fair trade. At the Stock Exchange, speculation has been of moderate volume, and prices have been higher rather than lower than last week. The case between the Union Pacific Railroad and the Government, recently argued before the United States Supreme Court, but not yet decided, has attracted such attention at the Stock Exchange that it may be safely said to be the pivot on which the market will turn. Should it go in favor of the Company, prices will probably advance; and if in favor of the Government, they will probably decline. Large amounts are staked on each side, and "special information from Washington" is speculated on in a way that is scandalous.

Military preparations on a considerable scale are said to have been made for the burial of Guibord, and Bishop Bourget has compromised matters by declaring that he will curse the grave *in perpetuo*, but warns his flock not in any way to interfere with the funeral. This arrangement will have some curious results. The grave is, we presume, the freehold of Guibord's heirs, so the curse will operate as a kind of lien on it, and, as the lawyers say, "run with the land" like a covenant, which might prove very inconvenient if it should ever come to be used for any other purpose than a cemetery. Moreover, if we are rightly informed, Madame Guibord's remains lie directly below the place in which Guibord's are to be interred, so that if the curse descends as low as the fee—*i.e.*, *usque ad inferos*, or to the centre of the earth—it will embrace her resting-place also, and it is questionable whether a bishop can curse the grave of a person who died in good and regular ecclesiastical standing. In order to protect Guibord against forcible disinterment by religious persons, he is to be enclosed in a huge stone sarcophagus of immense weight, which again is to be cased in cement that will resist the hardest chisel. The affair has raised one curious point in London. Poor Guibord incurred ecclesiastical censure because he belonged to a literary institute which had condemned books in its library. Now, Cardinal Manning belongs to the Athenæum Club, and frequents it a good deal, although its library is full of bad books. Profane persons are therefore asking themselves how this can be; but we presume the Cardinal would answer that his business is to see what the wicked are about, and that, as a high dignitary of the Church, he can stand bad books.

Unless all signs should fail, the present session of the German Reichstag will abound in angry debate. The Bund Committee on judicial matters—a body which exercises functions not unlike those of our Judiciary Committee, although its composition is very different—has prepared and published the draft of a revised penal code which it intends to submit to the Reichstag. There are two or three features in this bill, as we may call it, which are of importance. Emigration has long been a thorn in the side of the Imperial Government, the outrageous treatment of German emigrants in Brazil having excited a feeling of righteous indignation. Peasants and artisans were enticed to Brazil under false pretences, and upon their arrival were robbed and plundered and treated more like slaves than human beings. Besides the indignation caused by these frauds, the steady outflow of agricultural laborers from the eastern provinces of Prussia has also created alarm. So severe was the drain at one time, in 1871 and 1872, that the owners of large estates in Posen, West Prussia (province), and Pomerania, had to import laborers by the thousand from Sweden and Russia. Not only did agriculture suffer, but the efficiency of the army-system seemed to be impaired. The Government became uneasy, and procured the passage of a law making it a penal offence for any one to induce another to emigrate by holding out false encouragements or making false representations. It seems, however, that even this stringent measure has not been found sufficient. According to the terms of the new bill, the business of emigrant-agent as such is to be made punishable by imprisonment not exceeding two years, and holding out false inducements by imprisonment for not less than six months. Another feature of the proposed revision is its manifest desire to make things as uncomfortable as possible for the Ultramontanes and Socialists. The following (§ 130) applies to the Socialists:

"Whoever attacks, publicly or in writing, the institutions of marriage, of the family, or of property, in a manner to jeopard the public peace, may be punished by imprisonment."

The next section of the paragraph is for the special benefit of the Ultramontanes:

"A pastor or minister of religion who, in the exercise of his functions, whether in church or in a place set aside for religious meetings, shall discuss state matters in the presence of a multitude or make them the subject of a pastoral announcement, in a manner to jeopard the public peace, may be punished with imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years. The same punishment is applicable to writings."

The electoral law providing the manner of forming the Lower House under the new constitution, is now under full debate in the French Assembly. The great matter in dispute—the size of the electoral districts—is fully explained in our Paris correspondent's letter. The progress reported thus far is the passage by a large majority of a clause making two years' residence in the district one of the qualifications for voting, which, if it tells against anybody, tells only against the Radicals of the great towns, who are a roving race. There is still more or less discussion in the Cabinet over the *scrutin de liste*, but M. Buffet will doubtless carry the day against it, while the Radicals are said to be talking of an alliance with the Extreme Right in support of it. The latter would probably favor it simply as a means of lessening the influence of the Government on the elections, and thus leaving a greater number of chances open for monarchy in the constitution of the first Assembly. But whatever happens on this point, it is certain that genuine progress is being made in France every week in laying the foundations of a strong and permanent government. The slow discussions of the last two years, with order sternly maintained by a man whose ambition no one suspects or fears, have done a world of good in familiarizing both the politicians and the people with the processes of rational politics; and the establishment of rational politics in France will be a great gain for Christendom. The thing for us to "hail" in France, as elsewhere, is not republicanism or monarchy, or any other external form of government, but the rule of right reason—the ascendancy in public affairs of mind over brute passions and idle fancies.

The Berlin correspondent of the London *Times*, who is unusually trustworthy and well informed, is reported by the Cable as having asserted that the conferences between the representatives of the Great Powers which have taken place in Vienna, have resulted in a determination to ask Turkey what guarantees she proposes to offer that reforms will be carried out any better hereafter than heretofore. She certainly cannot offer any which will not involve a greater or less amount of foreign interference, and foreign interference in the present state of the finances would have a strong tendency to grow and spread and become permanent—or, in other words, to put the Sultan under a protectorate which would virtually end his rule in Europe. The news is naturally causing considerable perturbation in financial circles, and, coming close on the late funding of the coupons, is producing deep depression on the London Stock Exchange. The interference, if any takes place, would of course have to be joint, and joint interferences, when all the parties are greedy, are very apt to end in a quarrel. Among the possible results of anything of the kind now talked of is the occupation of Egypt by Great Britain, as a guarantee for the security of her communication with India, in case of the appearance of Germany or Russia in heavy force on the Bosphorus. The Khedive is so frightened that he has asked to have a commission of English accountants sent on to examine and report on his finances.

## THE ELECTIONS.

As a general rule, it cannot be said that newspaper explanations of election returns have a highly scientific character. Properly speaking, a person competent to show exactly why an election has gone in a certain way would have been competent to predict before it occurred exactly how it would go; but we need hardly say that political prophets, though numerous, are but feebly inspired, and are apt to be loose and unreliable in their speech. Commentators on returns, too, have a great deal of human nature in them, and are, on the whole, a cheerful race. There is hardly any vote out of which they do not manage to extract comfort and in which they do not find a solemn warning for their opponents. On trying to get at the meaning of the late elections, therefore, we make no profession to be able to say what was the exact reason of the cutting down of the Democratic majority in this State, nor are we competent to tabulate the lessons of the struggle under either Roman or Arabic numerals, as some of our deep-seeing contemporaries have done. One thing, and one thing only, is certain about an election, and that is, that the voters of the majority were actuated by a variety of motives, and that the result, therefore, was due to a composition of causes. That the hostility of the Canal Ring, which has long been and still is a great force in State politics, to Mr. Tilden had something to do with the reduction of the Democratic majority, there can be little doubt; how much, nobody can say. That his warfare against the Ring did not draw more Republican votes to his ticket is doubtless also due in some degree to the air of humbug which has been given to all Democratic activity, even in good causes, by Democratic folly in other States; but in what degree, who can tell? In like manner, Kelly owed his defeat in this city partly to the iteration of the majority of the newspapers that he was a Boss, and that all Bosses were bad; and partly to the deeply-rooted feeling, bred by old association, that every ticket got up by Tammany must be bad; and, though last not least, partly to the dissatisfaction of the Short-Hairs, led by Morrissey, with the policy of the Swallow-Tails, represented by Tammany Hall, in cutting down the wages of city laborers to the market rate. In what proportion these agencies contributed to the result we do not pretend to say, but that they all contributed to it, and that nothing else did in any perceptible degree, is reasonably certain—certain enough for some practical conclusions as to the difficulties which just now attend any attempt at reform.

It is quite evident, in the first place, that there is not much to be expected in that direction from either of the great parties as such. The Republican party, as now managed, has no stomach for much work of the active kind. That it should be expected to have it is something curious. Parties are formed by men who are intensely interested in a particular question, or set of questions, connected by some close and palpable bond. When they become large enough to secure the power of the State, they are naturally led by such of their members as add marked ability to this strong interest in the subject on which the organization sprang up. As long as the interest lasts and the original object remains unattained, the party has an ardor for legislation in the direction of this object, and its chiefs are naturally the most enthusiastic promoters of this legislation, and are not only willing but eager to occupy themselves in preparing it. But the object once attained, it is useless to expect that the chiefs will turn to a new subject with the vigor and activity necessary to impel so ponderous a body as a party on a new path. They are either old or tired, or are new men who have taken up the party as a mere matter of business, or as a stepping-stone to office. In either case, whatever line of policy they pursue must be one forced on them by public opinion; and if it were strong enough to do that, it would form a new party altogether. The Republican leaders of to-day, and especially the "Senatorial Group" which since 1870 has been in charge of the party, are not anxious for new enterprises. They are not interested in finance, or the tariff, or civil-service reform. They like things as they are, and, if they are called on to define their position or duties, will say that they are "standing guard over the results of the war," and are especially engaged in keeping the Democratic party out of office. The irritation caused by this led to the Republican defeats last year, and the fact was then revealed that the Democratic party, as such, also had no policy, and was fishing about, as in 1872, in search of something sensational. As it is their offences which are just now fresh in the public mind, the Republicans have been able to achieve slight successes—enough to save them from dissolution, though not enough to clothe them with any additional power or responsibility; and their condition will perhaps be still further improved during the winter by Democratic excesses in Congress. But there is not the least probability that any of these contingencies will put the Government in hands strong enough for the active treatment of any of the problems now before the country. This can only come in the old way, from a union of men to whom these problems possess the highest interest, whose imagination is excited by them, and who are, therefore, willing and anxious to work for them—not simply stimulated by the public, but stimulating it.

In this city we have had the same state of things on a small scale. The Tammany Society, which has charge of the Democratic party in this city, and is a sort of permanent convention formed of delegates from the various districts, has of late been trying to bring about reform within the party. It has taken into the organization as many respectable men as its constituency would stand, so many, indeed, as to earn for it, in the eyes of the rank and file, the character of an aristocratic concern which had no sympathy with the masses. It, at the same time, drove out Morrissey and some of his following—men perhaps not much worse than some who were retained, but more conspicuously vicious and depraved, and more audacious in their contempt for morality. The portion of the party which Tammany represented also undertook the abatement of what is perhaps the greatest evil in the city government—the practice of paying the laborers on the public works not what the market prescribes, but what they or the politicians pronounce sufficient. Nevertheless, such was the effect of certain names and traditions on the public mind that the principal newspapers and reformers at once raised the cry of "Anything to beat Tammany," and joined forces with Morrissey and his Short-Hairs, suppressed all facts or charges which threw discredit on them and their candidates, magnified all the counter-charges, and ended by winning a victory by which Morrissey, an ex-pugilist and professional gambler, has been converted into the reigning "Boss," *vice* Kelly overthrown. For reform itself nothing has been gained, while one positive reform has been stopped short. No city official will again attempt to pay the proper rate of wages, and the allegiance of the class who supported Tweed to the last, and to whom Boss government is as good a government as they desire, and who form the soil on which municipal corruption grows, has been turned from Kelly to a far worse man than Kelly, and with the aggravation that this man has received what Kelly never received, the support of persons calling themselves municipal purifiers. The satisfaction with which some of them regard the result of their labors may be fairly called fatuous. The one good thing in it is really the increased want of confidence it has created in the effect of any party nomination. Both the Short-Hairs and the Swallow-Tails will hereafter feel that a nomination is less certain than ever to lead to election, and this is undoubtedly a gain; but it has been dearly bought by the elevation of Morrissey to the rank of a Boss. It is, of course, impossible to believe that this state of things can continue. The honest and patriotic men of the two parties can hardly keep up indefinitely a game of mutual distrust which prevents any possible advance being made by either, and renders our political struggles as senseless and fruitless as the Italian wars of the Middle Ages.

## VOLUNTARY RESUMPTION.

We have several times called the attention of that part of the business public which is really anxious to get back to specie payments to the fact that the matter is, to a great extent, in their own hands. All that persons who make contracts of any sort run-

ning for a long time—that is, trustees, real-estate owners or agents, capitalists investing money—have to do, if they want to return to a specie basis, is to make their contracts payable in gold. Under the Legal-tender Act, and the interpretation given it by the Supreme Court, there are now in the United States two kinds of currency, both of which are legal tender, one of which might be called "soft," the other "hard," tender. Both of them are recognized by law; either of them will satisfy a debt. With the reasoning on which this law is founded we have nothing to do. It is the settled law of the country, from which there is no appeal. It is also well-settled law that specific contracts may be made payable in gold dollars, and that in such cases the courts will enforce them. Therefore, as we say, it would be easy for large classes of people to introduce the practice of making contracts like these; and they have already been introduced to a certain limited extent, as in the case of railroad bonds, the interest of which is made payable in gold, and in some private transactions.

The obstacle, however, to a general voluntary return to specie payments by this means obviously is that in the great majority of transactions between man and man in the ordinary business of every-day life—the hiring of labor, the purchase of food and clothing—there are no written agreements or contracts at all, and in all these cases the undertaking to pay so many "dollars," under the construction given by the courts to the legal-tender acts, is satisfied by the payment of paper dollars. In other words, in the absence of any written declaration to the contrary, the law says that the *presumption* is that the contracting parties meant paper. It cannot be denied, either, that this presumption is founded in fact. Since coin has entirely disappeared from common circulation, the meaning of "dollar," in the ordinary acceptation in the United States, has changed, and instead of meaning a certain number of grains of gold of an ascertained weight and fineness, it signifies a piece of paper issued by the Treasury Department 7⅜ inches long and 3½ inches wide, green in color, and bearing on its face a promise to pay a "dollar." The newspapers do, indeed, quote paper at its value in gold, and gold at its value in paper, but there is no doubt that in the ordinary transactions of this country the word "dollar" means what the Supreme Court says it does.

The legal difficulty, then, in the way of any voluntary return to specie payments is the existence of a presumption, both of fact and law—we do not use these words in any technical sense—which itself enters into the meaning and settles the value of all agreements; and the question is whether there is any way to get rid of this presumption, and if so, what way. Practically, too, as long as the United States had fixed no definite time for the resumption of specie payments, there was the serious obstacle that any attempt to do away or interfere with the operation of this presumption might bring any State attempting it into collision with the courts at Washington. This stumbling-block, however, has now been removed by the passage of the Resumption Act of last winter, declaring that on and after the 1st of January, 1879, the United States will redeem its notes in coin. This act is a formal notice to all the world, as long as it stands unrepealed, that on the 1st of January, 1879, the word "dollar" will no longer be construed by the courts as meaning the promise of the Government to pay a dollar, but will mean again what it had ceased for fifteen years to mean—a certain specified number of grains of gold. In other words, the United States has now given formal notice to all the world, including its own citizens, that on the 1st of January, 1879, the presumption now existing will be at an end.

There is clearly, then, nothing in the laws to prevent any one of the States, or any number of them, from accommodating themselves to this new state of facts. There may, it is true, be some doubt whether any State action is necessary, and whether the passage of this law itself does not effectually prevent the courts from recognizing, after January 1, 1879, any dollar but the hard-money dollar. But the act may be repealed, and courts may render, as they have done before, singular decisions, and it is important, if we wish to bring about resumption, to guard against chances of this sort. There is one way of doing this which seems open to no objection.

The presumption as to the meaning of the word dollars which now enters into the meaning of contracts may, as we have said, like any other presumption, be rebutted by facts. That is, if A and B make a contract, payable in "dollars" even now, which B attempts to satisfy by a payment of paper, and thereupon produces a contemporaneous contract made between himself and A, stipulating that in all contracts between the two the word "dollars" shall mean the gold or silver dollars issued by the United States Mint, of a certain weight and fineness, the courts would be obliged to say the general presumption that "dollar" means greenback is rebutted and reversed by this stipulation, and judgment must be given for a certain number of gold and silver dollars. If, then, the general presumption could in any way be reversed in some such way in all contracts, the desired end would be attained, and any State which should succeed in doing it would, by the very act, return to specie payments.

There is only one way in which this can be done in any State, and that is by an act of the legislature; and in New York the last legislature did pass such a statute, in the following terms:

"SECTION 1. All taxes levied and confirmed in this State on and after January 1, 1879, shall be collected in gold, United States gold certificates, or national-bank notes which are redeemable in gold on demand.

"SEC. 2. Every contract or obligation, made or implied, and payable in this State, and made or implied after January 1, 1879, and payable in dollars, but not in a specified kind of dollar, shall be paid in United States coin of the standard of weight and fineness established by the laws of the United States at the time the contract or obligation shall have been made or implied."

The passage of the act, taken in conjunction with the Resumption Act of Congress, amounts to this: the United States has given notice to all the world that, after the 1st of January, 1879, it will resume payment of its unredeemed paper, which therefore will be equal in value to gold. This removes all question of two kinds of currency, and destroys the presumption heretofore existing that "dollars" means promises to pay dollars. The community in New York, therefore, ratify the act, and declare that, after the date mentioned, not only shall the presumption be destroyed, but it shall be reversed, and "dollar" shall mean "dollar" and nothing else. On familiar principles of law, every merchant, banker, broker, trustee, investor, and capitalist, after January 1, 1879, has notice of this act, and must conform his operations to it. If he says nothing as to the kind of dollars he prefers, he means gold; if he prefers paper, he must insert a clause in his contract to that effect, and then, instead of the ordinary currency being paper, and people having to go out of their way to fix a gold standard, the standard will be gold and silver, and people will have to go out of their way to bring paper in. In short, the passage of the act inserts, in all contracts made after January 1, 1879, by operation of law, such a clause as we have supposed inserted by A and B in their contracts by private agreement.

There is no reason why other hard-money States should not adopt such a law, and in this way exert a pressure on the authorities at Washington which would be irresistible. The great recommendation of such laws would be, that they appear to be binding as to all future contracts, no matter what folly may be committed by Congress, and their passage by a number of States would be perhaps the most convincing proofs the hard-money party could give that they are in earnest. It is pretty evident now that, if we mean to resume, it must be at the time now fixed by Congress, for the revival of business which is certain to come before then, and the bank inflation which must necessarily follow, will otherwise put off the time indefinitely. Inflation, as a popular cry, is no doubt dead for the present; but, for that reason, what is needed now is not scathing criticism of the lunatic proposals of Butler, Kelley, Phillips, and Allen, but positive legislation.

## M. BUFFET'S ELECTORAL POLICY.

PARIS, October 22, 1875.

IN France a political situation always becomes personified in an individual. The man who represents the present condition of the Government, and has become the centre of attack for the Opposition, is M. Buffet, the Minister of the Home Office. Marshal MacMahon's power has been placed above competition for five years yet; he enjoys for a time the privileges of a constitutional king; his name is never pronounced without some commonplace epithets; he is even more respected, at least to all appearance, by the Radical papers than by the Conservative press; he is the stern man, of few words, who commands the French army and who took Paris out of the hands of the Commune. The Republicans call him the President with an affectation which is calculated. The salons of the Presidency are now visited by men of all parties; they are a neutral ground, where you can meet all the men who have either framed or accepted the new constitutional laws. The Wallon constitution, as it is sometimes called, is now become the law of the land; it has been discussed and adopted by a sovereign assembly, and, though it is the work of a monarchical assembly, or because it is the work of such an assembly, it is not a bad solution of the constitutional problem, such as it was presented to the French nation after the failure of the monarchical solution caused by the folly and the obstinacy of the Comte de Chambord.

To M. Buffet has been confided the task of running this new machine. The Assembly had chosen him for its president a few weeks before the 24th of May and the overturn of M. Thiers. It may be said that M. Buffet really did more for the overthrow of Thiers than anybody else. He did not, like the Duc de Broglie, speak—he acted. He determined MacMahon to keep himself in readiness and to assume the executive power. The Duc de Broglie and M. Buffet were both convinced that under the Thiers régime the progress of radical, communistic, and anti-religious ideas was becoming alarming. M. Buffet was no enemy of republican ideas; he merely understood a republic in a different sense from M. Thiers. He was born in the Department of the Vosges, among the honest and hardy populations of those mountains; his life has always been virtuous, even austere; he has a large family of children, and little fortune; he is a devout Christian, and is not, like many other men, ashamed to go regularly to church. His religiosity is the key-note of his character; he never was, in a sense, a party man; he always made war on the party in which he perceived the strongest tendency towards irreligion. He entered the Republican Assembly of 1848, and attached himself to General Cavaignac after the dreadful insurrection of June, in which an Archbishop of Paris fell a martyr. It may be said that his political ideal sprang out of the bloody barricades of that epoch. He once said to me: "It is a great mistake to believe that France has many party men; of course there are some. Each party has a sort of staff of brilliant writers, talkers, lawyers, etc.; but these staffs have no army to command. Beneath them lies a great nation, which likes quiet, order, commerce, agriculture—which is easily frightened, which knows not how to defend itself against revolutionists, but which hates revolutions. Now, it is the misfortune of the Republic that this quiet and peaceable nation has identified its name with the name of the revolution. In order to live in France, a republic must be more conservative than a monarchy, more orderly, more repressive, more severe, more austere, more religious. If ever circumstances allow the establishment of such a republic, it may live; if it has not these characteristics, it must end perforce in anarchy and in despotism." M. Buffet's whole system of government lies in these words. He represents at present the hard, austere republic. He does not play with fire—he extinguishes it, or tries to; he does not coquet with the radicals—he shows them his unmitigated contempt; and his honest and sincere horror of the Commune arises not from any political feeling—it is with him a religious sentiment. He really has a great horror for the men who took priests as their chosen victims; he will not form any alliance with them, and he is always guarding himself against those who do not draw a well-defined line between conservatism and radicalism. One of his axioms is that the men who kill and burn, and make barricades, and boldly unfold the red flag, are not so dangerous as the men who slowly and systematically corrupt public opinion, who have no vigorous horror of anti-social doctrines and men.

At a time and in a country where strong personalities are rare, M Buffet may be regarded with much interest. He is a far abler speaker than the Duc de Broglie; he holds the same views in politics; he has the same contempt for popularity. The Duc de Broglie has a singular talent for making personal enemies which M. Buffet does not possess. There is no impertinence, no pride, no hauteur in the present First Minister: he is the most modest of men, and there is such a deep and quiet sincerity in him that his enemies cannot *hate* him personally. This sort of impersonality, which is one of the essential attributes of a statesman, gives to M. Buffet a very eminent position in the Assembly; there is probably not a member of it with whom he is not on speaking terms. However, his turn has come. He threw himself in the front of the battle, and the whole force of the revolutionary party is now directed against his person. It is one of the rules of war that you must never have more than one objective at a time. The great strategist who directs the Opposition first chose the Duc de Broglie as an objective; the Duke is down, and it will be long before he can recover his prestige. Now, M. Buffet must be assailed. He knows it; and as he has no longing for power, he has come forward and offered battle himself to M. Thiers on the great and vexed question of the *scrutin de liste* versus the *scrutin d'arrondissement*. There remains but one constitutional law for the Assembly to make before it separates. The President's powers have been defined; the Senate has been organized; there remains now to make an electoral law for the choosing of the members of the Lower House. It may be said that the history of the present Assembly has been a long duel with M. Thiers. Even when he is not seen, he is always there. M. Thiers once was a partisan of the system which gave a deputy to each electoral district; this system, which goes under the name of *scrutin d'arrondissement* (as the French electoral districts have long been the arrondissements or administrative districts of the department), formed a part of the system of republican laws which M. Thiers presented to the Chambers some time before he fell from power. How is it that now M. Thiers has become a convert to the *scrutin de liste*, which gives to each elector in a department the right to vote for five, six, seven deputies, which gives to the Parisian the right to vote for sixty deputies, to the man of Lyons the right to vote for fifteen, etc.? It is partly because the leader of the Opposition cannot agree with the head of the Government; it is also because the Republicans distrust the rural population and prefer the *scrutin de liste*, as it gives much influence to the cities. It is only in the cities that committees can be formed and lists prepared, which are then scattered throughout the departments. In the *scrutin de liste* system, it is thought that the rural vote can be forced by the leaders of parties: in the *arrondissement* system, the rural vote is free, as a peasant has only one deputy to choose and not a list to make. The Republicans see in the *scrutin de liste* a sort of evasion of universal suffrage, and they dread universal suffrage in practice as much as they admire it in theory.

M. Buffet has tied his fate to the system which is the most simple and elementary expression of universal suffrage: each district of so many inhabitants will choose its deputy; nothing can be clearer or more republican. He throws himself directly on the common-sense and on the good sense of the country, and tries to give as little play as possible to the action of the politicians. In one sense, Buffet's plan is the most republican: his system of voting is the primary, elementary, atomic system. He is convinced that France, left to herself and voting intelligently (in his opinion the only intelligent mode of voting is to vote for one representative only in a district), will return a Conservative Assembly, which will allow him to run smoothly the constitutional machine. The *scrutin de liste* would undoubtedly become a powerful engine of opposition in the hands of bold and unscrupulous leaders; for it would allow them to try the system of plébiscites, which has always proved fatal to liberty. If each arrondissement of France is allowed to choose a deputy, it will be very difficult to persuade two or three hundred arrondissements to deprive themselves of any real representation and to cast all their votes for the same man, be it Thiers or Gambetta. Local and individual ambitions would be too much offended by such an arrangement. If, on the contrary, each party can in every department make a long list, and the local ambitions be inclined to place themselves under the protection of some great name, such a name will act as a flag does on the eyes of soldiers. It would be very easy for M. Thiers at present to place his name at the head of every Republican list in every department. A general election under such circumstances would hardly be the mere routine of popular representation; it would become a duel between two great names, or perhaps some sort of triangular fight. Nothing can be imagined more contrary to the true essence of republican institutions than this sort of artificial prominence which the *scrutin de liste* would give at once to a few men in the country. The Republic would soon be like a carrion torn by vultures.

The chief objection which is made to the *scrutin d'arrondissement* is this: this direct and local representation will give us a *rural* Chamber. "Rural" has become almost an insult in some mouths. Our Radicals never say:

"O Rus, quando te aspiciam."

I confess that a rural Chamber does not much frighten me. France has gone so far in the path of democracy that she may well stop awhile or advance slowly. There is no country in the world where the laws are more equal, where the suffrage is less restricted, where local corporations, where privileges, are so rare. Our Assemblies have always been too much inclined to make or to favor revolutions. The Republic needs a rural Chamber more than a monarchy ; the more rural it is, the longer it will live. The old Republic, with the red flag and Phrygian cap, sword in hand, was decidedly not rural enough. Our people would like something very different from the virago so well painted by Barbier in his 'Iambes.' Gambetta, who has a fine southern intellect, understands this better than M. Thiers. M. Thiers's passion has made him blind. He said publicly at Arcachon that we need not be so much afraid of Radicals ; that Radicals in power are very much like other men. He had better read his own 'History of the French Revolution' to find Radicals in power who were not exactly like other men. But he still hopes to upset MacMahon, and he must have the Radicals on his side. MacMahon will not be upset, and his Conservative, rural Republic will live longer than our Radical republics of the past.

## THE NEW UNIVERSITY SPIRIT IN GERMANY.

October 5, 1875.

In a speech delivered before the "General Convention of German Catholics" in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Bishop Ketteler declared : "We must conquer the liberty of science and of learning. It must become with us as it is in France. This is our highest task, else the science we must come to will be a science which teaches absolutism." The views of your French correspondent concerning the law on "the liberty of science and of learning," as Bishop Ketteler is pleased to call it, have been upon the whole rather favorable. I do not think myself entitled to take issue with him on this question in the columns of the *Nation*, but I venture to assert—and this statement will be of interest to your readers—that it would be very hard to find, outside the Ultramontane circles, a single educated German who shares these views. A distinguished American professor, to whom I expressed this opinion the other day, seemed greatly astonished. I explained : "You are mere doctrinarians in judging this question ; it is we who have received for over three centuries the fearful lessons of experience. You have read and you have heard what Ultramontane Rome and the Jesuits are; it is we who have felt it. With you they have had as yet no chance to drop the mask completely, and no one knows better how to bide his time. We have not suffered in vain, and we do not mean to entail new and greater sufferings on our children for the sake of a shining but narrow and one-sided theory." Nothing was proved by these words, but the professor answered, with a thoughtful mien : "You may be right, you may be right." There I may leave the matter ; for you have since furnished the argument which I gladly accept as the solid foundation on which to rest my exclamations. No reflecting reader will find it difficult to apply the reasoning of your article on "Priests and Ministers" (Sept. 16) to the question at issue.

But however that may be, one thing is certain: Bishop Ketteler's "highest task" will never be fulfilled ; it will never be with us as it is in France ; we shall never have this liberty of science and of learning. I shall not attempt to enumerate all the reasons ; for that would require a volume. I shall mention but one : ere this could be accomplished twenty fortresses would have to be razed to the ground. In two respects, our universities are bulwarks too strong to be levelled by either the craft or the violence of the Ultramontanes ; they can neither kill the spirit reigning in them nor can they raise the means necessary to compete with them in any particular. For the latter reason, indeed, an attempt similar to the exertions now put forth in France once signally failed, and if another attempt should ever really again be made in Germany, it would undoubtedly fail as signally. Our main reliance is, however, the spirit reigning in all our universities, though we are, happily, far from resting on our laurels in this respect. It has often been said that the real victor in the war of 1870–71 was the German schoolmaster. There is certainly some truth in this ; but all our best men are agreed that in several and very important points our schools of all degrees and descriptions are far from being what they should and might be. Every day we see clearer that in this respect, as in so many others, we are in the midst of a crisis, and that it will require our most strenuous exertions to bring the ship safely into port. The enormous political revolution Germany has undergone during the last decade has, of course, to some extent pressed the school question into the background, but it has not been able to crowd it out of the order of the day. There has even been a close connection between the two, the latter constituting a factor of the greatest importance at a very critical juncture in that general political revolution. So long as Von Mühler stood at the head of public education in Prussia, Bismarck's work was but half-done, and the main guaranty for its duration was still wanting : a generation moulded after Von Mühler's own heart could not fitly be entrusted with the achievements of our day. The overthrow of this Minister was, in fact, the "inner Sedan" which has been so much talked about in our parliamentary bodies and in the press. It is both harder and requires much more time to reap the fruits of this victory than of that won by the sword. The new school-law is thus far only a promise, and though one is justified in expecting that the bill which the Government is to bring in will be, in the main, dictated by a truly progressive spirit, yet there are many who would not be astonished at all to find in it a great number of not unimportant flaws. Happily, this is a field where with us public opinion is of more weight than perhaps in any other. Though the personal merits of Bismarck in the overthrow of Von Mühler are unquestionably great, yet this was principally due to the force of public opinion, and there is no reason to fear that public opinion will now begin to slacken its exertions. Here is the best proof that as a nation we have as yet escaped the danger of revelling in a wild and blindfolded *chauvinisme*. It cannot be denied that a considerable part of our youth, and especially those who were boys during the late war, have been attacked by this worst of all political diseases in a degree to make it a matter of grave concern to the reflecting patriot. Those who have stood the brunt of the fight, and more particularly those who for about thirty years have helped to sow the seeds from which Bismarck's genius has reaped so rich a harvest, are, however, upon the whole sound, and they have still the possibility of impressing the stamp of their own minds upon the growing generation. This is what they consider "our highest task," and they are fully alive to it. Not only has Dr. Falk time and again been urged to hasten the preparative labors for the new school-law with the utmost energy, but also the best minds of those who are immediately charged with the education of the country's youth are constantly busy seeking solutions of all the great problems. *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*, the proper relation of the two towards each other, reforms in both of them within their own sphere, are as zealously and, I think, more thoroughly discussed than was the case with the before-mentioned law in France. The opinions of the "authorities" differ widely, and so far as my—I confess very limited—knowledge goes, we shall probably have to say for a very long time to come with the Roman poet, "et adhuc sub judice lis est." There is, however, nothing discouraging in this. The principal thing is evidently the all but general conviction that we cannot rest contented with what we have, and the arduous struggle to find the way to something better. This is in itself a guaranty that, sooner or later, we shall come—not to anything definite, for to believe that we had attained that would be our death-warrant—but on to somewhat firmer ground, so that the main questions may be considered as settled for a while, and the attention with safety be turned to the details

What I have said of the middle schools, as we call the *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*, also applies to the universities. As to these, I feel myself more competent to speak, and the frequent allusions made in your paper to our high schools warrants the belief that it will be of interest to your readers to hear something about them from one who has the advantage of constant personal observation, and who is frequently brought into contact with university professors from all parts of the country. I intend, with your permission, to send you at irregular intervals—*i.e*, when no political questions of paramount importance call for a letter—some articles on the principal features of our university education, so far as they are subjects of controversy or at least of discussion among ourselves. My own views shall not be pushed to the foreground ; I shall try to give you an impartial statement of the opposing opinions, estimating, as far as possible, their relative strength and their apparent chances in the future. To-day I shall only remark that the amount of printed matter on these topics does not at present correctly indicate either how intense or how widespread the interest in them is. The younger professors, among whom they are generally discussed with the most earnest liveliness, have as yet forborne to argue them before the public, but are urging their older and more experienced colleagues to do so, preparing to take an active part in the discussions themselves as soon as they think they may do so with propriety and with a chance to further the cause. This, I trust, will be considered as speaking for the healthy character of the movement, and the more so as the ball has been set rolling neither directly nor indirectly by some young Hotspurs, but by some of our very first scholars and teachers. In fact, about ten years ago Professor Von Sybel, who is just now entering upon the directorship of the Royal Archives in Berlin, took up the subject in a public speech,

He may not have been the first, but the manner in which he treated his theme enforced general attention. Some years later, he delivered a second speech on it which met with equal success (both have since been published together in pamphlet form). Then Professor Mommsen raised his weighty voice at his inauguration as Rector of the University of Berlin, and quite recently Professor Jürgen Bona Meyer has followed the example of his former colleague at the University of Bonn. Finally, Professor Heinrich Fischer has chosen the same theme for his introductory oration as Pro-Rector of the University of Freiburg. This is, for several reasons, of special interest. Professor Fischer, though a highly esteemed scholar, is a gentleman of very retired habits, much more so than is common among the professors of the present day. There is no one more willing to support actively anything of public interest in Freiburg, but with the rest of the world he has uncommonly little connection. He had never heard that anybody else had ever uttered a word in public on the subject he was going to treat in his oration, so that all he has to say on it is entirely the result of his own and absolutely independent observations and reflections. Furthermore, he does not belong, like the three gentlemen named above, to what we call the *humanistische Section* of the philosophical faculty. He is a geologist, and yet he complains in stronger terms than any of them that our *Hochschulen* are losing with fearful rapidity their distinctive character as real *Universitates*, and fast approaching what we are wont so haughtily to denounce as the peculiarity of the French universities: we are in danger of becoming mere *Fachschulen*, still infusing a good amount of positive knowledge, but lacking "the ideal, higher, and poetical something which unites the circle of all nobler men by an invisible magic tie." Permit me to close this letter with another quotation from this remarkable speech. With bitter sorrow Fischer exclaims: Allow me to ask whether, "in academical study, beside the possibility of acquiring the minutest knowledge for the future profession, there should not also be kept in view other and partly *higher* considerations; whether the centre of gravity of academical study shall be entirely and exclusively in the preparation for the future *specific* position in the state and in acquiring the knowledge necessary for this, or whether the academician, destined to represent the highest degree of erudition in life, has not also a higher mission to fulfil? Nay, I want to go further, and will ask whether, under our present circumstances, the representatives of a thorough, universal, and philosophical erudition—I take it in the wider application as it can be acquired *only* at universities—will not *completely die away*, and whether it is not the special task of the present generation, being the last that has the chance, to avert this?"

# Correspondence.

## PROF. TYNDALL ON THE RUIN OF AUTHORITY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The extremely severe handling of Professor Tyndall in the current number (539) of the *Nation* must have been very surprising to many of its readers. I have been unable to obtain a copy of the work under review, and consequently cannot attempt to refute the charges with which the article is filled. But the preface to Tyndall's work was published in the August number of the *Popular Science Monthly*, a copy of which has been put into my hands since the appearance of your review, and I have thus been made aware of the glaring injustice of the concluding portion of the latter. Any candid reader can see that the passage on which your reviewer bases such serious imputations, cannot possibly bear the interpretation which every one reading it as given in your review is compelled to put upon it. Professor Tyndall never indicates that it was the authority of *Professor Henry* that impeded him in his researches, as will clearly appear from the passage itself, which, with its context, is as follows (the italics are mine):

"The clue to all the difficulties and anomalies of this question is to be found in the aerial echoes, the significance of which has been overlooked by General Duane, and misinterpreted by Prof. Henry. And here a word might be said with regard to the injurious influence still exercised by authority in science. *The affirmations of the highest authorities that from clear air no sensible echo ever comes, were so distinct, that my mind for a time refused to entertain the idea.* On the day our observations at the South Foreland began, I heard the echoes. They perplexed me. I heard them again and again, and listened to the explanations offered by some ingenious persons at the Foreland. They were an 'ocean echo': this is the very phraseology now used by Prof. Henry. They were echoes 'from the crests and slopes of the waves': these are the words of the hypothesis which he now espouses. Through a portion of the month of May, through the whole of June, and through nearly the whole of July, 1873, I was occupied with these echoes; one of the phases of thought then passed through, one of the solutions then weighed in the balance and found wanting, being identical with that which Prof. Henry now offers for solution.

"But though it [*not* 'Prof. Henry's solution of ocean echoes' (!), but 'authority in science'] thus deflected me from the proper track, shall I say that authority in science is injurious? Not without some qualification. It is not only injurious, but deadly, when it cows the intellect into fear of questioning it. But the authority which so merits our respect as to compel us to test and overthrow all its supports before accepting a conclusion opposed to it, is not wholly noxious. On the contrary, the disciplines it imposes may be in the highest degree salutary, though they may end, as in the present case, in the ruin of authority. The truth thus established is rendered firmer by our struggles to reach it."

Nothing is here said of Prof. Henry as an authority. The sentence immediately preceding the passage quoted by your reviewer shows how little "Prof. Henry's solution of ocean echoes" had to do with deflecting Prof. Tyndall from the proper track. Indeed, such an interpretation of the "it" is not only rendered impossible by the context, but is strikingly inconsistent with your reviewer's accusation of superciliousness, founded upon Tyndall's summary mode of dealing with Henry's solution. Thus it appears that the setting up of a "man of straw" "under cover of Henry's name," existed only in your reviewer's brain, and arose from an absurd misconception of Tyndall's meaning. The "vanity, conceit, and arrogance" disappear likewise; for the discovery of new truths in science almost always involves the "ruin of authority." When we say that Newton's adoption of the corpuscular theory of light long impeded the progress of the undulatory theory, and that those who established the latter were compelled to "test and overthrow all the supports" of the former, nobody thinks of accusing us of disrespect to Newton.

As I said at the outset, I am not prepared to combat the charges brought forward in the body of the article; but enough can be gathered from Tyndall's preface to lead one to believe that some, at least, of the other charges rest on no firmer ground than the one to which I have confined myself above. Yours, very respectfully,

X.

Baltimore, November 1, 1875.

[It seems to us that the pronoun "it," as used by Dr. Tyndall in the sentence above cited, is a case in illustration of what the French call a "squinting construction"—that is, a phrase or grammatical expression which looks two ways, so that it can be connected in meaning either with what goes immediately before or what comes immediately after it. The reviewer undoubtedly thought that the "it" in question squinted at Prof. Henry's "solution of the ocean echoes," seeing that Prof. Tyndall had expressly referred to that "solution" in the sentence immediately preceding. And in support of this opinion, that the authority of Prof. Henry was aimed at, the reviewer, we presume, would emphasize with italics another passage in the paragraph quoted by our correspondent, as follows:

"The clue to all the difficulties and anomalies of this question is to be found in the aerial echoes, the significance of which has been overlooked by General Duane, and misinterpreted by Prof. Henry. *And here a word might be said with regard to the injurious influence still exercised by authority in science,*" etc.

Whether Prof. Henry is regarded as a victim to the delusions of "authority," or as a cause of delusion to others, does not appear from Dr. Tyndall's statements under this head, but the "word" which he "here" thinks it proper to say "with regard to the injurious influence still exercised by authority in science," is certainly introduced as being apropos to Prof. Henry's alleged misinterpretation of aerial echoes. General Duane cannot even share with Prof. Henry the honor of starting this train of reflection in Dr. Tyndall's mind, for the General, it seems, "overlooked" the significance of the echoes, and hence made no deliverance on the topic which could entitle him to the suspicion of being an "authority" in this matter. Unless Prof. Tyndall be the most incoherent of writers, he certainly means to include Prof. Henry in his animadversions on the "injurious influence" of authority in science. But not Prof. Henry alone. And this fact naturally leads us to say that if it be plain, as our correspondent argues, that Prof. Tyndall claims, in the present case, to have laid in ruins the authority of all former investigators, without any particular reference to the views of Prof. Henry, though he is more particularly named in the beginning, middle, and end of the whole paragraph, we do not perceive, as clearly as our correspondent, how it is that the greater amplitude of such a claim relieves it

from the imputation of arrogance. And in so saying, we venture no judgment on the justice of Prof. Tyndall's pretensions in this matter, but we may say that, so far as we know, it is not usual among men of science to herald their achievements by pointing to the ruined authority of their predecessors. If any advocate of the undulatory theory of light, to which our correspondent alludes, has ever referred to the "disciplines" imposed on his mind by the shadow of Newton's "authority," as explanatory of and preliminary to the statement that he had laid the "authority" of Newton in ruins upon this subject, we are not apprised of the fact. The reflex praise of demolished authority in science comes to its successful votaries by the voluntary suffrage of others, and is not promoted by the assertions of an analytic self-consciousness, explaining to itself and to others how it grew so great. We find it entirely fitting that the admirers of Prof. Tyndall should use the inferior achievements of other men as a foil to set off his intellectual superiority, but his acknowledged eminence as a physical philosopher would seem sufficient to exempt him from the necessity or the temptation of doing a critical homage to himself, seated on the "ruin of authority." —Ed. Nation.]

# Notes.

LOCKWOOD, BROOKS & CO., Boston, have published for the town of Lexington its very handsome volume of 'Proceedings at the Centennial Celebration.' It contains Mr. Dana's oration, Mr. Whittier's poem, and various speeches and letters; a general description of the day, a list of the relics exhibited, and illustrations of the new town-hall and of four statues —the minute-man of 1775 and of 1861, John Hancock, and Samuel Adams. It is a pity that these last should be wood-cuts, and not, like the picture of the town-hall, heliotypes.——J. B. Lippincott & Co. will publish a quarto holiday volume on 'Contemporary Art,' embracing a series of thirty etchings and chromo-lithographs after original pictures by artists of the present day, with explanatory letterpress.——A new psychological and philosophical quarterly, called the *Mind*, is to appear in England next January. The conductors are not named, but the best-known of its intending contributors are Prof. Bain, Herbert Spencer, H. Sidgwick, G. H. Lewes, S. H. Hodgson, etc.——The Congregational Publishing Society, Boston, will shortly issue 'Memorials of Charles Stoddard,' by his daughter, Mrs. Samuel Johnson; 'The Prayer-Gauge Debate' of Prof. Tyndall, Francis Gaston, and others, against Dr. Littledale, Dr. McCosh, the Duke of Argyll, Canon Liddon, and the *Spectator;* and a new revised and enlarged edition of Mr. Edwin Buck's 'Ecclesiastical Law of Massachusetts,' a work of permanent interest and importance.——The *New Englander* for October contains a 'History of the Cardiff Giant Hoax,' by W. A. McKinney. We commend it and the summary disposal of a libel suit against the Boston *Herald*, involving the genuineness of the statue, to Dr. Schlottmann and other believers in the "Phœnician Adonis." These incidents may even seem worth a paragraph to the *Academy*.——The greater part of Colonel Wm. Ludlow's 'Report of a Reconnaissance of the Black Hills of Dakota' (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1875. 4to, pp. 121) is occupied with the contributions of his civilian assistants to the geology, palæontology, botany, and zoölogy of the region explored in the summer of 1874 by the "Custer Expedition." This confers a permanent value upon the volume which the engineer's report alone would not have had, important as this may be for the special purposes contemplated. Professor N. H. Winchell and Mr. George Bird Grinnell are the principal contributors to the work, the former in geology and botany, the latter in the other scientific branches above-mentioned.

—Professor Henry's Smithsonian Report for the year 1874 gives a good account of the management and varied usefulness of the Institution. Among the publications in progress or contemplated are a "complete index to all the species of plants of North America, with their synonyms and all descriptions and important references to them"; a new and enlarged edition of Schott's 'Tables of Rain and Snow in the United States'; a general discussion of the winds of the globe; a discussion of all the observations made on the temperature of this country from the earliest times; and a work on the geographical distribution of our thunder-storms. The National Museum is receiving most important accessions in all its departments. Two of its many sources of supply are Mr. Barnum, who makes over to it all the animals in his menagerie which die on his hands, and Mr. Blackford, a fish-dealer in this city, who secures all the rare and odd fish that come to this market, and sends them packed in ice to Washington. From these casts are taken, and the Institution has now a series of more than three hundred casts of our food-fishes, painted carefully from nature. What has been done to foster fish-culture, and to improve the system of fog-signals in the United States, is duly recorded. The papers which usually accompany the Report and give it a permanent value are in this case Arago's eulogy on Laplace, Mailly's on Quetelet, and Dumas's on De la Rive; Prof. Hilgard's interesting lecture on tides and tidal action in harbors; De Candolle's notable chapter advocating the English as a dominant language for science; a translation (continued from the previous Report) of Morin's elaborate treatise on warming and ventilation; and a letter, by Prof. Warren du Pré, on the so-called North Carolina earthquakes, which literally "made so much noise" in February and March of last year. It appears that the shakes and explosions in or about Stone Mountain were really not due to quarrying in the neighborhood, and this must be a great comfort to the forty-five new members who were added to the Baptist church in consequence of them. Prof. Du Pré attributes them to volcanic or earthquake energy, but Prof. Henry inclines to think them caused by either a gradual depression or elevation of the mountain. The stories of issuing smoke and flame were fabulous. The last sixty pages of the Report are given up to Ethnology, with a view to presenting as complete information as possible concerning the location and character of ancient earthworks in this country. The accounts here given range from New York to Oregon in one direction, and to Florida and Mississippi in others. Most noteworthy in this Report is the curious fact that for the first time since its establishment the Institution has received a bequest from which something has been realized, viz., that of Mr. James Hamilton, of Carlisle, Pa., who gave $1,000, with liberal directions as to the use to be made of the interest upon it. We cannot think that this example will long go uncopied.

—The *Galaxy* has an article on the two Ampères, by Mr. H. James, jr., which will repay reading, though the extraordinarily sentimental character of the Ampère love-affairs may repel or at any rate puzzle the Anglo-Saxon reader a little. The friendship of young Ampère for Madame Récamier, a woman old enough to be his mother, is not perhaps so remarkable, nor her encouragement of him; but the manner of French love-affairs or friendships is always so different from that of the English, that when we find Ampère at twenty-five suggesting on the spur of the moment to Madame Récamier, then forty-eight, and with a husband in excellent health, that should her husband die, and she think of remarrying, they might marry each other, the reader hardly knows whether to rub his eyes and wonder how this tale got into print, or to murmur "very pretty," "very French," and regret that the ardent lover seems to have displeased Madame Récamier by the suggestion. There is no doubt a radical difference between the "Anglo-Saxon" and the Latin races on these points, as may be very distinctly seen in the difference between the traditional lover of the French stage and the remarkable travesty of human nature who takes that part usually on the English-speaking stage. In this number of the *Galaxy* Mrs. Edwards brings to a termination her tale, called 'Leah, a Woman of Fashion,' so that we shall be spared any more of "Jack" and "Debby" and Leah herself, and Danton and Lord Stayne, and the rest of the motley throng who people her pages. "Jack" of course dies, fondly imagining that he has outwitted his faithful wife and physician by leaving his money away from her in the event of her remarriage. Danton and Leah, however, care nothing for money, and immediately marry, as anybody but a fool like Jack could have seen they would. Then Leah dies, leaving Danton, we suppose, broken-hearted. There is no real reason for his being so, for Leah was not a wife to love much after all. The whole story is irredeemably vulgar and unreal. The "fashion" which Mrs. Edwards describes is that kind of fashion in which the world at large is transcendently venal, corrupt, and debased, in which all mothers sell their daughters, all husbands drink, gamble, and beat their wives or desert them, all old noblemen are satyrs, and the moral code in vogue seems to have been dictated by the devil in person; all in order that some one or two of the characters may move about in this precious society as angels of virtue and holiness. There is no such world anywhere that we know, and we do not believe Mrs. Edwards knows of any either.

—The last number of the *Law Review* contains an article giving the history of the title to a piece of property in the "Burnt District" in Boston of more than professional interest. In 1860, this piece of land was in the possession of Mr. William Ingalls, holding it under the will of his father, Mr. Thomas Ingalls, who had died in 1830, leaving it to his wife for

life, and at her death to his son. He made his son also residuary legatee of his other property, directing his executor, however, to pay to his two nephews, William and Arthur Jones, a legacy of $25,000 apiece. Unfortunately, Mr. Ingalls, the elder, though a rich man at the date of the will, died having no money for the payment of these legacies, and his only property, the real estate, passed into the hands of his widow for her life. She died in 1845, when the son came into possession, the property meanwhile gradually increasing in value, till in 1869 it had become worth $135,000, and promised to increase still more, when one fine morning Messrs. William and Arthur Jones advanced a claim that the estate be sold at auction and the proceeds applied to the payment of their legacies, which now amounted, with interest, to $143,000. Mr. Ingalls, on consulting counsel, was surprised to learn, first, that there was in Massachusetts no limitation, by statute, of the time within which an action for the recovery of a legacy could be brought; and, second, that as his father's will gave him, after his mother's death, the same interest or estate in the property that he would have had if there had been no will at all, in the eye of the law the devise was void, or no devise at all, and his piece of real estate was liable to be sold for the payment of the legacies. This view of the subject taken by the law was of course contrary to the clear intention of the will, and it may be supposed that Mr. Ingalls, with one of Dickens's characters, came to the conclusion that if the law looked at it in this way "the law was an ass," but, nevertheless, he was obliged to see the property sold and bought in by the unrighteous Joneses, and to deliver possession to them of his inheritance. This, however, was only the beginning of the drama, for the Messrs. Jones had hardly stepped over the threshold when they were served with a summons to answer a suit brought against them by one John Rogers for the recovery of this very property. They would have been startled by this, but, as they had caused the title to be examined as far back as the beginning of the present century, they felt pretty secure in their ill-gotten freehold. But the avenger of blood, John Rogers, had been much further back, and had traced his title up to the first half of the XVIIIth century, when it belonged to one John Buttolph, who entailed it upon his brother Thomas. Thomas died in 1775, leaving an only daughter, Mary, wife of Timothy Rogers. Now, Mrs. Rogers, apparently making the mistake of supposing that the law of entail was, among other relics of feudalism, obsolete in Massachusetts, devised the estate, and so it passed into the hands of the Ingalls family. By law, however, the title passed, under the entail, to her eldest son, Peter, who lived till 1854, when he died at the age of seventy-five, leaving no children; and John Rogers, the demandant in the new action, was the eldest son of John Rogers, the second son of Mary Rogers. It will occur to any lawyer, however, that this title must have been good for nothing, inasmuch as Peter had never put in any claim, as he should have done; but, strange to say, it appeared on investigation that the long-lived tenant-in-tail had been, during the seventy-five years of his existence, *non compos*, and, therefore, his right remained in abeyance, and was revived (in his nephew) at his death in 1854, who, under the Massachusetts statutes, had ten years to bring an action. In one more year the title would have been destroyed by lapse of time, but in 1863 the vigilant John Rogers brought it, and it was prosecuted to a judgment in 1865, and so, after the lapse of half a century and more, the land reverted to the rightful heir.

—The case naturally attracted a good deal of attention, and particularly that of a young lawyer, to whom it occurred that, as the Ingalls title had proved good for nothing, and the Jones title no better, it might be worth while even to examine the Rogers title, and so he, too, began to look it up, with such success as to find that, in 1710, one Benjamin Parsons had conveyed the premises to one Hosea Johnson (from whom Buttolph had purchased it). The deed from Parsons to Johnson, it was found, conveyed the land without the use of the word "heir," and Johnson, under this deed, took only a life-estate in the premises, and at his death they reverted to Parsons and his heirs. It was also found that Johnson lived to the age of ninety-seven, and that at his death, in 1786, the sole heir of Parsons entitled to the reversion was a young woman, his grand-daughter, aged eighteen, and just married. She lived till 1861, and, having been all that time a married woman, could not have set up her title. At her death, her heirs had ten years within which to set up the title, and, by arrangements of a speculative nature, the heirs, who were three or four persons of small means scattered over the United States, were induced to "come to the front" and bring an action in 1869 (within two years their title, too, would have been extinct) for the recovery of the land. They recovered it, but immediately conveyed it (now worth two hundred thousand dollars) to one John Smith, who was popularly supposed to have furnished the sinews of war for the contest. During all this time it must not be inferred that Mr. William Ingalls was idle, for he too began to feel an interest in the old records, and resolved to trace the title back to its source in the "Book of Possessions"—the Massachusetts Doomsday Book. In this book, strange as it may appear, he found that the land had, about 1644, belonged to one "Madid Engle," or "Mauditt Engles," who, in 1650, conveyed it on an express condition that no building should ever be erected on a certain part of it. Down to the year 1872 this condition had never been violated; but after the fire of that year the reckless Smith had, in rebuilding, covered the forbidden ground. Presto! the Smith title disappeared, and on familiar principles of law the right of ownership reverted to the heirs of the original "Engle" or "Engles," if they could be found. It is hardly necessary to say that they were found, and they were no other than Mr. William "Engle," "Engles," or "Ingalls" himself; and after all these startling changes the property is now again in his hands. It ought, however, to be added to this strange tale that not a word of it is true, that the events are all fictitious, and have been put together by an ingenious Boston conveyancer for the purpose of showing what curious things might happen. The tale has deceived a great many people in and around Boston, and there have been many enquiries as to who the Ingallses are. The *Tribune*, too, seems to have been taken in by it.

—The cause of sound finance, and, indeed, of sound political economy in all departments, has suffered a heavy loss in the death of Mr. Amasa Walker. He was the author of only one book, the 'Science of Wealth,' which is better known and has been more widely read than any native work in the same field, though it owes, perhaps we might say, a great part of its value to the author's practical familiarity with the operations of trade and commerce, an advantage which he shared with Ricardo, and Bagehot, and Goschen, but which was, owing to the greater narrowness of his education and of his range of observation, less useful to him than to these writers. He was also an active contributor to periodical literature, and the usefulness of his discussions of financial questions of late years through this medium can hardly be overrated, though his want of regular mental training showed itself very markedly both in a defective sense of proportion and in an exuberance of rhetoric singularly unsuited to the treatment of questions even partially scientific. He was also for some years a professor of political economy in Oberlin College, and more recently a lecturer at Amherst, and, we believe, achieved considerable success as a teacher. As an economic writer, he may be said to stand in the second order; the *World's* estimate, which places him next after Mill and Cairnes among the economists of our own time, must be ascribed to the partiality of warm personal friendship.

—By the death of Mr. Thomas A. Jenckes the country has lost the services of a politician who some years since promised to do a good deal to lift the art of government from the slough into which it had fallen at Washington. A man of strong understanding and legal training, he was one of the few members of Congress who perceived at the close of the war that a new class of questions must necessarily take the place of those which had been brought into prominence by the long anti-slavery struggle, and he was ready not only to admit this, but practically to apply himself to their solution. The break-down of civil-service reform in General Grant's second term deprived him of a good deal of the credit which he would have justly earned had the promises of the Administration been kept, and, like many other civil-service reformers, he got, no doubt, by its failure the reputation of being an "unpractical" man. He had, however, as his comprehensive manner of dealing with the bankruptcy question showed, and, as we believe, all who had any acquaintance with him as a lawyer found, a practical intellect, and if he did not succeed as he might have done, it was due to other causes than this.

—Mr. William T. Blodgett has been for so many years the earnest promoter of art in this city that his death, which occurred last week at the early age of fifty two, would be a serious loss even if he had not been in all ways one of the most public-spirited citizens New York has ever had. He came comparatively early in life into command of a large income derived from a flourishing business, which we believe he had himself been mainly instrumental in building up, and he thenceforward used it without stint for the public welfare. He had already become slightly known at the outbreak of the war as a purchaser of pictures, and the ever-helpful friend both of artistic merit and misfortune, and during the war there was probably nobody here who gave both time and money more liberally to the support of the national cause. He served on all sorts of committees, responded freely to all demands on his purse, was an active diffuser of publications intended to influence public opinion both here and in Europe. Indeed, during all that trying period, when there was either work to be done or money to be raised he was one of the first men people thought of, and we may add that his private charity and benevolence equalled if they did not surpass in volume

what was seen and known. The first picture of note of which he became possessor was Church's "Heart of the Andes." He subsequently created a collection which is now estimated as worth probably $200,000, and includes some of the best works of living artists on both sides of the Atlantic. As a picture-buyer, Mr. Blodgett possessed a rare combination of qualities, and he had so much public spirit and so sympathetic a disposition that each new purchase was a public acquisition. To a passion for the subject, he added a genius for taking advice. He knew by instinct when he had got at the best authority, and a word or a hint was enough for him. He knew how to employ the best experts and get their best services. His admirable specimens of the modern French school are well known: his Décamps, Gérômes, Coutures, Meissoniers, Jules Duprès, Troyons, his Constable, and many others. His later purchases, some sixty or seventy in number (the greater part still remaining in Paris), included a beautiful Gainsborough (his own portrait), an equally excellent portrait of a lady by Reynolds, a first-rate landscape by Rousseau, an admirable small Cuyp, a small but very valuable picture by Van der Heyden and Adrian Van de Velde, a landscape and an oil sketch by J. Ruysdael, a Vandyke, a Claude, Peter de Hooghe, and many other pictures of great interest. Picture-buying with Mr. Blodgett was art-culture. He learned as he bought, and he weeded as he learned. The result is a collection the dispersion of which would be a public misfortune. Every year gives us examples of wealthy men leaving or giving large sums for public uses—a University in Baltimore, an Observatory in California, a Conservatory of Music in New York. If it could enter the heart of some such public-spirited man to conceive our poverty in America in respect of art, and the benefaction these pictures would be in such a place as our Metropolitan Museum, he might be sure no better use could be made of the money, should there be, at any time hereafter, an opportunity for the purchase of the collection as a whole. The Museum is largely indebted to Mr. Blodgett for its existence, and he may be said to have laid the foundation of its artistic value by purchasing at his own risk in Europe, for $100,000, the Dutch and Belgian Collection which furnished its first claim on public attention. Indeed, it would be difficult to name any undertaking of the last fifteen years for the cultivation of the public taste, or the promotion of the public welfare, in which he was not one of the foremost and most cheerful workers. We may perhaps be excused for mentioning among the reasons why we, at least, should hold him in grateful remembrance the fact that he was one of the original founders of the *Nation*, and took to the last a warm interest in its success.

—The recent death of the French artist, Carpeaux, reminds us to query whether there ought to be such a thing as an eminence in "unsculptural" or "tasteless" sculpture. Carpeaux, coming to Paris as a boy from Valenciennes in the full blast of the romantic war-cry, fed his fancy and taste with such works as Rude's "Chant du Départ" and monument to Cavaignac. At school he dreamed rather of Rubens and of Puget than of Phidias. In Italy, as *Prix de Rome*, he neglected the certified charms of the antique, and lounged about the streets until he incurred official censure; to justify himself he produced his sketch-book, crammed with attitudes picked up in the Ghetto and Trastevere—attitudes very different from the measured Greek ideal, but vivified with energies caught up straight from nature. He denied the accusation of idleness, saying that these were his *académies;* and, after a long delay and some rebuke, sent back to Paris his first work, one of the realistic figures which are now recognized as having the signet of his style. Carpeaux was from the beginning a Protestant in sculpture. If there can be no plastic art but that consecrated by the antique, he would have nothing to do with it. He believed that statuary may be conceived in other styles, and thought it no more just that sculpture should be restrained to the dignified school of the Greeks than that the other art of painting should be confined to the traditions of Pompeian frescoes and the figures on old vases; if painting, quite outside the limits of the antique mind, contained a place for Rembrandt and Ribera, why might not sculpture find corresponding privileges? From some such principles emanated "La Dance" on the New Opera-House, a group that engages the eye almost as a painting, with its heads cunningly pushed out from masses of shadow, its whirl of Corybantic rage, and entanglements of flesh wrinkled and pitted with exertion. Whether good or bad, it has the effect of making the three corresponding groups—by Perraud, Jouffroy, and Dumont—seem to have been made by one man, while itself stands out in a singular and effective isolation. The left-handed compliment it received of a coat of ink showed curiously how its revelations of textural possibilities in flesh-carving, though quite without voluptuousness, struck the crowd as a sort of indecency. All of Carpeaux's works are thus more or less undignified, illustration-like, sincere, and reeking with the sap of life and nature; the connoisseur feels that if this be bad sculpture, then from bad sculpture is a prodigious deal to be learned. Carpeaux looked upon plastic art, or rather his own line in it, as a work of decoration, and cherished the hobby that drapery was bad and almost inadmissible in composition. He made the group for the new fountain in front of the Observatory, representing the four quarters of the world sustaining a sphere; the admired and blameless decoration of the Pavilion of Flora in the Tuileries, showing Imperial France protecting science and tillage and enlightening the globe; the Dantean group of Ugolino, set up in bronze in the Tuileries garden, and exhibited in 1867 in Saint-Béat marble; the girl listening to a shell, with its goblin-like expression; the "Laughing Girl," the "Neapolitan Fisher," etc. Almost every salon contained a few of his famous portrait busts, with their vivid painting-like originality, their singular devices for expressing the quality of hair, the color and shadow of the eye, the accidents of the toilet, and the round-shouldered, unconventional poses which became with him a conventionality. That of Gérôme, exhibited in 1872, is repeated in casts at cost-price for the benefit of the scholars in the Atelier-Gérôme, and almost every pupil owns a copy. The portrait of the Prince Imperial was modelled in 1866, and shown in marble at the Grand Exposition. Carpeaux was, unfortunately, something of a courtier, and married a lady of the palace, whose conduct drove him to excesses which precipitated his death at the age of forty-eight.

—Among the anomalies of existing legislation there are few more antiquated than are found on p. 285 of the Revision of U. S. Statutes, 1873–4, title xvi., section 1625–3. From this it appears that it is now the law of the land that every able-bodied male citizen between the ages of eighteen and forty-five shall be enrolled in the militia, and that he "shall, after notice of his enrolment, be constantly provided with a good musket or firelock of a bore sufficient for balls of the eighteenth part of a pound, a sufficient bayonet or belt, *two spare flints* (!), and a knapsack, a pouch with a box therein to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges suited to the bore of his musket or firelock, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball; or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot-pouch, and powder-horn, twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder. . . . Each commissioned officer shall be armed with sword or hanger and spontoon." We are afraid that if each commissioned officer had to pass a competitive examination on the meaning of the word "spontoon," many of them would fail of their promotion. The spontoon is a sort of half-pike carried by the inferior officers of infantry. Possibly in Boston there is a nearer approach to this national militia, armed cap-à-pie, than in any other city in the Union. We venture to think so on the authority of the younger Ampère, who, when visiting this country in 1851, was much struck with the variety of uniforms in a civic procession celebrating the completion of the Grand Trunk Railroad. This led him (see the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 15, 1853) into some generalizations on the American fondness for the military art, which he thought greater than the English:

"I have seen children drilling and manœuvring for their amusement, like so many Paris *gamins*. The Mexican war fostered this warlike tendency. The Americans are getting accustomed to military presidents, and in this lies perhaps the germ of a great change in their character and institutions. Theoretically, everybody forms part of the militia; but there are volunteer militiamen enough, organized for drill in companies and regiments, to prevent the same thing being required of the other citizens. Still, in Boston at least, everybody, without exception, is obliged to have arms, and twice a year is called upon to show that he is completely equipped."

—*Nature* for October 7 has two articles which make points of a critical character. One is in a review, by Jevons, of the 'Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte,' based on the new edition of Miss Martineau's translation, from which we cull the following:

"What sufficiently condemns Comte's laws of evolution is that they led him away from the doctrines of evolution as now established by Darwin and Spencer, and their followers. Comte was well acquainted with Lamarck's views, which he discusses in Book V., chap. iii., coming to the unfortunate conclusion that in every view Lamarck's conception is to be condemned, and 'that species remain essentially fixed through all exterior variations compatible with their existence.' . . . It is highly remarkable that, though the germs of the new philosophy of evolution had been put afloat by the elder Darwin, Lamarck, Malthus, and others, both Comte and his admirer, John Stuart Mill, entirely failed to appreciate their value."

As to Comte's contributions to social science, Jevons goes to the length of denying "that he had any true conception of the proper way of going about the work. It is impossible that he should have, because he altogether abjured and ridiculed that branch of mathematical science—namely, the theory of Probability—by which alone we can approach the scientific investigation of the complex condition of a nation. . . . The more exact and perfect, in fact, a science becomes, the more complete is the application of the rules derived from the theory of probability."

The able paper on Instinct and Acquisition, by D. A. Spalding, detailing some observations and experiments upon new-born pigs and new-hatched chicks and swallows, was read at the last meeting of the British Association. We have only space to cite the following from his closing remarks:

"The presumption, then, that the progress of the infant is but the unfolding of inherited powers remains as strong as ever. With wings there comes to the bird the power to use them; and why should we believe that because the human infant is born without teeth it should, when they do make their appearance, have to discover their use by a series of happy accidents? One word as to the origin of instincts. In common with other evolutionists, I have argued that instinct in the present generation may be regarded as the product of the accumulated experience of past generations. More peculiar to myself, and giving a special meaning to the word experience, is the view that the question of the origin of the most mysterious instincts is not more difficult than or different from, but is the same with, the problem of the origin of the physical structure of the creatures. For, however they may have come by their bodily organization, it, in my opinion, carries with it a corresponding mental nature. . . . It is not the doctrine of evolution that the bodies are evolved first by one set of causes and the minds are put in afterwards by another. This notion is but the still-lingering shadow of the individual-experience psychology."

—On the little map of Africa prepared by Prof. H. Kiepert, which appeared last year in the second pamphlet of the "Beiträge zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Afrika's" (Berlin: Reimer), and showed in colors the share of various nations in opening up that country geographically, nothing is more suggestive than the arrows. These represent three expeditions—two English and one German—up to the immense white spot that depicts our knowledge of central Southern Africa, a spot, by the way, that could contain all the States east of the Mississippi, save perhaps Wisconsin and upper Michigan. Possessors of this map, who have already erased the blue mark of the Young Expedition under Lieutenant Grandy (*i.e.*, the Congo Expedition for the relief of Livingstone), may now, we are sorry to say, do the same with the red mark of the German explorers. The leader of the principal (the Loango) expedition, Dr. Paul Güssfeldt, has returned to Europe. This work, our readers may remember, was undertaken by the German African Society, the creation of Prof. Bastian, which came into being in April, 1873. It was hoped to reach Central Africa by the Congo, whose importance had been made known by the discoveries reported by Stanley, and thus win fresh laurels for the new Empire by a united effort in that part of Africa which promised the richest reward to the explorer. Sufficient interest was aroused to enable the Society to fit out three expeditions, Dr. Güssfeldt having been sent in May of the same year. He was shipwrecked on the way out, and lost most of his equipment. Prof. Bastian followed him, to aid in the selection of a suitable station, a work for which his previous visit in 1857 admirably fitted him. Chinchoxo was fixed upon as a central station, and Bastian returned to Europe in October. He afterwards published a book containing his experiences and a not very popular account of our knowledge of Western Africa, and of what we might hope from the new explorers. There have been two subordinate expeditions: that under Dr. O. Lenz, who was sent to the Ogove, and reached Orisco Bay in June of last year; the other being under Major von Homeyer, in Angola. The reports from these workers have never been very definite, though excellent results may be anticipated from their investigations as specialists, the one being a geologist and the other an industrious ornithologist. The news from Chinchoxo has usually been merely hopeful, though of course we mean this in regard to advance into Africa.

—Within a few weeks Dr. Güssfeldt has returned to Berlin, and on the 3d of October he made his official report. The North-German *Allgemeine Zeitung* complains bitterly that the Society, which exists by popular contributions, did not permit this meeting to be reported. The real report, which will appear in the Society's *Correspondenzblatt*, can hardly be published in less than a month, and the quasi report in the Berlin *Post* tells actually nothing at all. On the 9th, he gave a popular account of his work at the meeting of the Berlin Geographical Society, but added wonderfully little to what was already known of his movements, except that he defined somewhat more fully the causes of his failure. Curiously enough, the very difficulties so graphically rehearsed by Dr. Behm in the first number of Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for the current year, have proved insuperable. Apart from the great delay occasioned by the loss of instruments at the start, trouble with carriers seems to have been the real stumbling-block. The native of that region is a poor carrier, and has a tradition that cannibalism flourishes at no great distance inland. The political importance of the innumerable petty potentates has been a most serious impediment, requiring to be overcome almost daily. Just these causes made Lieutenant Grandy's expedition really a failure, though he finally returned because informed that Livingstone had passed beyond all need of relief; and in commenting on this expedition, in his opening address before the Royal Geographical Society, Sir Henry Rawlinson said almost a year ago that the German expedition would probably be turned back by the same obstacles. Petermann's proposal to make use of elephants may prove worthy of consideration now. It was, however, ill-health that finally forced Dr. Güssfeldt to return. It is easy to sum up the work of this exploration. The Loango coast has been somewhat thoroughly examined up to the Sette, and the European has penetrated a little way into the Jangela country along the Quillu, and a still less distance inland along the Chiloango. The collections are said to be valuable, and to have arrived in unusually good condition, and the leader declares he has made most excellent observations. He is by no means disheartened, and would like to make another attempt under more favorable auspices. It has probably been decided to give up the Chinchoxo station, and to recall all who cannot be useful in the lesser expeditions. The leader of one of these, Major von Homeyer, has also been forced to return on account of the climate, though his party, we believe, is expected to continue the explorations with St. Paul de Loando as their station. They were some 250 miles inland when broken health compelled their chief to turn back.

## MEMOIRS OF J. Q ADAMS—VOLS. VI.–VII.*

THE sixth volume of the 'Memoirs of John Quincy Adams' begins with the story of intrigues for offices very like those of our own day, though upon a larger scale. General Parker, a familiar name then in official circles, but which has already dropped out of history, tells in full the story of his own battering from pillar to post:

"Both the President and the Secretary of War have reasons for disliking and, as he evidently thinks, for dreading Parker, and the very day that he was worried out of office by the nomination of Towson to his place, Crawford wrote him a note (6th May), unsolicited on his part, offering him a clerkship of a thousand dollars' salary in the Treasury Department, which he declined. He showed me this note of Crawford's, and said he understood its meaning. It was saying to him, This is all I have to give, and this is at your disposal. This avidity of Crawford to secure Parker in his interest is easily accounted for. He knows that great use may be made of him against both the President and Calhoun. Parker is deeply exasperated at the treatment he has received."

Crawford was no favorite of Mr. Adams, who was not a man to conceal his likes or his dislikes. Then, as now, Presidential contests awakened bitter feelings, and often brought out dangerous secrets. In 1814, the rival candidates were Monroe and Armstrong. Armstrong was Secretary of War, Monroe Secretary of State. But the military correspondence of the campaign of 1813, which belonged to the War Department, had passed into the State Department. There were things in it which were susceptible of interpretation unfavorable to the President:

"He (the President) desired Parker to inform the Secretary of State that he wished to see him the next morning. Parker accordingly called at Mr. Monroe's house, and left word there, he not being at home, that the President wished to see him. But Mr. Monroe, early the next morning, left the city and went to Loudoun, whence he did not return for several days. Mr. Madison then went himself to the Department of State, and, directing all the papers of the military correspondence to be brought to him, ordered the whole of them to be sent over to the War Department. He was more in a passion than Parker ever saw him at any other period of his life, and gave it very distinctly to be understood that he thought that Mr. Monroe had been meddling with the affairs of the War Department more than was proper."

A violent attack had been made by Armstrong upon Monroe in the *Philosophical and Literary Repository*. Parker had in his possession papers which "would show the full and detailed state of the case," and these it was that Mr. Madison was so anxious to get possession of.

Calhoun comes on the stage, and as an eager and not very trustful intriguer:

"He was very sanguine in his expectations of succeeding to the Presidency, and believed he had a majority of Congress in his favor. And among the rest of his converts was General Scott, who was now gone to Richmond to ascertain whether by resigning his commission in the army he could obtain an immediate election to the Legislature of Virginia, and then into the next Congress. He was in that case to be one of Mr. Calhoun's champions. And he was the author of a paper in the *National Intelligencer* attacking the majority of the Senate for their proceedings in the case of the rejected nominations.

"I said, I believe, that Mr. Calhoun was too sanguine in his calculations of success as a candidate for the next Presidency. There were in Congress three parties—one for Mr. Crawford, one for Mr. Clay, and one for Mr. Calhoun. They embraced almost the whole; but the party for Mr. Crawford was the strongest, and the party for Mr. Calhoun the weakest of

* Memoirs of John Quincy Adams. Edited by Charles Francis Adams. Vols. VI.–VII. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

the three. And I had little doubt that the parties of Crawford and Clay would finally coalesce together."

Calhoun reappears very often, and always with the air and tone of an intriguer. In those days, as in our own, the Presidency cast long shadows before it. Mr. Adams foresaw a change in the Cabinet. Calhoun would probably be compelled to go out. "Very probably," he adds, "the case may be my own; for the attacks on me at the late session of Congress had been from masked batteries, but they had been of the most deadly character, and as they imputed to me as a crime that which I believed to be the greatest service I had rendered my country, I could not possibly foresee what the next charge against me would be. All I knew was that it became me to be prepared for my political decease at a moment's warning." There was no affectation in this. It was the calm prevision of a wise man. Parker related to him an instance of the President's friendly feeling towards him, and "thought I might, therefore, rely upon the support of the President; but I told him I must rely upon my own support or not at all." Here, again, we have the key-note of Mr. Adams's career—self-dependence, self-support.

Among the most interesting pages of this volume are the abstracts of the Cabinet meetings. Mr. Adams never appears to more advantage than in the discussion of questions of international law and general statesmanship. Thoroughly grounded in principles, his reading and experience supplied him with abundant illustrations. He possessed also the rare faculty of just application. Next to these are his minutes of his interviews with foreign ministers. We give passages taken almost at random. In one of what he calls Mr. Canning's "long two or three hours' visits," the British Minister tried to draw from him what was still a Cabinet secret. "But I did not think proper to gratify his curiosity," wrote Mr. Adams. Mr. Canning hinted that there were dissensions in the Administration upon the question of the right of search. "I assured him that he was mistaken," writes Mr. Adams, "as there was no diversity of opinion in the Administration concerning it. He hinted that some or one of them had spoken otherwise of it to himself—which is not impossible; but I told him, if they had, it was only by the complaisance of conversation, avoiding to come to a direct issue of opinion." Was ever a diplomatic thrust more diplomatically parried? The question of internal improvements comes up in the course of a conversation with General Scott. "He avowed his concurrence with the opinion of the President, that Congress had the power of appropriating money to make the roads, but not to make them, which, I told him, was saying that they had the right to use the means, but not to enjoy the end. I asked him also several questions, till he said he did not like the Socratic mode of reasoning." The statesman had evidently driven the soldier to the wall.

Among the subjects which had almost an hereditary claim upon Mr. Adams's attention was the question of the fisheries. "This subject of the fisheries," he writes on the 19th of June, 1822, "is absorbing so much of my attention that it encroaches upon my other necessary occupations. But I cannot give too deep attention to it. 'What in me is dark, illumine; what is low, raise and support.'" The question of sending ministers to the South American Republics was discussed in Cabinet meeting. "Mutual advantage and reciprocity are all that we ought to ask, and all that we can be willing to grant. As to running a race with England to snatch from these new nations some special privilege or monopoly, I thought it neither a wise nor an honest policy." A doubt was started as to the President's power to appoint a Minister during a recess of the Senate. He said: "The *words* of the Constitution are against the exercise of the power; the *reason* of the words is in its favor." He was for offering the mission to Colombia to Mr. Clay:

"I thought it doubtful whether he would accept it—very probable that he would make no delicate or generous use of it—and that the comments upon the offer, both of his partisans and others, would be various and in many cases invidious. But upon the whole the effect upon the public would be favorable. He wanted the offer. The Western country wished it might be made to him. His talents were eminent; his claims for public service considerable. The republic of Colombia, and particularly Bolivar, with whom he had been in correspondence, will be flattered by his appointment, or even by information that he had the offer of it. In the relations to be established between us and that republic, Mr. Clay's talents might be highly useful, and I did not apprehend any danger from them.

"The President appeared to be well disposed to take this course. He said that Mr. Clay's conduct towards him and his Administration had not been friendly or generous, but he was disposed entirely to overlook that. He stood upon ground quite independent of Mr. Clay, and as he had never needed his support, he had never felt the want of it. He would consider of the proposal to offer him the mission, and was not indisposed to it.

"As to myself, Clay's conduct has been always hostile to me, and generally insidious. From the time of the Ghent negotiation I have been in the way of his ambition, and by himself and his subordinates he has done all in his power to put me out of it. In pursuing a generous policy towards him, as an enemy and a rival, I do some violence to my inclination, and shall be none the better treated by him; but I look to personal considerations only to discard them, and regard only the public interests."

Time brought a change in the feelings of these two eminent statesmen towards each other, and no one wept more sincerely over the death-bed of John Quincy Adams than Henry Clay. A great deal was said during Jackson's Administration of back-stair influence. Mr. Adams gives an instance of it under Mr. Monroe, and calls it undertowing. The occasion was a new Convention with France:

"I received a note from the President," he writes on the 22d of June, "directing me, after my letter to the French Minister about Stockton's seizures should be written, to see the Baron and show it to him, so as to arrange the matter to his satisfaction, to avoid a correspondence which might delay the conclusion of the Convention. Now, this was undertow through Crawford or through Thompson, the Secretary of the Navy. De Neuville has worked through this negotiation chiefly through such means. He has wormed out of us a Convention which will give great dissatisfaction here, and far less favorable to us than I could have obtained but for this countermining. Crawford has all along hung like a dead weight upon the negotiations. A bad Convention was precisely the thing suited to his interest—a good one would have been highly creditable to the Department of State. He has invariably been for conceding everything, for agreeing to everything demanded by France; and now he is for making humiliating concessions upon the complaint against Stockton. Thompson has not the same motives, but there is a Secretary of the French Legation intimate in his family, and that gives access to the President through another whispering-gallery. Such is the way of the world—winding stairs in every direction! I am sure the President has been beset by a back door from this note. It came too late, however. My letter to the Baron was already despatched, of which I am glad; for it is perfectly obvious that after writing him a letter quite sufficiently apologetic, to send for him, show it to him, and ask him if that was enough, would be no other than an invitation to him to insist upon more."

The slave-trade comes up in an interview with Mr. Canning, who, "with some circumlocution, came finally to the statement that he expected a new proposition from us" concerning the trial by mixed courts.

"This," writes Mr. Adams, "had so much the appearance of a trick that it heated me. I said to him, 'Mr. Canning, there is nothing I like so well as a straightforward course. We have seen no cause to change our opinions upon any of the points that have been so fully discussed between us. We have no new proposition therefore to make. . . .' I told him they had no right to carry away private property or to emancipate slaves. He said banteringly that if we were at war he would emancipate every slave he could find. 'Then,' said I, 'I would never make peace with you till you had paid for them. But who are you to talk of emancipating slaves?' He said they had none. 'And what are your West India Islands? What would you say if we should land in Jamaica and emancipate your slaves?' 'Aye, but,' said he, 'we do not mean to let you land in Jamaica.' 'Not if you can help it,' said I. 'Do no right and take no wrong, I have heard was the English sailor's motto.'"

We give one more specimen of Mr. Adams's feelings towards Mr. Clay at this epoch. It relates to one of the bitterest and, at the same time, the most triumphant of all his controversies—the controversy with Jonathan Russell:

"I received from Boston," he writes on the 1st of July, "Jonathan Russell's reply to my remarks upon his letters communicated to Congress. It is published in the *American Statesman*, a newspaper printed at Boston, of which Henry Orne is the editor. The paper is of the 27th of June. Orne is a young lawyer of some talents, and a political adventurer of whom Mr. H. King has made a partisan for Crawford for the succession to the Presidency. Russell's reply is as full of falsehoods and misrepresentations as his letter from Paris. He admits the interpolations in his duplicate. He attempts to represent me as having tricked him into the delivery of his letter at the Department as a duplicate; and, having no sort of regard to truth, he has made up a plausible tale of new accusation against me, to which I must again reply. It is a great mortification to me to have a large portion of the time which ought to be devoted to the discharge of my public duties absorbed in necessary self-defence. This is a miserable plot against me, devised by Clay at Ghent, and in which he has made a tool of Russell. Clay and Russell are the eagle and the worm of Herder's fable—Clay soars and Russell crawls to the top of the mountain. I began upon a rejoinder to Russell's paper this evening."

This was a fatal controversy for Russell, whose name disappears from history, and whose life ended in humiliation. Schoolboys remembered him for a while as a Fourth-of-July orator. But—"Dies traditur die"—even the generations of schoolboys have forgotten him. Mr. Adams's triumph was complete.

His relations with Calhoun were a little less disagreeable:

"The relations in which I now stand with Calhoun are delicate and difficult," he writes on the 8th of July. "At the last session of Congress he suffered a few members of Congress, with an Irishman named Rogers, editor of a newspaper at Easton, Pennsylvania, at their head, to set him up as a candidate for the succession to the Presidency. From that moment the caballing in Congress, in the State Legislatures,

in the newspapers, and among the people against me, has been multiplied tenfold. The *Franklin Gazette* of Philadelphia, under the direction of R. Bache, G. M. Dallas, T. Sergeant, and Ingham, in concert with Rogers, opened immediately upon me, and has kept up ever since an insidious fire against me. Calhoun's partisans have countenanced it, and have been as busy as those of Mr. Crawford in their efforts to degrade me in the public opinion. Meanwhile, Calhoun has always professed to be a friend and admirer of mine, and to persons whom he knows to be my friends has said that he did not intend to be a candidate against a Northern man, and that he himself was decidedly for a Northern President. There was a time during the last session of Congress when so large a proportion of numbers was enlisted for Calhoun that they had it in contemplation to hold a caucus formally to declare him a candidate. But this prospect of success roused all Crawford's and Clay's partisans against him. The administration of his Department was scrutinized with severity, sharpened by personal animosity and factious malice. Some abuses were discovered and exposed with aggravations. Cavils were made against measures in the execution of the laws, and brought the President in collision with both Houses of Congress. Crawford's newspapers commenced and have kept up a course of the most violent abuse and ribaldry against him, and his projected nomination for the Presidency has met with scarcely any countenance throughout the Union. The principal effect of it has been to bring out Crawford's strength, and thus to promote the interest of the very man whom he professes alone to oppose. Calhoun now feels his weakness, but is not cured of his ambition. My personal intercourse with him now is necessarily an intercourse of civility and not of confidence."

These bitternesses were not without their effect upon Mr. Adams himself. It is difficult to feel that you are the constant object of malicious invention and not feel impelled to retaliate. It is hard to have your purest actions misinterpreted, your purest motives perverted, and not resent the perversion. Mr. Adams did resent it, and felt his trust in human nature weaken as he read the offensive words.

The Cabinet meetings discuss the question of fugitive slaves and the acquisition of Cuba, and with the same pen with which he recorded these Mr. Adams discusses and translates the well-known verses of the dying Hadrian :

> "Dear fluttering, flattering little soul,
> Partner and inmate of this clay,
> Oh, whither art thou now to stroll?
> Pale, shiv'ring, naked little droll,
> Ne more thy wonted jokes to play!"

## TURGOT.*

IF Voltaire was the prophet, Turgot was the saint of the *philosophes*. He was the man who, in the words of Condorcet, "made the nearest approach to that perfection to which human nature can raise itself." He stood, that is to say, before his friends as the actual embodiment of all that was highest and truest in the conceptions of his age and school; he actually was "that virtuous citizen" whose virtues the men of the XVIIIth century were in general far more prone to eulogize than apt to imitate. Hence his very shortcomings are the defects of the philosophic and political sect to which Turgot belongs, and Condorcet's charming biography, containing, as has been well said, "one of the wisest and noblest of lives, delineated by one of the wisest and noblest of men," has a peculiar interest, as presenting not only the portrait of a noble original, but also a sketch of a philosophic and moral ideal. The partiality of friendship may have added here and there a touch which may make the Turgot of Condorcet a more perfect representation of human perfection, as conceived by the *philosophes*, than was the Turgot of real life; but there is no reason to suppose that the admiration of a friend and disciple has substantially overrated the virtues of the minister who, a century ago (1774–1776), gave France her last chance of averting revolution by reform. For, considerable as were Turgot's talents, moral elevation is the predominant characteristic of his genius.

Condorcet's biography is singularly destitute of personal anecdotes. The few that are given all bear witness to the same constant effort to act up to the requirements of a high moral ideal. In his boyhood, Turgot spent his pocket-money on gifts of books to his poorer schoolfellows. As a young man, he eschewed the priesthood, for which he was destined, through the fear of pledging himself to the maintenance of dogmas which he either did not or in future might not believe to be true. His choice of a career was regulated by reference to its opportunities of serving the public; and, when acting as an administrator, he compensated at his own expense an official for loss sustained through Turgot's legitimate delay in investigating a painful charge of misconduct. Even in his dealings with his friends and associates he displayed a high-toned regard for duty which sometimes might seem to verge on moral squeamishness. He sympathized with the efforts of the founders of the famous 'Encyclopædia,' but, though he wrote one or two articles for it, he declined to become permanently connected with the work, because of his firm conviction that all sectarianism and spirit of partisanship was, in the long run, a hindrance to the spread of truth. In these and in other traits may be seen something of that excessive conscientiousness or scrupulosity which is the weak side of men ruled by a desire to live in the complete performance of duty; but it is the glory both of Turgot and of his school that his conscience found its satisfaction not in mere efforts after individual perfection, but in untiring labor for the public good. The absence from Turgot's biography of those personal traits which lend such a charm to lives such as Johnson's, is characteristic both of Turgot and his admirers. Turgot lived, so to speak, in his principles. There are some men, like Johnson, whose whole greatness lies in their individuality. Take from Boswell's life all its racy traits of individual character and there would be nothing left worth record or attention. In the case of men of a different type, such as Turgot, their work and thoughts are of far more consequence than their personal characteristics. Condorcet's book might be deprived of every one of the few anecdotes which it preserves, but it still would contain a picture of the truest public spirit, guided by the philosophic enlightenment of the last century.

It is, in fact, in his zeal for the public good that Turgot most truly represents the best side of his generation. The very evils of the time—the accumulated mass of abuses, the selfishness of politicians, the disregard by men in power for the sufferings of the people, the corruption of the state, and the prejudices of the church—had, by the force of reaction, inspired the better minds of the age with a zeal for the public good of which it is hard to realize the intensity at a time when reforms are easy to effect and public spirit has become an almost forgotten virtue. No doubt there was some hollowness in the theatric virtue of the past century, and the experience of the Revolution was scarcely needed to prove that "virtuous citizens" might often be a decent alias for unmitigated scoundrels. But Turgot's career is a standing protest against the delusion that the virtuous aspirations of the eighteenth century were, any more than the virtuous aspirations of other ages, either hypocritical or unmeaning. His letter to the king—which is perhaps the noblest address ever presented by a subject to a sovereign—might perhaps pass as a grand specimen of virtuous rhetoric. His labors as a minister might be ascribed to the legitimate ambition of a statesman coveting the fame of a public benefactor. His toils for eleven years as the "intendant" of a province are the truest criterion of his virtues. In every department of administration he struggled to free his province from the evils inflicted upon it by a long course of stupid and tyrannical misgovernment. He mitigated the pressure of the *corvée*. He reformed a system of conscription which was making French peasants abominate the military service. He mitigated the evils, which he had not the power to remove, flowing from a radically vicious system of taxation. He attempted both to vindicate and, as far as in him lay, to apply principles of free trade which even now are scarcely appreciated in any country by the mass of the people. He endeavored, in short, to rule one district of France at least in conformity with those maxims of enlightenment and common-sense which, had they been applied in time to the government of the country, might have saved the French nation from the disasters of the Revolution and, it may be, from the miseries of the present day. He further, while seeking the welfare of the people, was not afraid to meet popular outcry. The man who, in the eighteenth century, attempted to protect usurers from the penalties to which they were exposed by unjust laws, showed that his benevolence was of that sterling kind which dares to benefit the people by defying their prejudices.

Turgot's practical as well as theoretical defence of usury illustrates the noblest side of the *philosophes*. Their real glory was their firm belief in the power of enlightenment, knowledge, and science. The enthusiasm of Turgot and of the best of his associates was not grounded on a sentimental sympathy with popular sufferings; still less did it rest on the belief, which in one form or another is the constant illusion of modern democrats, that the voice of the people is in a sense the voice of God, and that popular sentiments or prejudices have in themselves a certain claim to intellectual respect. His enthusiasm and his benevolence were grounded not on sentiment of any kind but on a firm belief in the truth of a whole body of economical and political doctrine. The great amount of truth which, mixed with some error, was embodied in this belief is obscured from the present generation by the tendency, of which Condorcet's book affords numerous examples, to consider rules, many of them perfectly true in themselves, as laws of nature, and as such entitled to a sanctity beyond that attaching to every sound principle. It should, however, be noticed that with men such as Turgot this theoretical error led to fewer practical mis-

* 'Vie de M. Turgot.' Londres. 1786.

takes than might be anticipated by his modern critics. A sound rule of political economy is none the less true because it is erroneously called a law of nature, and Turgot, when, for example, attacking restrictions on usury, anticipated by some years the views of the utilitarian philosopher who gave its death-blow to the belief in the so-called law of nature. Ardent public spirit, combined with an intense belief in the power of enlightenment, naturally led Turgot to adopt that belief in the "perfect ability of human nature" which formed the central dogma of his school. This belief was his true religion. It kindled all his enthusiasm, and inspired him with the kind of devotion which many people hold can be inspired only by strictly religious or theological doctrines. When preparing for the priesthood, it fell to Turgot's lot to write two themes. The subject of the one was the utility of Christianity. The benefits which in his view Christianity had conferred on the human race were the preservation of the Latin language, the creation of the scholastic philosophy, and the formation of a system of universal morality. The subject of the second essay was the progress of the human intellect (*l'esprit humain*). In this theme he showed how scientific discovery had, step by step, promoted the progress of mankind. "He concludes with proving that the progress of the sciences, to which no limit can be placed, is a consequence of human perfectibility, which, in his belief, was unlimited. This opinion he never afterwards abandoned. It was one of the fundamental principles of his philosophy." It is easy to see which of the two essays embodied the religion of Turgot. The calm and singularly unappreciative criticism of Christianity by a man like Turgot, written when he was still studying for the priesthood, tells more of the sentiment of the time than all the sarcasms of Voltaire.

The crowning scene of Turgot's life was marked by that combination of moral triumph and external failure which gives the last touch of glory to characters that claim reverence for their enlightened virtue. As a minister, he accomplished or attempted all his friends could have expected from his patriotism and his philosophy. Within eighteen months, he abolished grievances, such as the *corvée*, under which the people labored. He began to introduce order where there had been confusion. He propounded a policy of economy and reform, the leading maxims of which were "no bankruptcy," "no increase of taxation," "no loans," and proved that his policy was not the dream of an enthusiast, but the practicable scheme of a statesman. Surrounded by plotters, and undermined by mean intrigues, he yet exhibited that boldness in maintaining order in which French theorists have constantly been deficient. He stood forth before his generation, and has remained ever since in the memory of posterity, as the last French statesman who has sinned neither by violence nor by weakness, and who knew how to combine zeal for reform with the maintenance of order. Having shown what he might have done for his country, he was dismissed from power by the very king who acknowledged his virtues. "Only I and Turgot love the people." The *mot* had scarcely been uttered when the king showed his own love for the people by dismissing Turgot. It is more than possible that the weakness of Louis would have prevented the vigor even of Richelieu from saving the doomed monarchy. But the failure of Turgot arose, like every failure, from faults or errors which are the more instructive because they exhibit the weak side of a school rather than of a man.

Two of these causes are especially noteworthy. The French *philosophes* believed in the force of enlightenment. This belief, noble as it is, was connected with the ungrounded conviction that the truths which approve themselves to men of sense and reflection will, when once they are set forth, dispel as of their own force the delusions of prejudice, ignorance, and self-interest. A crucial instance of the fallacy of this view is found in the slow spread of the doctrines of free trade. The free-traders' arguments were at least as clearly apprehended by Turgot and Condorcet as by Bright or Cobden. A century has passed, and the leading statesmen of France are still deluded by the errors of protection. Add to this the firm belief, not only that the principles of justice and humanity could be applied to all nations alike, but that philosophy had discovered a body of laws equally adapted to every people, and you have found half the source of Turgot's failure. His strength lay precisely in that point in which Burke, even in theory, was weak—that is, in the appreciation of the economical principles which may, in a sense, be called immutable. His weakness was to be found in the failure to perceive the difference between the changeable rules of politics and the unchangeable rules of economic science which Burke perceived more keenly than any other political theorist. The ill effect of these speculative errors was intensified by the fact that Turgot, uncertain of his tenure of power, and influenced by the traditions of French administration, hurried on his reforms with the haste of a revolutionist or a despot. "You forget," he replied to the remonstrances of a friend, "how great are the wants of the people, and that I belong to a family who die of the gout at fifty."

The hasty introduction of wise reforms might not have been fatal to Turgot's power if there had been behind him any force to resist the opposition which his reforms were certain to arouse. The second and immediate cause of his failure was the want of any support but the uncertain goodwill of the sovereign. Here, again, his error was that of his school. They based their hopes of reform rather on the enlightenment of the governing powers than on the efforts of the people. The experience of the century which preceded the Revolution lent more countenance than modern liberals are disposed to admit to the view that the enlightenment of a monarch is more likely to remove abuses than is the ill-regulated and uncertain force of popular emotion. Condorcet, writing on the very eve of the Revolution, still clings to the theory that an absolute monarch might be the truest support of an enlightened government; and Turgot saw the weak side of national patriotism and of the desire for political liberty with greater clearness than he perceived the weakness of reforms depending simply on the will of a benevolent sovereign. That the sovereign might himself fail in enlightenment, that the force of adverse interests must be overcome by the exertions of the people on their own behalf, are truths palpable enough not only to statesmen but even to theorists accustomed to the political life of a free country. Turgot failed to perceive the immense force of "sinister interests" which Bentham had constantly before his mind. He had further, as already pointed out, an almost morbid dislike to the spirit of party. When he stood confronted by all the meanness, the unscrupulousness, and the cunning of men and classes whose petty interests were opposed to the welfare of the nation, he had not the support either of the people or even of a party upon which to fall back. The king, on whom alone he relied, failed rather than betrayed him, and he fell a warning of the weakness of ministers or sects who put their trust in princes. But if Turgot fell as a statesman, his greatness as a man became the more conspicuous from his fall. He retired to the studies and speculations to which he was devoted, and in his wide interest in the general welfare of mankind, which extended its scope as his power of influencing the government of France diminished, remained at the end, as he had been from the beginning of his life, a representative of the noblest sentiments of his age.

## THE ABODE OF SNOW.*

THIS extremely interesting volume is composed of a series of articles which originally appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*, where they attracted some attention. Mr. Wilson has lately republished his articles, with some additions and alterations, but the volume before us (the American edition) is, as the publishers state with a frankness not always practised, reprinted directly from the magazine. The absence of the amplifications contained in the English edition will, however, perhaps not spoil it for the general reader. If 'The Abode of Snow' has a fault, it is rather too long. It makes a stout volume in the form which Messrs. Putnam have given it, and though it is not a book in which one is more than just tempted to skip, a little extra matter might make one succumb to the temptation. Mr. Wilson has added another volume to that record of what may be called heroic travel to which Englishmen have of late years contributed so largely. One by one, all the difficult things in the world are being done—every conceivable combination of the apparently impossible has been attacked and mastered. Mr. Wilson has done the Himáliya (we adopt his orthography). He desired to go from Simla—the great Indian watering-place—to the Vale of Kashmir, as well as to take a dip into Transhimáliyan regions (Chinese Tibet) on the way. There are comparatively easy and commonplace routes which Mr. Wilson might have taken, but they would have kept him at a low altitude on the mountains, and his health (for which his journey was undertaken) appears to have demanded, and to have flourished in, the atmosphere of the highest places in which human life can be sustained. His project, therefore, was to keep perpetually above the region of the scorching monsoon and to make his way to Kashmir exclusively along the high levels—literally, almost from peak to peak. He crossed over first into Chinese Tibet, where he received, chiefly from the women and dogs, a very cold welcome, and was implacably checked at the frontier. His glimpse of the country, however, does not indicate that even a warm welcome would make it agreeable to advance very far. His brief sojourn at Shipki, the Tartar frontier town, where the natives, with faces unwashed from their birth, stood timing his stay, watch in hand, as it were, is one of the most curious episodes in his volume. He succeeded in his attempt to keep in the upper regions, though

* 'The Abode of Snow: Observations on a Tour from Chinese Tibet to the Indian Caucasus, etc. By Andrew Wilson.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.

in the face of truly astounding difficulties. His course lay in general at an altitude of about 12,000 feet. He appears to have been a serious invalid at starting, and before his descent to Shipki he was, in addition to his usual infirmities, laid up for several weeks with dysentery at the house of a Moravian missionary. But his pluck and pertinacity accepted no permanent rebuffs. He travelled with various servants, and with a retinue of coolies (procured at successive stages) to transport his luggage and camping apparatus. He managed always to sleep in a tent, but the steady steepness of the Himáliya is such that it was often necessary to travel many miles before a level space large enough to pitch a tent could be found. Nominally, the Himáliya have certain roads, which figure in maps and surveys ; but in reality these roads are mere thread-paths, usually of the most breakneck description, climbing the face of interminable and more or less perpendicular slopes, and affording a mere foothold on the edge of precipices which are apparently to those of the Alps as the great Himáliya peak of twenty-nine thousand feet is to the fifteen thousand feet of Mont Blanc. Mr. Wilson, driving, stimulating, sustaining, compelling his reluctant servants and porters (who upon the snow-fields and among the precipices of course thought that, of all insane forms of English pleasure-seeking, this was the most insane), proceeded in any way and every way that presented itself. He was carried in a "dandy" (a peculiar and very primitive form of litter), he rode upon yaks (huge Tibetan oxen), upon zo-pos (cattle of the same family), and upon ponies and mules, and, when he could, he walked. He seems to have found it possible to ride in places where it would appear that to trust to a vicarious foothold must be but a fantastic aggravation of danger, though Himáliyan ponies, by his testimony, shrink from almost no feats that monkeys will accomplish. In especial, Mr. Wilson was familiar with the *jhúla*—a swinging bridge of twisted twigs, which offers the only means of passage across the Himáliyan rivers. These twigs are wound into three rough, bristling ropes, one lower than the others, and suspended from bank to bank of the stream, and the expectation is that the traveller will walk along the lower rope (which at best is of the loosest texture, and very apt to be rotten) with such assistance as he can extract from the others. The approved method seems to be to take the jhúla at a run, and somehow or other, with the energy of desperation, to find one's self at the other end. It offers the dangers of the slack-rope performance, without the applause and other compensations of the circus.

Mr. Wilson had a number of adventures of a sufficiently portentous kind. He slept upon snow-fields (it is interesting to know that his malady was rheumatism), with white Tibetan bears hovering in the neighborhood ; he came near being snowed up for the winter in a Tartar village ; he narrowly escaped perishing in a snow-storm on a pass 18,000 feet high. This last was the maximum of Mr. Wilson's climbing, but it was very well. In compensation for all this, he had the constant view of stupendously grand scenery. "An enormous semicircle," he says, on resuming his journey after his illness at the Moravian missionary's, "was visible of grand precipices, high mountain peaks, and snowy summits, over 20,000 feet high. Resting on the grass, looking on that beautiful yet awful scene—on the boundless wild of serrated ridges, rock-needles, mountain-battlements, storm-scathed precipices, silvery domes, icy peaks, and snowy spires—and breathing the pure, keen, exhilarating air, it almost seemed as if during my illness at Pú I had indeed passed from the torturing life of earth and had now alighted upon a more glorious world." Yet in spite of the enormous scale of the scenery of the Himáliya, it does not appear that in beauty of detail it can compare with that of the Alps. Mr. Wilson draws an extended parallel between the two ranges, in which, while allowing everything to the tremendous ruggedness and desolation of the Himáliya, he complains of their monotony and want of vegetation. That this latter deficiency should be observed upon mountains where such products as the apricot grow at 10,000 feet, and where cultivation is found at 13,000, gives one an idea of the huge scale of the Himáliya.

Mr. Wilson, pushing toward Kashmir, traversed the desolate and curious country of Zanskar, a Tibetan province, almost virgin soil to the traveller, and whose population presented to Mr. Wilson many striking analogies with the Scotch Highlanders. It was here that he was threatened with a premature descent of winter which would have compelled him to pass that season in a hut with a hole in the roof and another in the floor, in company with an old Tibetan grandame for ever mumbling the orthodox national prayer ("O God, the jewel in the lotus !") and two young children of the most "*terrible*" propensities. The Vale of Kashmir was all Mr. Wilson's fancy had painted it, and he makes it seem a very desirable pilgrimage to his reader. On leaving it he pushed still westward into the British Trans-Indus possessions and the border of pugnacious Afghanistan. He crossed over and hob-a-nobbed, for curiosity's sake, with some worthies who had just been striving to put a rival faction in their town to the sword, and all his observations of Afghan manners are extremely entertaining. From these neighborhoods he made his way south and east again across the Panjab (Mr. Wilson overturns all the familiar forms of Indian names) to Lahore and the railway Apropos of Indian names, they swarm in his pages to a bewildering degree. What is one to say to the Amir of Kaubool, the Akoond of Swat, or the Mullah of Topi ? We have been able to give but a very imperfect synopsis of Mr. Wilson's book, but we recommend it as a decidedly superior specimen of a class which, in these days of combined travelling and scribbling, sometimes exhibits rather forlorn recruits. It is extremely full, it deals with a multitude of points which we have not been able to mention, and it is always interesting. The author is evidently a man of large experience and of large and various ability, and he discusses all things—his personal adventures, Indian politics, the Tibetan religion, questions of ethnography—with excellent point and force.

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*An Elementary Grammar*, with full Syllabary and Progressive Reading-Book, of the Assyrian Language, in the Cuneiform Type. By the Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A. (London: Samuel Bagster & Sons ; New York : John Wiley & Son.)—A language may be supposed to be becoming a popular study when its students call for an elementary grammar, with exercises to be written out and suitable reading lessons. The Assyrian appears to be of late quite the rage, and furnishes more than half the matter for the transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, now the most enterprising of all the Oriental or antiquarian societies of England. It was for classes organized under the auspices of this Society that Mr. Sayce has prepared his new 'Elementary Grammar.' This is not the first general grammar of the language that has been published. Following Dr. Hincks's 'Specimen Chapters' and 'Assyrian Verbs,' we have had Oppert's compact 'Elements,' of which the first edition appeared in 1859 ; Menant's larger grammar, published in 1868 ; and Mr. Sayce's 'An Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes,' published in 1872. Of these, only Menant's employed the Assyrian type, while the student who used the others was compelled to depend on separate volumes for his alphabet, or rather syllabary, the most troublesome factor for the student who would solve the cuneiform problem. For the English beginner this second grammar of Mr. Sayce will be in every part useful. To the more advanced student, it will be of extreme value for its excellent syllabary, the most complete and useful yet published. The characters are arranged, as they ought to be, in the arbitrary order of the direction of the component wedges. In this the author follows Norris, Smith, and De Chossat, making it possible for a student to find a character, a feat hardly to be achieved by one who depends on the two large volumes of Menant's 'Syllabaire Assyrien,' which arranges some thousands of various characters, graphic and dialectic, in the order of the twenty-two Hebrew letters.

It is some tribute to the ancient grammarians of Nineveh that Mr. Sayce has scarcely done more than copy the syllabaries as found on the clay tablets of Assurbanipal's library. On one side of his column of characters he marshals their phonetic and Accadian value, while on the other he gives their Assyrian rendering, and in a fourth column their English meaning. Even the double comma put under a character to show that it has also the significations in the next lines, is as exact a representation as our types will allow of the cuneiform sign for *ditto*, used for precisely the same purpose in the syllabaries of the British Museum. More than a third of the volume is taken up with this syllabary, which contains 522 characters, exclusive of mere variants. Smith gives 380, and De Chossat 1,214, but the graphical variations are such that little can be gathered from this difference in number. The various renderings of polyphones are more fully given than in any other list, although there must be omissions, as in the very first character—the single horizontal wedge—of which the value *iddina*, found in Esarhaddon's name, is omitted. Smith, however, omits four or five values, one being as frequent as any—that of the preposition *ina*. In no point, perhaps, is the great syllabary of Menant more complete than this, unless it be in giving the Babylonian variations and the archaic forms, hardly modified from the original hieroglyphics. Possibly Mr. Sayce might have taken a little more care to use a single graphic variety of a character, such as may properly be selected arbitrarily for type. Thus the body of the volume frequently uses for the syllable *an* and the determinative *ilu*—a god—the variation in the form of a cross, not given in No. 4, although made its equivalent as an element of No. 46. So the character *ci* (*ki*) is given in the declension of the noun *naciru* in two different forms, one of which does not appear in the syllabary. The chief trouble with the syllabary is that there is not given in connection with it the order of the various forms of

wedges as adopted in arranging the characters. The student sees immediately that a single horizontal wedge leads the list, but the further order needs elucidation for the pupil, and we are sorry to see that a rigid arrangement is not observed, so that it is not seldom quite a task to find a character, and it is even likely to be overlooked. For a beginner this is a serious difficulty.

A second fifty pages is devoted to a very compact grammar, mainly inflections of nouns and verbs and lists of other parts of speech. This portion is admirably prepared. The Assyrian is printed with great correctness, and the worst mistake we notice is the giving the paradigm of the Ittaphal under the name of the Istaphal, which is quite a different conjugation. Like other English scholars, Mr. Sayce allows a preterite or "permansive" tense, and on this controverted point he is supported by Lenormant among the French Assyriologists. A little more regularity might be observed in the lists of prepositions. Thus, we do not see why the frequent Accad form should be given for *ina* and *ana* and omitted for *ultu*. These are, however, but minor errors and omissions, and scarcely detract from the value of the volume. Especial thanks are due to Mr. Sayce for so complete a catalogue of the meanings of the characters.

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*The History of Co-operation in England:* its Literature and its Advocates. By George Jacob Holyoake. Volume I. The Pioneer Period—1812 to 1844. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875. 8vo, pp. 419.)—Co-operation, as Mr. Holyoake points out in his introductory chapter, is a term of very general and vague application, and, in the volume before us, is applied to quite a different set of operations from what we understand by the word nowadays. The "Pioneer Period" was almost wholly taken up with socialistic experiments; and of this period Robert Owen was the prophet. Probably very few in this country have any idea of the extent and importance of this movement in England, contemporary with and allied to the Brook Farm and New Harmony experiments in this country. The volume is therefore instructive as well as entertaining reading. It is—for an American public—rather crowded with names and details, which no doubt call up associations and possess interest in England; but, withal, the story is told in a very graphic style, and in such a manner as to make pretty clear the causes of the general want of success that characterized this period.

Mr. Holyoake is best known as an avowed atheist as well as pronounced radical; and one is agreeably disappointed at not meeting the random sort of talk which might be expected from his antecedents and from some words in the preface, as well as the rather gushing dedication to Wendell Phillips. Only from one or two incidental expressions could one guess at his religious views. He is after all a hard-headed, common-sense Englishman, who sees clearly that it was looseness of thought and building without foundation that caused the ruin of the experiments which he here describes. He has a good deal of humor, too, and in his pages we find many appreciative descriptions of queer reformers, just such as we are familiar with in this country, and keen but good-natured satire—for his criticisms are always those of a sympathizer. There is an account of the "First Concordian" Society at Ham Common, in Surrey:

"The 'New Age' [its organ] was very intelligently edited, but it was discontinued when it had existed little more than a year and a half, on the ground that 'no book could represent what was passing in that establishment. Even the proceedings of a single day were found to be of far greater moment than could be transcribed or recorded in any work whatever.' Those who visited the Concordian were certainly not of this opinion. The inmates were scrupulously clean, temperate, transcendental, offensive to any one who ate meat, attached to Quakers, especially white ones, repudiated even salt and tea, as stimulants, and thought most of those guests who ate their cabbage uncooked. They preached abstinence from marriage, and most things else. Their cardinal doctrine was that happiness was wrong. The managing director, Mr. William Oldham, was called Pater, and, like Howard, preferred damp sheets to dry ones" (p. 230).

There are many interesting reminiscences, some of them valuable as experiments in social science. Such was Mr. Owen's device of "Labor Exchanges," the idea of which, it seems, originated with an American by the name of Josiah Warren (p. 158). "In May, 1833, the National Equitable Labor Exchange, London, was opened." The object of this was not, as might be inferred, to serve as an improved intelligence office, but as a medium for the exchange of the products of labor against one another—in other words, for a systematized and scientific barter. "Those who deposited goods were not paid in money, but received labor-exchange notes of the value of one hour's labor each" (the hour being reckoned at 6d.) Here was the vulnerable point in the experiment: "It does not appear how the depositors of goods at the Gothic Hall estimated the cost of the material they had worked up in hours of the value of sixpence; and persons naturally enquired how the quick workman and the slow one estimated their work on a uniform standard of sixpence for sixty minutes." This confused and inadequate standard muddled men's minds, and, besides, there was a lack of careful and sagacious business management. "The labor exchange needed the pawnbroker's faculty of quickly seeing what a thing was worth." Of course the enterprise speedily failed.

The author, in his preface, pays a handsome compliment to this "wide-awake land" for the prompt and satisfactory responses given to his letter of enquiry in the New York *Tribune*. "No case of any indecipherable caligraphy arose in American letters; they make things pretty plain out there." He does not say how soon the second volume may be expected. Meanwhile he has given the present volume two good indices, and—a valuable feature—has added a "Co-operative Advertisement Sheet," from which one can get a tolerable notion of the leading establishments of the present day in Great Britain—experiments, we will add, which represent the principle of co-operation in its present form, not in its earlier communistic one.

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*Life at a Northern University.* By Neil N. Maclean. (Glasgow: John S. Marr & Sons; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.)—The title of this book is appropriate, the contents being the description of "life" as distinguished from "study." We gain an insight—not a very profound one—into the ways of students at Aberdeen, their diversities of character, and their freaks. But we fail to learn what a Scottish university of the second order really is, how it teaches, what it teaches, and what it requires for graduation. Moreover, the style of the book does not possess those sterling qualities which could alone ensure it long life. The atmosphere is redolent of tobacco and "usquebaugh." We are taught again the lesson that the canny Scot's head and stomach are no less staunch than his orthodoxy. The undergraduate reader can enlarge his vocabulary of "slang," and add several good songs and practical jokes to his repertory. We are confirmed in the suspicion that not a few of the more disagreeable practices of American students, especially such as mar their relations to their professors, are derived, not from the English, but from the Scotch and Scotch-Irish universities. The most interesting, and the only really valuable, portion of the book is that which treats of the poor students and the "bursaries." We are made to feel the stimulus which these scholarships give to study among the poorer classes, and the healthful spirit of equality which they foster. To an American, the description of the supper given by the hero to six of these poor bursars is interesting from its very unqueness. We might almost call it a startling revelation of the craving, the hunger and thirst after a college education. Our country has poor students enough, yet somehow their poverty does not wear such an uncouth mien, their struggles to rise are not so frantic, they do not seem to be so crushed by a sense of overwhelming obstacles. Could some one of our scholars, who has fought his way from obscurity to acknowledged eminence, be induced to give us a faithful record of his college experiences, we might be enabled to compare the workings of the American and the European spirit.

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*First Book of Zoölogy.* By Edward S. Morse, Ph.D. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875. 12mo, pp. xii.-190.)—When we learned, some months ago, of Prof. Morse's intention to prepare a primary text-book, we were satisfied that the work had fallen into fitting hands. It is one thing to be learned, and another to impart learning pleasantly and effectively. The author's researches in biology might have brought him to the high position he occupies among men of science without proving his ability as an educator of youth; in fact, extent of learning and habitual employment of the language of science are often obstacles to success in teaching. But Prof. Morse's work in the private class-room, and his brilliant career in the lecture-field, foreshadowing the present 'First Book,' show that he possesses the necessary qualifications of a first-rate instructor. He has been judicious in selecting the materials for his work, and skilful in handling them. Without attempting to cover in the whole range of zoölogy (the rock on which the compiler of the average "manual" splits), nor even pretending to lay down many general propositions which the beginner can scarcely be expected to digest, he presents a series of short, simple, and extremely practical lessons in natural history which any child can master, and moreover become interested in mastering. The pupil is plainly taught how to teach himself—certainly the most important of any single lesson he could learn. Familiar objects of natural history, such as may be easily procured in any locality, are selected in illustration of the types of structure they respectively represent; the pupil is told what he naturally first wants to know about them, and also what is most likely to lead him up to the principles

involved. This is done in an easy, almost off-hand manner, without a trace of pedantry; master and pupil seem to be at one. A special charm of the book is that it carries us further out of doors than any other text-book we have seen. We particularly recommend to the consideration of teachers the pithy and practical preface, suspecting that not a few of them must submit to be taught themselves. We have said enough to show that this treatise is thoroughly unconventional; yet parents and instructors need not fear to let their children follow the author when he leaps over the fence instead of going through the gate. In fact, our experience with text-books of zoölogy goes to show that Prof. Morse's originality is a very good gauge of the superiority of his treatise. We should not omit reference to the numerous fresh and novel illustrations which grace the volume—the author is as happy with pencil as with pen. Some of the cuts are amusingly original; for instance (Fig. 91), the wasp, asleep while holding on to a blade of grass with its jaws, is sound asleep to the very ends of its legs. The only errors we have noticed in the work are important ones, which should be corrected in the next edition. On page 167, by an evident slip of the pen, *pelvic* girdle appears in place of *scapular* girdle; and on p. 186, the *Crustacea* appear as a class of *Vermes*, instead of occupying their proper place under the sub-kingdom *Arthropoda*.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* |
|---|---|
| Eggleston (G. C.), Big Brother: Story of Indian War | (G. P. Putnam's Sons.) $1 50 |
| Engelbach (A. F.), Two Campaigns | (Pott, Young & Co.) 1 50 |
| Hargreaves (Dr. W.), Our Wasted Resources | (National Temperance Society) 1 25 |
| Hamerton (P. G.), Portfolio for October, swd | (J. W. Bouton) 1 00 |
| Holland (J. G.), Sevenoaks | (Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 75 |
| Inman (Dr. T.), Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism | (J. W. Bouton) |
| Jevons (Prof. W. S.), Money and the Mechanism of Exchange | (D. Appleton & Co.) 1 50 |
| Jordan (W.), Nibleunge—Hildebrants Heimkehr; Sigfridsage. 2 vols., swd. | (B. Westermann & Co.) |
| Johnson (Virginia W.), Catskill Fairies | (Harper & Bros.) |
| King (Katharine), Hugh Melton: A Story, swd | (Harper & Bros.) 0 25 |
| Queen of Connaught: A Story, swd | (Harper & Bros.) 0 50 |
| Miller (J.), The Ship in the Desert: Poetry | (Roberts Bros.) 1 50 |
| Mitchell (S.), Exposition of the Book of Jonah | (Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger) 1 50 |
| Brief History of France | (A. S. Barnes & Co.) 1 50 |
| Nicodemus (Prof. W. J. L.), Hand-Book for Charcoal Burners | (John Wiley & Son) 1 50 |
| Peck (J. E.), Soul Problems | (Chas. P. Somerby) 0 75 |
| Perkins (H. S. and W. O.), Shining River: Music Book | (Oliver Ditson & Co.) |
| Ranck (G. W.), O'Hara and His Elegies | (Turnbull Bros.) |
| Randolph (Mrs.) Wild Hyacinth: A Novel | (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) |
| Sanford (Mrs. D. P.), Frisk and His Flock | (E. P. Dutton & Co.) 2 25 |


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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1875.*

## The Week.

SENATOR BAYARD, of Delaware, has written an "open letter" on the currency to the editor of the Atlanta *Herald*, in which he denounces inflation with the same boldness he displayed in Congress last winter. Judge Kelley not long ago made a sort of tour through Georgia, during which he, with great audacity, undertook to explain to the Georgians the beauties of an irredeemable currency. We say audacity, because the Georgians and the inhabitants of the other Southern States know by practical experience a great deal more about it than Judge Kelley can tell them, as they had during the war a currency of their own which, from beginning at par or nearly par with gold, gradually went down on repeated issues to a point at which there was a discount on it of several thousand per cent., and, as it has been since described, people, instead of taking their money to market in their pocket, and bringing what they bought home in a basket, took their money in a basket, and brought their purchases back in their pocket. The Georgians know all about "basing" currency on "the entire wealth of the country," for this is exactly what they did, and they found that the entire wealth of the country—the corn, cotton, sugar, and tobacco—remained just what it had been, but the currency did not. For any man in his senses to go down there now and try to persuade the inhabitants that inflation is what they want, must require a good deal of coolness. We are glad to see that Mr. Bayard does not attempt to argue the matter with Judge Kelley, but laughs at him, and reminds his audience that the last panacea he recommended to the poor man was the investment of his savings in the Northern Pacific Railroad, which, in 1871 (he then being a member of Congress), he publicly declared in a speech at Philadelphia to be a "magnificent undertaking." It would probably be a safe thing to back Judge Kelley to ruin in a given time a larger number of his fellow-citizens who should take his advice in pecuniary matters having any political connections, than any statesman now in the field, except possibly General Butler and Mr. Wendell Phillips.

The customary dulness of the subordinate Department Reports has been relieved this year by that of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, Mr. Potter. He advises the abandonment of the present system of contracts, which gives contractors a percentage on the amount they lay out, and therefore a direct interest in wasteful expenditure, and strongly advises cutting down his own now unlimited and excessive powers to those of a real supervisor of Government architecture. He says that to give one man the duty not merely of overseeing but of actually designing Government buildings is giving him work which he cannot thoroughly or properly do. He adds that "architecture is an art," and, as in the case of all arts, "he who practises it successfully must give himself up to it without restraint," and that "no good work has ever been done without severe study." The announcement of this architectural platform has been received by the press and the public generally with great satisfaction as an indication that Mr. Potter is going to give the Government architecture without any politics in it; that he does not intend to rotate his draughtsmen out and put hod-carriers at work making "elevations" for post-offices, court-houses, and mints; and that he will make a knowledge of architecture rather than an acquaintance with contractors the first test of qualification for office under him. Mullett, his predecessor, must have been hugely amused with the report, and we can fancy him exploding with laughter over the statement that "architecture is an art," and that "no good work has ever been done without severe study." The art in Mullett's time consisted in getting appropriation bills through, and as a "worker" he was unequalled, though he never applied himself to severe study at all, and put up eight or ten millions' worth of buildings a year at that.

It is startling to find in the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue the number of United States officials implicated in the whiskey frauds put down at fifty; in other words, there seems to have been about one official conspirator to every common swindler. Mr. Bristow, who has had the support of the President throughout, has got Joyce, one of the leaders of the Ring, sentenced to a fine and a long term of imprisonment, and the trial of John McDonald, formerly Supervisor of Internal Revenue, has begun. It will be a pity if in McDonald's case some enquiry into previous character is not made, as the revelations that would follow would throw a good deal of light upon the dark ways of civil-service reform, and show what is the nature of the causes which so mysteriously produce "Rings." McDonald was appointed by Boutwell, and it was at the time represented to the Secretary by some of the best of the Missouri politicians that the appointment was an utterly unfit one; that McDonald, if not a criminal, was the associate of criminals, and well known as a common gambler and generally disreputable in St. Louis. Boutwell said that it was too bad, but he "could not help it"—*i.e.*, McDonald was backed by too much influence. Now we see what the influence was.

The past week has witnessed a further decline in the foreign markets in that class of Government securities of which the Turkish and Egyptian are types. That U. S. securities have been improved rather than harmed by this, is shown by the fact that the Rothschilds—as the head of the syndicate having charge of the negotiation of the U. S. new Fives—have notified the Treasury that they will take the entire unsold remainder of the $500,000,000, which they have either engaged ahead or expect to sell in Europe. To offset this issue of new Fives the Secretary of the Treasury on Monday called in, for redemption on Feb. 15 next, $12,785,000 5-20 6 per cents, and at the same time issued a call for $5,000,000 5-20s for the account of the Sinking Fund. These two calls of 5-20s withdraw from the markets all the outstanding remainder of the '64 bonds and about $2,000,000 of the old '65s. The only funding bonds which remain now are the 4½ and the 4 per cents, and there is reason to believe that no step will be taken to sell any of these bonds until Congress has had the opportunity to decide, on the one hand, whether it is best to authorize more 5 per cents, and, on the other, whether bond-funding operations had not better be suspended and attention given to greenback funding, or at least to the improvement of that class of the Government debts which form the most important part of our paper currency.

General trade during the week has been good for the season of the year, and there is a feeling among business-men that, unless Congress in some way interferes, the improvement will gain momentum, and that next spring will witness a full business. The number of failures occurring is not alarming, because not unexpected. It is generally anticipated that in the next four months many firms which have been weakened by outside speculations will succumb, the profits of business in the past season not having been large enough to make up for such losses. At the Stock Exchange there has been an advance in prices. A new speculation, which centres in Pacific Mail, has been developed during the week. This is indirectly connected with Union Pacific, that Company having got possession of the steamship line, so as to control every avenue to the Pacific. For some reason Mr. T. W. Park, who controls the Panama Railroad, was not satisfied with the share which his Company got. Accordingly, he devised a plan for an opposition, and

during the week it was published, with the signatures of three respectable shipping merchants, directors in the Panama. They propose to divide the business of the Pacific Mail—which has not for many years been good enough to pay a dividend—and pay large dividends to their shareholders, and at the same time serve the public more cheaply. The last phase of this fight is that Judge Donohue has restrained the Panama from making this highly profitable arrangement by an injunction, on the ground that the charter of the Panama does not permit it to go into the steamship business even for such good purposes as those which animate Mr. Park.

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At the time when the investigation into the Canal frauds by Governor Tilden began, we pointed out in the *Nation* that the greatest difficulty which the reformers would have to contend against would probably be the fact that some of the worst abuses in canal management had by custom and lapse of time come to be regarded as matters of vested right, which the State was bound not to interfere with. We confess, however, that we hardly expected to meet with so striking an illustration of the truth of the observation as has been afforded by the trial of the two suspended engineers, Yates and Babcock. The facts in the case are very simple: Yates and Babcock were engineers employed by the State to protect its interest in canal contracts. The Governor's investigating commission discovered, in the course of their enquiries, that these engineers had permitted work to be accepted under a contract with Henry D. Denison inferior to the work called for by the contract. Of the fact there was no doubt, and the two engineers were accordingly suspended till they could be tried by the Canal Board. The Canal Board is a commission partly consisting of certain officers of the State and partly of members elected by popular vote. The engineers have now been tried by this board, acquitted, and reinstated in their positions. Under these circumstances—as it seems from the proceedings that no evidence whatever was offered in their behalf as to the facts of the case—it becomes interesting to enquire what their defence can possibly have been, and we find it was that, through a well-established practice, it had become "the custom of the canals" for engineers to accept work inferior in quality to that contracted for. This was the only defence that could be found for the accused, and on this defence they were reinstated. Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer put the whole thing in a nutshell by saying that the sum and substance of the defence was that it had become "the common-law of the canals that contracts should not be complied with."

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There is no exaggeration in this, as everybody familiar with the history of the canals in this State knows. It is probably true that the acceptance by State engineers of inferior work, the system of "unbalanced bids," or, in other words, bids on their face intended as a cover to deception and fraud, and the auction-sales of the contracts among the contractors themselves, have long been recognized as established by custom in the interior of the State, and as having for all practical purposes the effect of law. There is no other way, indeed, of explaining the perfect openness which seems, as a general thing, to have characterized the fraudulent practices; for people who are engaged in fraud usually take the greatest pains to cover their tracks, whereas the "canal men" have carried on their auctions in a hotel in Albany, and so recklessly have they drawn up fraudulent contracts that fraud can be seen in most cases on mere inspection.

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The resignation of Mr. C. S. Fairchild, who is now one of the assistants of the State Attorney-General, but who will become Attorney-General himself in a few weeks, will probably bring upon him a good deal of abuse, but it seems to us to have been clearly called for by the facts in the case. The District of Columbia bonds belong to a class of securities which, in the opinion of nine men out of ten, are doubtful. They have been talked about in the newspapers as doubtful, they have been speculated in as doubtful, and it is very doubtful what view Congress may take of them. Under these circumstances, they were obviously not proper securities for savings-banks to invest in, but the people who have been puffing them lately have been making a desperate attempt to secure for them an established credit, by bringing them within the class which savings-banks are authorized to invest in. Instead of going to Congress and getting the matter settled once for all, they have chosen to take the indirect way of getting an opinion from Attorney-General Pratt on the subject. The matter was at first referred to Mr. Fairchild, who gave an adverse opinion, which was subsequently overruled by Mr. Pratt. On this Mr. Fairchild was obliged to take some stand, as he himself would be in Mr. Pratt's shoes within a few weeks. He accordingly gave public notice to the effect that as soon as he became Attorney-General the bonds would not be recognized as proper investments for savings-banks, and, at the same time, resigned his position. This was the only thing he could have done; the dilemma in which he found himself strongly illustrates the absurdity of having such matters decided by the views of Attorney-Generals for the time being. As Mr. Fairchild says, nothing short of the highest judicial authority or Congress ought to decide them.

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The evidence taken before the Committee of the Legislature on the manner in which this city is governed contains such morsels as the following, illustrative of the régime which the Anti-Tammany reformers have succeeded in restoring and confirming:

"The first witness, William P. Dixon, a resident on the Boulevard, said that he had watched the laborers, and found that out of a gang of fifty or sixty only twenty or thirty would be at work, and nine or ten would go some distance back to play 'seven-up'; he once walked four times from One Hundred and Sixth to One Hundred and Tenth Streets, in the same time it took a laborer with an empty cart to go there once; the men, in his opinion, only did three and a half hours' work per day; the cost of the work was about twice more than it would be if the work was done conscientiously.

"Mr. Cyrus Clark, of No. 741 Fifth Avenue, a property-owner along the Boulevard, counted the men at work, and out of a gang of twenty only two would be really performing labor; the remainder were 'loafing about,' and some of those engaged on the sewers were playing cards; there was an official, now in office, who told a contractor who offered to do the work with blasting machines at one-half the cost now imposed by the laborers: 'The objection to your machines is that they can't vote.'"

It is, however, but just to the "reformers" to say that they have not been boastful or exultant since the election. On the contrary, they are for the most part apologetic or defensive, and confine themselves to showing that they have not done as much mischief as people think they have, and that Kelly is not a good man. Some of them reveal an inclination to follow the example of Tweed's counsel, and "deny the whole story." But for the publicity of the thing they would probably deny their alliance with the Short-Hairs. Of Morrissey they seldom speak, and their allusions to him are so vague that a stranger might suppose he was a retired clergyman engaged in managing a children's hospital up-town. As to the general public, its feeling about "the reform" reminds one of the Irishman to whom some wags "tendered," as the reporters say, a ride in a sedan-chair, and then put him into one which had neither seat nor bottom. After he had trudged along on his feet for some distance, they asked him how he liked it, and he replied frankly that, "if it wasn't for the name o' the thing, he'd as lief walk."

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The election in Brooklyn this year has had the effect of stimulating reform on one side of the East River almost as much as it has paralyzed it on the other. The Ring or Rings in Brooklyn have borne a suburban relation to the Rings in New York. They have been managed substantially in much the same way, but not on so grand a scale or with such a flagrant defiance of law and decency. We have among us not merely our "village Hampdens," but our village Tweeds, Sweenys, Halls, and Connollys too; and there is a certain resemblance between a large overgrown suburb like Brooklyn and a village community in frauds as well as other things, as

cannot have escaped the notice of those who followed the revelations of the Beecher-Tilton scandal. That frauds in the public works have been committed in Brooklyn does not seem to be a matter much disputed, but what redress can be had is another question. The law recently passed by the legislature enabling actions against local peculators to be brought by the State is now before the Court of Appeals in Tweed's case, and what is to be done in Brooklyn will depend a great deal on whether the Court sustains the act or not. The press is very wisely avoiding all discussion of the questions involved in this case while the matter is in the hands of the judges, which is very well; but it is unpleasant to think what a venal and licentious howl will break forth if the Court decides in Tweed's favor. Their adverse decision on Tuesday, however, on his application for a bill of particulars and reduction of bail, will do a good deal to regain popular favor for them.

The interment of Guibord was successfully and peacefully accomplished on Tuesday, amid great military preparations to prevent any outbreak, but with the troops kept in the background. The ponderous, burglar-proof sarcophagus designed to resist all attempts at disinterment was finally abandoned, and the simpler device of burying the wooden coffin in cement was resorted to. Mme. Guibord is even safer from sacrilegious disturbance than her husband, for she lies directly under him, and a layer of cement placed above her serves as a foundation for his receptacle. She died, it will be remembered, in 1873, or four years later than her husband, and yet, so altogether anomalous is this case, she was buried before and beneath him, with an inscription on her coffin showing her to have been the widow of a man who still lacked a resting-place in a civilized and Christian country. We seem now to have arrived at an end of the matter, so far as the poor subject of it is concerned. The law has prevailed, and the Church must, as is her wont in such circumstances, fall back on her unrestricted privilege of cursing. The Bishop will probably not encourage any desecration of the grave by the baser members of his flock, and at most it is likely that the unholy spot will be marked off in some way from the consecrated ground. The *Institut Canadien* will still have the satisfaction of feeling that the point gained was worth six years of struggle with Catholic bigotry.

The English papers are full of discussions of Turkish finance and of schemes for enabling the bondholders to get their money. The mixture of anger and hopefulness displayed at the meetings is something very entertaining. Server Pasha has published a circular showing that the Ottoman Government is one of the most delicately honorable governments in the world, and that the sole reason for its suspending just now is the necessity of reducing the taxes. There is an angry controversy going on in London between the creditors who lent on the pledge of certain specified portions of the public revenue and those who lent on "the entire wealth of the people"—the former, Mr. Kelley will be surprised to hear, fancying they have a prior claim on Turkish resources. But the probabilities are that "equal and exact justice" will be dealt out to all of them. One point debated anxiously is, whether the Khedive will continue to pay his tribute into the Bank of England, even if he is forbidden by his suzerain or not. The prevailing opinion is that, out of regard to his own credit, which is very much shaken, he will. Sir Samuel Baker and others have come to the support of his credit by showing that, unlike the Sultan, he has spent enormous amounts in real material improvements, such as the construction of railroads and of irrigating canals, and the improvement of ports, and the opening up of lands in the interior to cultivation. But, then, many of his railroad enterprises cannot pay for some time to come, and in pushing his territory southward he has involved himself in liability to a series of small but costly wars. Costa Rica, Paraguay, and Honduras have been punished for cheating by having their representatives in London passed over in the invitations to the Lord Mayor's dinner given to the diplomatic corps—a penalty under which, we imagine, these rascally communities will bear up bravely. Spain is now reported as cheating again by paying her overdue coupons in paper. She has added $1,000,000,000 to her debt since 1863, and it now amounts in all to $2,000,000,000, but, as she has not paid any interest on it for two years, it sits very lightly on her; still, she has to borrow at enormous rates, if she can borrow at all, and has probably "funded" more coupons than any other modern nation. The creditors console themselves with the reflection that the revenues of the country are growing, and that the time may come when the Government may pay its interest if it pleases. Altogether, the money-lenders in Europe are having a varied and, it is to be hoped, instructive experience of the improvidence and dishonesty of borrowing communities.

The text of M. Gambetta's important letter to the Lyons democrats upon the existing political situation, has come out by the last mail. He announces that the Republic was really founded on the 25th of February last, and that it brought with it security and confidence, and the result is now about to be submitted for its approval to the people, and he is confident as to the result. He favors the *scrutin de liste* rather than the *scrutin d'arrondissement*, as being "a struggle of principles rather than a struggle of persons," and as permitting the alliance in each department of "all fractions of the loyally constitutional party." He says the nation has gained in experience and practical reasoning, and is tired of the orators who led it astray and of the fanatics who "would lead it back to a past whose very name it cannot bear." As regards the future, he maintains that what the country desires is the repeal of all exceptional laws, the freedom of the press, the right of meeting, municipal independence of the cities and communes; but it does not seek all things at once, and desires all changes to be made "with circumspection, prudence, and temperance," for in politics men should be ready to come to terms with necessity, and "never to risk the fate of a people or an idea for the honor of a hopeless theory." He predicts the formation of two great constitutional parties, "the Whigs and Tories of the Republic, disputing for the suffrages of public opinion, and regularly succeeding each other in power," and in this united France he thinks the old class-hatreds would disappear. The whole document breathes the spirit of a lofty moderation, and shows that years and experience are producing their effect, and that M. Gambetta is fully satisfied that the only Republic which can succeed in France is a Conservative Republic. How well his Radical associates will put up with his moderation remains to be seen, but the promulgation of such a manifesto by such a man is indeed a cheering sign for France. It produced a great sensation among all parties.

The Germans have at last succeeded in erecting in front of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, in Berlin, the monument of Stein, for which the subscriptions began to be collected nearly twenty years ago, and the unveiling of it has been perhaps the most interesting ceremony of the new Empire, for he may be said without exaggeration to have laid the foundations of the Empire. Few countries were ever in a more deplorable condition than he found Prussia, and it was the changes he brought about in its social and political organization which made its subsequent greatness possible. He procured the abolition of the cabinet, or, as it is called in Austria, the camarilla, composed of private and irresponsible court advisers, who stood behind the king and often overruled the ministers. He abolished serfdom and commuted the forced labor due by the peasants to the landlords for a fixed payment in money, on terms which have gradually resulted in giving them the freehold. He made the purchase of land open to all classes instead of being confined to the nobility, and thus fostered the growth of a middle class. He restored local self-government to the great majority of the Prussian towns and to the provinces, and, besides founding the University of Berlin, was mainly instrumental in organizing the present public-school system. He was, in fact, in all respects one of the greatest men of this century. He did for Prussia what Turgot might have done for France had Fate been kinder to him and his country.

## MR. SHERMAN ON RESUMPTION.

THE Cincinnati *Commercial* has been interviewing Senator Sherman on the so-called Resumption Act, passed last winter, and its report shows what a very strengthening and invigorating effect the recent elections are having on the minds of the politicians. Mr. Sherman is a very good specimen, and indeed is a leader, of the small body of representatives and senators who busy themselves with the solution of the currency question. He has had a hand in every financial measure of importance which has passed Congress since the war; he has been originating bills, conferring on bills, defending bills, and attacking bills ever since the country began to "prepare for resumption"; and, from his position at the head of the Senate Finance Committee, has more power and influence with regard to the currency than anybody except the Secretary of the Treasury or the President. Yet he has never shown himself to be a man of strong and bitter convictions on any political subject, but is addicted by nature to compromise, and much prefers what is called "bowing to the will of the people" to taking a bold and possibly unpopular stand on a question on which the people have not distinctly made up their mind. He has, indeed, probably a secret feeling that all questions in finance on which there is violent opposition between two extremes could be settled by means of a compromise devised by sagacious statesmanship. Last winter, on finding that there were two parties, one of which demanded immediate resumption, and the other immediate inflation, he compromised the matter by getting a bill passed providing for resumption at a date so remote that no inflationist could feel any anxiety about it, and for inflation as soon as the national banks should care to inflate. Mr. Sherman is, in fact, an excellent representative of the politician of the day, and his opinions, however little value they may have in other ways, serve as a very good index of the ebb and flow of the opinions of "the masses."

The sum and substance of what Mr. Sherman says now on the subject of resumption is, first, that an attempt will very likely be made this winter to repeal the Resumption Bill, but that it will unquestionably be defeated; that such an attempt would be a most dangerous experiment; that it would be a "step backward," while "the people (in the elections) have demanded a step forward"; that it would "authorize all holders of bonds of the United States to duplicate them in currency, to the amount of ninety per cent. of their par value, without any fear of being called upon to redeem within this generation"; that "free banking without a fixed time for redemption is an indefinite postponement of resumption"; that under the act as it stands gold enough can easily be provided—out of the surplus revenue of the Government, or by the sale of bonds, supposing the act to remain unrepealed—to enable Mr. Bristow to resume on the 1st of January, 1879; and, finally, that to do this we must have a President strongly in sympathy with the hard-money movement and a Secretary of the Treasury strongly in sympathy with him.

That there is a good deal of truth in all this cannot be denied, and it shows in a gratifying way how Mr. Sherman has been "braced up" by the vote in Ohio and Pennsylvania. Comparing his present position with that which he occupied during the currency debate of last winter, a great change may be seen. Then, instead of the whole matter being as simple as he now represents it, it was so complicated that even on the question of a "reserve" he was unable to make up his mind. In the course of the debate, it will be remembered that the question was raised by some of the bolder senators whether the eighty-two million greenbacks to be retired under the bill could be reissued or not—a rather material point, as, if they could, the bill was a wild inflation scheme under the baldest possible cover; and this question had already arisen before as to the "reserve" retired by McCulloch, and then reissued at will whenever Boutwell or Richardson fancied that the market needed "easing." It was really one of the most important questions that could be asked concerning the bill, and what Mr. Sherman did with it was to evade it. He declared (according to the report of his remarks in the *Congressional Record*) "frankly" that "he did not propose to decide that question in this bill"; that the question "would be met" when "the time arrived." He left "every senator to decide for himself what the law was," and added the characteristic reminder, that "it was not wise, as practical men dealing with practical affairs, seeking to accomplish a result, to introduce into the bill a controversy which would prevent the unity necessary to carry out the good that is contained in the bill." In other words, he considered it "unpractical" at that time to enquire whether the bill was a real measure of contraction or was to be the first step in a new scheme of inflation. Shortly after the passage of the act he was taken to task for this, and declared, in a letter to the *Financier*, that the eighty-two millions could not be reissued; that "he stated so while the bill was pending"; and that no lawyer could put a different construction on the bill.

We bring up these quotations from the "record" of Senator Sherman not for the purpose of convicting him of inconsistency or of insincerity, but to point out why it is that what his friends call his "manly utterances" on the currency question will probably fail to reassure the public wholly. The trouble with them is that, after putting several of them side by side, you cannot make out what, taken together, they mean. Senator Sherman, in his interview, does not say a word on the subject of the reissue of the eighty-two millions of greenbacks, and within a year he has declared officially that it was a question which every one must make up his own mind about, and unofficially that it was a question about which there could be no difference of opinion. When we reflect on how the measure from which Mr. Sherman expects such brilliant results was passed, on the present condition of this elementary question as to reissue, on the popular dread of contraction—even in the late campaigns no one dared openly to advocate it, but speeches were mostly confined to denunciations of inflation, a matter quite different—on the fact that gold is higher now than last year or the year before, on the character of the statesmen whom Mr. Sherman and Mr. Bristow must rely upon to help them to resume in 1879, and, finally, on the great doubts whether the party to which they belong will remain in office more than a year longer, it is impossible to feel the confidence which Mr. Sherman expects to inspire.

That resumption would, economically speaking, be easy enough, as Mr. Sherman says, we have never doubted. The difficulty in the way is a moral, not an economical one, and it is curious, too, to observe that the moral dread of anything more positive than "gradual steps," as the platforms have it, "in the direction" of resumption, which Mr. Sherman, from his cautious way of speaking of contraction, evidently shares, is based upon a delusion which it might be supposed the actual experience of an irredeemable currency would before now have exploded. We have pointed out in the *Nation* that the worst effect of contraction—that it alters the value of contracts and prices—has actually been brought into play as effectively as possible by the wide fluctuations in the value of paper since the war. The "shrinkage" caused by an immediate repeal of the Legal-tender Act would to-day amount to fourteen or fifteen per cent., which is probably very little if at all more than the margin which has to be added to the prices of everything now to allow for a possible change in the relations of gold and paper; while within the last ten years we have seen fluctuations, the exact reach of which could not be calculated beforehand, of 50, 75, 100, and 200 per cent. The process of "growing up," which some of the statesmen of the Boutwell school expect such great things from, is simply disguised contraction. In open contraction, the amount of the currency is decreased; in this veiled contraction, the volume of transactions which the currency must answer for is increased; yet you hear statesmen of this school paint the one as a process full of hope and joy, and the other as certain to lead the country in six months to ruin. So, too, the felicitations of some financiers on the prospect which we now have of reaching the "bottom"—a consummation which simply means a shrinkage of prices, labor, and contracts from 25 to 100 per cent.—sound very queerly

when we find that they wholly object to any alteration in the value of labor, contracts, or prices through a diminution in the volume, or repeal of the legal-tender quality, of the currency. For the purpose of opening the eyes of the public to these delusions, to convince them that the obstacles in the way of resumption at an early day are bugbears, probably nothing would be so effective as the repeal of the Legal-tender Act, and we certainly hope to find that a certain number of the new representatives this winter will be bold enough at least to attempt it.

## THE CHURCH AND THE POOR.

THE Episcopal Church Congress and the Moody and Sankey Revival have given religious topics unusual prominence in the press and on the platform during the week. It is worthy of notice that both the revivalists and the members of the Congress have called especial attention to the difficulty encountered by both ministers and evangelists—as it is the fashion to call the revivalist preachers—in securing the attendance on religious exercises of the great body of the poor and irreligious people commonly called "the masses." It has been already a frequent subject of lamentation that the revivalist meetings in Brooklyn are frequented by professing Christians who seek to have their zeal quickened, rather than by the outsiders, who have as yet given no sign whatever of religious interest. At the Church Congress, the most animated discussion in the whole proceedings was upon the failure of the Church to secure the presence of the poor at her services. In fact, in this city, and in nearly all cities, the consolations of religion do not reach those who most need consoling. Those to whom this life gives least seem to take least interest in what the future life may have in store, or, to put it differently, seem to care least whether there is any future life or not. In fact, it is impossible to enter either the Brooklyn Rink or any church in the city, except the Catholic, without being struck by the fact that Christianity seems among us to have lost its original character, as *par excellence* the religion of the lowly and miserable, and to have become the religion of the comfortable and well-to-do. It is now an old story, that to become a pewholder in all the leading churches in this and other cities is to become a stockholder in a wealthy and flourishing corporation; and the more powerful the preacher, the more it costs to hear him. One of the signs of a man's material prosperity, indeed, is his appearance in church. If he fails in business, or things go wrong with him, his attendance ceases. If he is very poor, he never shows himself in church at all. The best churches he cannot afford to go to, and the eleemosynary churches he scorns to go to. The practical result of church organization in our day is, indeed, that in the very circumstances in which temptations are most powerful, and spiritual aids to hope and courage and purity most necessary, it is hardest to secure them We do not believe Messrs. Moody and Sankey have thrown the least light on the problem. We have no doubt that nine-tenths of their hearers, at least, are persons already connected with religious organizations or the near relatives of such persons, or members of the well-to-do classes attracted by curiosity. Mr. Moody's discourses are plainly, in their very method and phraseology, addressed to persons who are already familiar with both, and, indeed, with the whole mechanism of revivals. Nor do we think much has been said in any of the recent discussions on the subject that is very suggestive as to the remedy. The most heartily applauded paper read at the Church Congress was by the editor of the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, and was especially addressed to this subject; and though it is perhaps unsafe to judge from the meagre report, which is all we have seen, he had nothing better to urge in the last analysis than that the existing church-goer should display more religious enthusiasm. But the account he gave of the indifference of pewholders to the religious condition of the non-pewholders was virtually a confession that the pewholders are not animated by the Christian spirit, and made the subsequent call on them to display the Christian spirit—that is, the burning propagandist zeal which has given the Church all its triumphs—sound like a hollow form. It was like telling a man who does not love his mother that it is his duty to love her, and that his course in withholding his affection is erroneous. Did the motives exist to which the preachers appeal, the appeal would be needless.

The causes which have loosened the hold of the Church on the masses are not by any means so superficial as these discussions serve to make them appear, and are not to be overcome by any religious revival. Some of them lie at the very foundations of our civilization, and others are inherent in the voluntary system of supporting public worship. Putting aside altogether the influence of scientific scepticism on all classes, the poor have grown less amenable to religious influences just in proportion to the degree in which the possibilities of this life, as regards happiness and comfort, have apparently been increased. When Christianity first came, poverty was a status in which a man who was born was most likely to die, and down almost to the French Revolution this life was treated in politics and literature, as well as in the pulpit, as simply a period of probation, to be at most endured. Since that period the poor of the Western world have been steadily and successfully taught that the evils of their condition are mainly the result of bad government or defective social arrangements, and that a state of society in which happiness will be equably diffused is within easy reach. The literature of the song-book, of the newspaper and magazine, the oratory of the pulpit and platform, have now for a century been full of this idea, and it has spread wide and sunk deep, and has turned away the attention of the unfortunate from the remote and shadowy consolations of faith to the apparently nearer and more tangible consolations of material progress. It has to be borne in mind, too, that almost every modern state supplies in a greater or less degree to every poor citizen within its limits, without reference to his religious condition, the various blessings which the ancient and mediæval poor sought in the Church—the succor, help, and comfort, the protection and equality. In other words, the state has been so permeated with the principles of Christianity, that it goes far to supply the masses with the blessings which they once found only in the Church itself. One reason, in short, why the poor man has grown so indifferent about heaven above is that he thinks he has found, or is going to find, his heaven here below; and for this state of mind the Christian philanthropist is as much responsible as anybody. He forgot and forgets that the imagination of the ignorant is very defective; that it cannot embrace wide spaces or long periods or many objects; and that, if we fill it with the joys of this world, it is pretty sure to lose its hold on the joys of the world to come. And then the sentimental form which theology has taken in all the Protestant churches, its gradual substitution of somewhat vague moral suggestions for the didactic sternness and definiteness of the old dogmatism, has had much to do with their loss of influence over the poor. The seed of the word as sown in most of the pulpits to-day, needs a soil prepared by the tenderness, grace, and affection of a well-ordered and respectable home in order to take root and bear fruit. In falling on hearts hardened by the fierce conflict for mere animal existence, amidst squalor and hunger and peril and uncertainty, it is apt to fall on stony ground. Of the fact that there exists a close relation between material comfort and susceptibility to religious influences, there has been of late years a certain recognition by the Church in her dealings with foreign heathen; she will have to recognize it more fully before long in her dealings with domestic heathen.

The growth of artistic taste, too, combined with the passion for equality, is striking a serious blow at the voluntary system, as regards the relations of the Church to the masses. The love of beautiful and costly architecture, and of musical excellence and first-rate preaching, has taken or is taking hold of even the simplest Protestant denominations; and good taste, as we all know, is an expensive thing, and the gratification of it involves an attention to the purely business side of church matters which is a serious damper on propagandist zeal. When the pews of a church bring forty or fifty thousand dollars a year, or its music costs four or five thousand, it is not in human nature for the members to hunt up the halt and lame and blind and dirty and constrain them to come in. It would be

fatal to the Church on the commercial side if they did so; and the commercial side, as any deacon will tell you, is, in such a world as ours, in which taxes, interest, and salaries have to be paid, a side that needs looking after carefully. It is, indeed, hard to imagine anything more likely to make religion seem repelling to a poor man than the sight of one of the gorgeous edifices in which rich Christians nowadays try to make their way to heaven. Working out one's salvation clothed in the height of the fashion, as a member of a wealthy club, in a building in which the amplest provision is made for the gratification of all the finer senses, must seem to a thoughtful city mechanic, for instance, something in the nature of a burlesque. Not that the building is too good for the lofty purpose to which it is devoted, for nobody ever gets an impression of anything but solemn appropriateness from a great Catholic cathedral, but that it is the property of a close corporation who, as it might be said, "make up a party" to go to the Throne of Grace, and share the expenses equally, and fix the rate so high that only successful business-men can join. The congregational system of church maintenance, which is now really the system of all Protestant denominations, in which each church is the property of a small club, is incurably unfit for the needs of modern society, and the apparent absurdity of trying to change it is as good an illustration as we could ask of the worthlessness of revivals as indications of the real strength in our time of the Christian idea. The enthusiasm of the Rink, strong and deep as it may seem, has little of the force which conquered the barbarians, built the monasteries and cathedrals, and supplied the modern world with a new foundation for its polity.

## LIFE AT THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES—A CONTRAST.

October 25, 1875.

I CAN hardly imagine any greater contrast than that which could be drawn between the social coloring and surroundings of university life in England and Scotland. The existence of a favorite Park hack is very different from that of a Shetland pony in its native wilds, and the experiences of a drawing-room pug-dog and a rat-catcher's bull-pup are not identical. But I am not sure that the fortunes of these animals respectively present a more striking contrast than those of the smart Oxford or Cambridge undergraduate, in his jaunty cap and gown, and the lank Scottish student in his red-flannel cloak. University life in England is, in nine cases out of ten, a pleasant, cheery, easy-going continuation of the jolly life at a public school, with a little more freedom and rather more money to spend on amusement. University life at a Scottish university is an unkempt, hungry episode, where it is all work and no play, and, in the majority of cases, barely enough money to support existence. In England, the undergraduate's motto in many colleges would be:

"Gather ye rosebuds while ye may,
Old Time is still a-flying;
And this same flower that smiles to-day
To-morrow will be dying."

In Scotland, it would be (to borrow Sydney Smith's suggestion for the *Edinburgh Review*) "tenui meditamur avenâ"—"We pursue our studies on a little oatmeal." An Oxford "freshman" comes up from Eton or Harrow, where he had a snug little study of his own, luxuriously furnished for a school-boy, with his sofa and arm-chair and little library of tattered books, his mirror ornamented with a couple of hunting whips and a fox's brush which he had secured in his holidays, and his fox-hunting or stage-coaching pictures hung round in neat oak frames. He had had his own bed in his dormitory, and his bath, and ivory-backed hair-brushes with his monogram neatly inscribed, and perhaps his miniature top-boots, which his vanity prompted him to bring to "the shop" with him in order to excite the envy of his schoolfellows. At college, he has his rooms furnished after the same model, but on a very different scale of grandeur. The miniature top-boots have amplified into full-sized realities. He keeps a couple of hunters and a hack, and goes out three times a week with the hounds when he ought to be at chapel and lectures. He has his man to wait on him, and such time as he can spare from his wine parties, and his late suppers, and his whist, he gives up to the study of æsthetics, or athletics if his taste lie that way, and, if he contemplates a Parliamentary career, to the cultivation of public speaking at the "Union Debating Society." He has a vacation at Christmas, when he goes covert-shooting and hunting alternate days; a recess at Easter, when the attractions of London life will open to him, or perhaps he will take a run over to Paris; and he has a long vacation of three months and a half in summer, when he will ascend great mountains in Switzerland, or go grouse-shooting and salmon-fishing in Scotland with a little deer-stalking thrown in, or, what perhaps is the happiest time of his whole undergraduate career, join a long-vacation reading party in some beautiful spot in the Westmoreland Lake country or the north of Devonshire, with two or three congenial spirits whom he has known from boyhood, and read and bathe, and flirt with the young ladies in the neighborhood, and discuss modern poetry and ancient philosophy, with all the ardor and enthusiasm that health and vigor and comfortable means and freedom from care inspire in British youth.

And now, take a student at a Scottish university. He is not unlikely the eldest of eleven brothers and sisters brought up in his father's bothie, consisting of a "butt and a benn," in the West Highlands of Scotland. His father is a shepherd with £20 a year of wages, besides his house, cow's grass, and croft or potato-field. The lad had walked to the parochial school—six miles there and six miles back—every day, winter and summer, since he was a child. He had done well there, and his father and mother, more especially his mother, were seized with the ambition, like the parents of Dominie Sampson in 'Guy Mannering,' to see their son "wag his pow in a pulpit." By dint of great sacrifices, they had managed to send him to the high-school at Inverness or Glasgow, and from thence to the university. There he would probably lodge with another student in a garret furnished with a single bed, a small table and a stool, and without a fireplace, for which he would pay 3s. 6d. a week. His whole expenses, including his college fees, would not amount to £25 a year; and this he would probably earn in the summer by teaching a school in some remote part of the Highlands, or perhaps as "ghillie" to an English undergraduate on his Perthshire moor. Or, failing any such wage-bringing occupation, he would return to his father's cottage and help him to herd his sheep all day, and teach his brothers and sisters in the evening.

I do not mean that all English undergraduates are necessarily the pleasure-loving and pleasure-enjoying lads I have pictured; nor that every Scottish student shares a lodging with another at 3s. 6d. a week. But I do not exaggerate when I say that a not inconsiderable proportion of men at Christ Church, University, and Merton Colleges in Oxford, and at Trinity and Magdalen Colleges in Cambridge, do lead very much such a life as I have described, and, what is more, that they turn out to be useful and active members of society after their crop of wild oats has been taken in. At Balliol and Corpus and New Colleges in Oxford, and at Kings and Trinity—because Trinity is a sort of Noah's ark which takes in animals of every kind—in Cambridge, there are many hard-reading men who are only a little less industrious than the Scottish students. And, with regard to these latter, I have stumbled upon some curious facts which bear me out in my description. It appears that certain statistics were collected in 1867 as to the professions of the parents of the students at the different Scottish universities, which may be summarized as follows: Out of 882 students who in that year attended the Latin, Greek, and mathematical classes in the universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St. Andrews, and the junior Latin and Greek classes in the University of Aberdeen, no less than 29 were sons of common laborers, farm-servants, and miners; 16 per cent. of the whole number belonged to that class of men who live by skilled labor and artisan work, blacksmiths, shoemakers, weavers, masons, carpenters, and the like; 125 were the sons of farmers; 111 were the sons of Presbyterian ministers; 94 of shopkeepers; and 39 of schoolmasters. This is a striking testimony to the cosmopolitan character of the Scottish universities, and goes some way to explain the proud boast of a Scottish Education Commission, that the proportion of matriculated students to the population is much higher than it is in any other country in Europe, or indeed in the world. In Scotland, they say there is one student to every 1,000 of the population, but in the whole of Germany there is one to every 2,600 of the population, while in England it is only one to every 5,800 of the population.

The balance, however, of enjoyment of life is to some extent redressed when we turn from the taught to the teachers, and compare the lives of the dons and tutors at the English universities with those of the professors at the Scottish universities. An old college tutor is one of the loneliest creatures in the universe. He has no wife or, as Isaac Casaubon called the person standing in that relation to him, no "domestic hindrance to his studies," and no children. Most of his friends have got livings in the country, or have gone to London, or have become professors in some Scottish university. He has nothing to bestow affection on except his books; no one to quarrel with except his servant; no one to scold except his under-

graduate pupils, who laugh in their sleeves at the old man's anger and make fun of him among their fellows. He has his rooms in college, his meals in Hall, and his port-wine and coffee in Common-room. But he has no peace in any of the three. His rooms may be just over a rollicking freshman who carries on convivial entertainments till all hours of the morning, or just under a musical or Ritualistic scholar with an unceasing instrument. In Hall there is the constant din of undergraduate prattle, and in Common-room a running fire of classical jokes and academic witticisms from the junior dons. He can never shake himself free of his tutorial duties. Chapel in the mornings, lectures in the forenoons, improving walks with promising pupils between lectures and dinner; essays and exercises, bad Latin prose and worthless Greek iambics, to look over and correct all night. Even his vacations he can hardly call his own. He probably remains in college during the Christmas and Easter recess, and takes a reading party with him in the long vacation. It is a forlorn, monkish, half-developed life. But, withal, it is a useful life, only in nine cases out of ten the utility of it is of the same kind as the benevolent utility of a maiden aunt. There are, of course, very many exceptions to this sort of existence both in Oxford and Cambridge—men who succeed in influencing to the best ends many generations of young Englishmen, who become prominent and useful members of society; and there are others who make names for themselves in the highest paths of literature. There are some, too, who have energy and force of character to do both these things—to do their duty unwearyingly towards their pupils and to become distinguished men themselves. And these men, no doubt, lead as happy and quite as useful lives as the happiest of the Scottish professors. And what an enviable term of learned leisure these eminent professors have! Their university terms begin in November and end in April—just the time a man wants some gentle occupation in a pleasant town like the capital of Scotland. The whole of spring, the whole of summer, and nearly the whole of autumn is their own, to do with it what they like. During all that time they are not called upon to give a thought to their professorial duties. They can go abroad or to their country-houses—and most of them have their country-houses—or to their yachts, or, if they prefer it, they can stay in their university homes, surrounded by their families, and occupy themselves upon some *magnum opus* which will make their fame. And during session, their labors are not herculean. They teach their huge classes of one hundred or one hundred and fifty raw Scottish students, or lecture to them, two hours a day, for five days in the week; and after the fatigues of the day are over, at twelve or one o'clock they return to their homes to luncheon, and are not called upon to give another thought to their students till ten o'clock next morning. No wonder that their life is envied by the English don, who cannot shake himself free of the inevitable undergraduate by day or night. There is, however, one crook in their lot—they are doomed by the exigencies of the Scottish school and university system to teach the elements of Greek and Latin and mathematics, and they have next to no endowments!

## THE ULTRAMONTANE CHECK IN BAVARIA.

October 25, 1875.

BAVARIA was the last to leave the stage of German politics this summer, and now she has been the first to reappear on it. Thanks to the tactics of the Ultramontanes, this opening of the political campaign has been of great dramatic effect; whether it is to have any material results of great importance, only the future can reveal. Some Liberal papers try to persuade themselves and the public that a decisive victory has been won; in fact, only a violent but exceedingly ill-managed attack has been repulsed.

You remember that the Ultramontanes had elected a majority of two into the Lower Chamber, 79 against 77; since then one of the Liberal delegates has died, so that at present the parties stand 79 to 76. There was from the first no doubt that, on the strength of this majority of two, the Ultramontanes would claim it as a right, which the Government was bound scrupulously to respect, that the present cabinet should be forthwith dismissed. Dr. Jörg went so far as to blame the Ministers severely for not evacuating the field as soon as the result of the elections was known. But even if Bavaria could be admitted to be a constitutional state, in the sense we are wont to attach to the word with regard to England, the model constitutional monarchy, the precedents would not fully bear out the claim of the Ultramontanes. I need not remind American readers for how long a time Pitt faced a much larger hostile majority in the House of Commons. The contest lasted from the 17th of December, 1783, to the 8th of March, 1784. In sixteen divisions the Opposition triumphed. But the "angry boy," as only a short time before Sheridan had called Pitt, stood his ground until he had reduced the majority of the coalition to a single vote in a full House, and then he dissolved Parliament, appealing to the nation, and coming out of the new elections "the greatest subject that England had seen during many generations." In this respect, therefore, the Bavarian Ultramontanes want to outdo the constitutionalism of England; while, on the other hand, they take exception to the very corner-stone of parliamentary government as understood in England. Among the great quantity of misdemeanors laid to the charge of Dr. Faeustle, the Minister of the Department of Justice, his being a member of the Lower Chamber has been so strongly emphasized that he has thought proper to subject the charge to a full and close examination, deeming it even necessary to resort to precedents for his justification. According to his accusers, a cabinet minister can hardly have the time to attend with due diligence to his duties as a delegate, and, principally, it cannot be proper for him to accept of a seat because his judgment as a delegate must be influenced by the fact of his being a cabinet minister. Have these people ever so much as heard of there being a great kingdom known by the name of Great Britain? A constitutional monarchy with a so strictly parliamentary government that a majority of two against them in the Lower Chamber should cause the cabinet to resign at once, and in which it is nevertheless highly improper for a minister to be a member of the Lower Chamber, is certainly an invention worthy to challenge the highest admiration. And the best of it is that there is not the slightest trace of constitutional law in this valiant onset for the maintenance of constitutionalism in Bavaria. Not only does the letter of the Bavarian constitution know nothing of its being the duty of the king to select the members of his cabinet in conformity to the views of the majority in the Lower Chamber, but such a fetter on the will of the sovereign is also most unquestionably against the spirit of it.

It is, of course, fully admitted on all sides that a permanent disagreement between the "Government" and the Chambers on the whole tenor and tendency of the policy to be pursued would finally result in a fatal standstill of the whole political machinery. The minority only insist that, rather than yield to the present majority, this danger should be incurred for a while, in order to try whether a favorable turn of the party scales cannot be brought about. The telegraph will have informed you that the king has adopted this view, and prorogued the Landtag for an indefinite time on the 19th inst.

The Ultramontanes had overcharged their gun, and it has burst. From the very first moment they were anxious to show in a most signal manner that they were determined to bend the king at the first onset at the risk of breaking—not him, but their own small chance, which they had secured by the utmost exertions. The "Bureau" of the Chamber was composed entirely of Ultramontanes, though it is a pretty well-established usage in our representative bodies to accord a share in it to large minorities, and though the Liberals, when they had the majority, at once offered the Opposition one seat in it. So there was no doubt left that what I ventured to predict some months ago had actually taken place: the lead had been accorded to the extremists. And yet the actual state of affairs is not quite correctly so to be described. Infallibility is evidently not confined to the Pope. If there is another instance in the parliamentary history of the world of one man exercising such a despotic sway over his party as Dr. Jörg has done in this session of the Bavarian Landtag, and of a party glorying so much in playing the part of a senseless herd, I have never heard of it. Dr. Jörg, as chairman of the committee to prepare the draught of an address to the king, obstinately refused to make known his draught to the members of the committee before the formal discussion of it. Though this was another flagrant violation of a well-established custom, the chairman was fully sustained by the majority of the committee, who—again trampling under foot all precedents—voted further to have the room cleared of all members of the House attending the debate as listeners and spectators. When the Liberals complained of unfair play, because the draught had undoubtedly been concerted in a caucus of the Ultramontanes, Dr. Jörg emphatically denied it, declaring that nobody beside himself had the slightest knowledge of it. Mr. Von Stauffenberg, the leader of the Liberals, was therefore certainly correct in declaring that he could not treat it as the draught of the majority, but only as the draught of Dr. Jörg. The committee, however, as well as the House, swallowed it whole without wincing. According to certain ultra-democratic papers, Dr. Jörg has proved himself a political tactician of a very high order, first, by carefully avoiding to proffer any specific charges against the cabinet, with the single exception of the gerrymandering of the election districts; and, secondly, by not so much as alluding to the "Culturkampf." The quarrel about the election districts can hardly be of interest to Americans. Suffice it to say that the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* has proved, in three long and very-carefully prepared articles, that,

from whichever point of view one may look at the question, there is not the shadow of a foundation for the complaints brought against the cabinet on this head. So the only specific charge falls to the ground, while the general accusations appear in such a dress that the Ultramontanes, if they themselves believed in their justness, would have shamefully failed to do their duty in not proposing at once the impeachment of the Ministers.

That this bullying tone would make an impression on the king was certain enough, but to suppose that it would have the desired effect was exceedingly naïve. The king has many peculiarities which will always be a great temptation for *Kladderadatsch*, but he is a perfect and high-toned gentleman, quick to resent the slightest attack on his royal dignity; with all his jealous watching over the sovereignty of Bavaria, a good German patriot; and not only in his romantic whims, but also in all other things, of a lofty, though eccentric turn of mind. As neither the coarse abuse of the Ministers, nor the still coarser flattery showered on himself, could produce anything but disgust in his mind, so something more than the mere not mentioning of the "Culturkampf" would have been necessary to deceive him about the plans of the Ultramontanes. Dr. Jörg, while priding himself on the fact that he is the first Ultramontane who ever took a seat in the Bavarian Landtag, passionately disclaims that the present majority of 79 are the representatives of the Ultramontane party, or, in fact, any party at all; they are nothing but "Bavarian patriots," striving to save Bavaria from being swallowed up by the Empire, and to secure once more to the country the blessings of justice, liberty, and peace. The Ministers, on the other hand, have declared, in so many words, that what these "patriots" are really aiming at is to bring the state under the yoke of Rome, and the king has refused to receive the address and has kept his cabinet, expressing in the strongest terms his full confidence in its integrity and statesmanship. And this declaration is, by royal command, to be sent to every burgomaster of the kingdom, and to be read by him to the assembled community. The historical word of his ancestor, "I will have peace with my people," of which Dr. Jörg had tried to make a stumbling-block for him, the royal hand has taken up to use as a war-club. Now the Bavarian people hear, in a manner which admits of no quibbling, what the real opinion of their king is with regard to the political manœuvres of their priests, and we shall see who has the strongest hold on their hearts—the King or the Pope. Were it indeed a master-stroke, yet without the hoped-for effect, no blame would fall on him who has dealt it. What its probable effect will be you may learn from the very best authority. The *Germania* writes: "Our party is not yet so far along that it can already attain decisive successes; we should, therefore, deem it a misfortune if a momentarily favorable constellation of circumstances should give it a victory which it could neither maintain nor sufficiently improve. The Bavarian patriots are for the present saved from this danger." But, in spite of this authoritative testimony, I repeat what I said in the beginning—no decisive victory has been won, but only an exceedingly ill-managed attack repulsed. Space and time forbid me to give to-day the reasons on which this opinion rests, but opportunities enough will be offered to throw sufficient light on them in future letters, though these may treat of subjects without any apparent connection with this question.

# Correspondence.

## CAN CONGRESS REISSUE GREENBACKS FOR EVER?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: A correspondent in your No. 539 suggests the propriety of Congress passing a law to restrict legal tender to gold and silver after July 4, 1876, but he can hardly have much faith in believing that Congress will ever pass such a statute. I do not, however, think it necessary, because I believe such is the law to-day, though my faith is not very strong that the Supreme Court of the United States would so declare it.

The cases of Knox *v.* Lee and Parker *v.* Davis (12 Wallace, p. 457), which reversed Hepburn *v.* Griswold and sustained the constitutionality of the legal-tender clause, gave the war as the excuse for the legislation, and go no further than to justify the legal-tender clause during the war. The Court says, p. 553, "for the time being"; p. 560, "during the pending exigency"; p. 563, "for the time being"—afterwards, on the same page, defined to be "when the exigencies of the State rightfully absorb all subordinate considerations of private interest, convenience, or feeling," and, p. 567, "upon extraordinary and pressing occasions, such as war or other public exigencies of great gravity and importance." So the last statute authorizes the issue of greenbacks "if required by the exigencies of the public service, and for the payment of the army and navy and other creditors of the Government"; and with regard to the reissue of the notes one statute says: "From time to time, as the exigencies of the public interests (in another statute 'services') shall require." Finally, on this point the Court says, p. 567, "And should be no longer exerted than all the circumstances of the case demand"; and, p. 541, "It is urged now after the lapse of nine years, and when the emergency has passed."

It is true that the question when the exigency ceases is one which the Court declares is within the discretion of Congress, but this discretion goes only to the determination of the time when the greenbacks shall be redeemed, and unfortunately, under the decision, if not otherwise controlled, would leave Congress able, as I fear it is too willing, to neglect for ever to redeem the greenback, and thus practically make it read "this is a dollar"—a conclusion which the Supreme Court was not willing to allow, although unwilling to deny.

The greenbacks are not a legal tender to-day; first, because of the reissue of notes from the $44,000,000 which were retired, cancelled, and destroyed, and their commingling with the $356,000,000 of original notes outstanding, and the consequent destruction thereby of the possibility of proving a legal tender, since the reissue notes are not a legal tender, and their separation from the otherwise legal-tender notes cannot be made. Second, because the emergency which called the legal-tenders into existence has passed; and the notes, which are certificates of debt, and are so declared by the Supreme Court, have been, since the cessation of the exigency, all redeemed by the Government in internal-revenue receipts, and, although reissued from time to time, have been so under conditions of peace, and must be tested as to their legal-tender quality by the circumstances of the time of their reissue. The reasoning of the cases in the Supreme Court would not now justify them; and the matter is not within the discretion of Congress, since the reissue is a different thing from the redemption of the greenback. The redemption has been made, and the discretion of Congress is exhausted. The reissue is as if no such note had ever been out.

Even if the Court should extend the discretion of Congress to the reissue of the greenbacks, such extension would be limited by the language of the acts themselves to be exercised only so long as the exigencies of the public interests or services should require; and the redemption by the Government of its bonds before their maturity is too plain proof to be gainsaid that the exigencies have ceased. With their cessation has ceased also the authority given to Congress to reissue greenbacks. J.

Cincinnati, O., Oct. 30, 1875.

[J. D.'s reasoning strikes us as remarkably sound, but the misfortune is that the Supreme Court, in laying it down that Congress has the right, at its discretion, to issue irredeemable money, has thrown open the doors to a wide and arbitrary exercise of power which it cannot now control. Down to the time of the reargument of the legal-tender cases, the Court had the matter within its grasp. They might perfectly well have brought the legal-tender delusion to an end by their decision, but they were afraid to do it, and the result is that, as our correspondent points out, they have made it impossible to say what the limit of the legal-tender power is. Apparently Congress can, if it chooses to say that the "public exigencies" require it, do anything it pleases with the currency, and the vague, weak, and vacillating opinions in the legal-tender cases seem to show that little is to be hoped from the Court of last resort. The fact is that constitutional law as a protection against the paper-money madness has broken down; we have little to hope for from any system of hermeneutics that may be adopted at Washington, and we must rely now on our own exertions to restore the currency to a sound condition.—Ed. Nation]

# Notes.

Henry Holt & Co. announce as nearly ready a fifth volume of Mill's 'Dissertations and Discussions,' consisting of five papers on land tenure and various reviews; and two editions of Taine's 'Philosophy of Art in Italy.' Next year they will publish also the latter's 'Genesis of Contemporary France.'——The Misses Smith, of Glastonbury, Conn., whose struggles with the tax-collector have given them a wide notoriety, announce through the *Woman's Journal* that they are about to publish through a Hartford firm an original translation of the Bible. They make the rather

surprising statement that they have written out the Bible (*sic*) five times—twice from the Hebrew, twice from the Greek, and once from the Vulgate.——Gen. W. B. Hazen, U. S. A., has just printed at Minneapolis a small pamphlet entitled 'Some Corrections of 'Life on the Plains.'' Gen. Custer, in the work cited, had blamed Gen. Hazen for protecting at Fort Cobb the Kiowas fresh from the bloody engagement of Washita ; and Gen. Sheridan had adopted this view. Gen. Hazen puts the matter beyond dispute. Some few Kiowas, but not those by agreement under his charge at Fort Cobb, took part in the fight at Washita ; and duty not less than humanity constrained him to prevent Gen. Custer's command from slaughtering in their lodges the then peaceful and unoffending main body of the Kiowas.——G. P. Putnam's Sons have in press a Japanese romance, entitled 'Chinshingura ; or, The Loyal League,' translated by Fred. V. Dickins, with notes and an appendix containing a metrical version of the 'Ballad of Takasagi.' Fac-simile illustrations of the original Japanese text and of Japanese engravings will also distinguish the volume. Messrs. Putnam are to be the American publishers of the international 'Library of Contemporary Science,' of which three volumes—on linguistics, biology, and anthropology—are already announced.——Trübner & Co.'s fall announcements include 'Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History,' by James Picciotto ; a new edition of Greg's 'Literary and Social Judgments,' with a portrait of the author ; 'Christianity and Buddhism Compared,' by the late R. Spence Hardy ; 'Chinese Sketches,' by Herbert A. Giles ; and a collection of Chinese proverbs by William Scarborough, Wesleyan missionary at Hankow.——Among the fictions which are announced to appear in the excellent French juvenile *Magasin d'Education*, are 'Le Courrier du Czar,' by Jules Verne, one of the editors of the magazine, and translations of Mr. Aldrich's 'Story of a Bad Boy,' and Mr. Bret Harte's 'Baby Sylvester'—this last by M. Th. Bentzon, who has contributed to the *Revue d's Deux Mondes* many translations of characteristic sketches of American life and manners.

—We have received from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania their new historical map of that State. Although it is the result of more than twenty years of research on the part of the compiler, Mr. P. W. Sheafer, it is in the nature of a first proof, and is sent out for corrections and additions by the learned in such matters. So far as we are aware, no other State has ever been mapped in this way ; for New Jersey and Delaware, however, the present sheet contains a large number of details that would prove most useful to their respective cartographers. In Pennsylvania we have the physical features sufficiently indicated, along with the county and other territorial divisions ; the several purchases from the aborigines ; the Indian trails ; the sites of forts, battle-fields, and naval engagements ; the various settlements, with date affixed, etc. Especially has an effort been made to preserve the Indian names of places, rivers, and mountains. The State boundary lines at different epochs are also carefully laid down, most famous as well as most familiar being Mason and Dixon's. Across the Delaware is marked the Province line between East and West Jersey, still traceable in the western boundaries of Ocean, Monmouth, and Somerset Counties. The scale of the map is about twelve miles to the inch, and for the larger portion of the State this gives ample room for the lettering, but in the counties along the Delaware either more room was desirable or more artistic lettering. In fact, if the Society could afford it, one would feel inclined to recommend putting the present map as raw material into the hands of professional map-makers like those of Gotha, or, to go less far away from home, like Mr. Julius Bien and his assistants in this city. But it will doubtless be best to await the much-needed scientific survey of the State. Meantime, we suggest to the Society whether it be not practicable to make a series of smaller maps, of the size of the text which accompanies this one, and to be bound ultimately in the same covers, showing at convenient periods the extent of settlement in Pennsylvania and, in the manner of Gen. Walker's 'Statistical Atlas,' the density of population.

—The full report of Rohlfs's expedition in the Libyan Desert is to be published in three volumes by T. Fischer in Cassel. The first volume will constitute an independent book, and contain the leader's general report. This will be accompanied by engravings, a map, and sixteen photographs, after those of Remelé taken for the Khedive, of whose excellence and rarity we spoke in No. 514 of the *Nation*. The other two volumes are to contain details of the scientific work of the exploring party, including the results of a full examination of the collections brought back to Europe. The first volume is now appearing in monthly parts. The distinguished explorer made his first public appearance in this city before the American Geographical Society last Thursday evening.

—Professor Richard A. Proctor, in one of his recent lectures on astronomy, has been following the example of Professor Tyndall, by "abandoning all disguise" with regard to the origin of things. The New York *Tribune* thought and said that he had announced his "conversion" to the doctrine of evolution, but he writes to that journal to explain "what has really taken place." We give the account of it in his own language :

"Let the dogmatic teachings of a particular church be called A, and let the teachings of science be called B. Then either (1) A and B are consistent, or, being inconsistent, the error lies (2) with A or (3) with B. Two years ago I was satisfied with the first of these explanations. But you know what happened after the Belfast address. Theologians, who ought at least to know what their Church requires, proclaimed loudly that the views B are utterly inconsistent with the views A. They convinced me that that is so; while I remained as well satisfied as ever that views B are right in the main. My obvious inference is that some error exists in views A. Theologians who teach A assure me that I must either accept A without question or depart from among them. My choice between these alternatives could not be doubtful. Hence, simply the most marked circumstance of my change of position."

We think we can make the matter even clearer than this without the aid of a diagram or of algebraic signs. Prof. Proctor was, we believe, a Catholic. Until lately, he thought the dogmatic account given by his Church of the origin of the world was reconcilable with the teachings of science. In the year 1872, however, he learnt from certain theologians, who disapproved of Professor Tyndall's Belfast address, that he had been mistaken, and received notice from them that if he adhered to the teachings of science he must "depart from among them" ; and he has accordingly done so. Now, the only thing remarkable in all this is that Professor Proctor, although a scientific man, should have held that two views of the origin of things, one of which he now confesses he did not understand, were entirely compatible. That a gentleman who forms his opinions in this loose way should have recently had his eyes opened to the error of one of them is, or ought to be, doubtless, a gratifying circumstance to his personal friends. But it can hardly be said to have much scientific or public importance, and we think both the *Tribune* and Mr. Proctor himself have given too much attention to it. A scientific man, as such, can properly only hold that the teachings of science and those of a particular Church are consistent after a proper examination of both. If he reaches or has reached this conclusion without such examination—or, in other words, has held it unintelligently or ignorantly—his proper course is to say nothing about the matter, and politeness requires that his friends should not allude to it.

—Preparatory to a prolonged absence in Europe, a collector in this city recently sold six pictures, which have since been on exhibition at Knoedler's gallery. They are "Partie Perdue," by Meissonier ; "Molière chez Louis XIV.," by Gérôme ; "Les Contributions Indirectes," by Zamacoïs ; "La Fin de la Journée," by Jules Breton ; "Les Enfants de la Princesse Clothilde," by Alma Tadema ; and "La Halte de la Diligence," by J. G. Vibert. With the exception of Zamacoïs, the artists are all living. The price paid (reported as $50,000) was probably the largest ever given in this country at private sale for six pictures, and there seems to be little doubt that it was far less than the market-value in Paris, whither the purchaser at once shipped them for sale. Most of these paintings were originally bought in 1866, and a good profit has now been realized upon them. The Zamacoïs was the most judicious investment; it was purchased from the artist before the opening of the salon of 1866 for twenty-five hundred francs. Before it left the salon ten thousand francs was offered for it ; it has now been sold for about fifteen thousand francs, and the buyer has already refused an advance of fifteen per cent. ; he holds it for sale at twenty-five thousand francs. It is to be regretted that these pictures could not have remained in this country. The Meissonier was probably the finest specimen of the artist's work ever brought to America. The Vibert was sent over to Europe two years ago at the artist's request to be exhibited in Vienna. The "Molière chez Louis XIV." was the original ; a replica was painted in 1866 by Gérôme's pupils for the use of the engraver, which was afterwards retouched by the artist himself and sold. Molière has been introduced by M. Gérôme, this time in conjunction with Scarron, into a more recent picture exhibited in the salon of 1874, "Une Collaboration," of which there was a wood-cut in the *Art Journal* for last February.

—Before Gérôme, Ingres had painted "Molière chez Louis XIV."; and yet there would seem to be no truth in the anecdote which suggested the pictures. M. Eugène Despois, the editor of what is likely to be the standard edition of Molière, devotes to its demolition a whole chapter of his interesting volume on 'Le Théâtre Français sous Louis XIV.,' which he sarcastically entitles "La Légende de l'en-cas de nuit." Molière was an hereditary valet-de-chambre of the king, and as such assisted in the formal making of the king's bed. According to the anecdote, some of the noble valets objected

to such association with a comedian. To rebuke them, Louis XIV. ordered in the repast which was always ready in case the monarch should feel hungry in the night, and, commanding Molière to sit down, his majesty himself helped him to the wing of a chicken, in the presence of the discomfited courtiers. This is a very pretty story, and it is almost a pity that it is not true. But the evidences in its favor are so slight as to be well-nigh valueless, while the evidence against it is so strong as to be well-nigh overwhelming. In the fierce light which beat upon his throne we see the life of Louis XIV. as we can see that of but few men. Every incident of his long reign is down in black and white in the interminable memoirs and correspondence of the time. But in neither letter nor diary is there any reference to an incident which in the eyes of the courtiers would have been of unexampled importance. The story was first made public in 1823 in the memoirs of Mme. Campan, who said she had it from her father, who had it from an old physician-in-ordinary to Louis XIV. Since 1823 it has been repeated time and again. But there is positive evidence to corroborate the negative. Saint-Simon declares distinctly that except in the army the king never ate with any man, not even with the princes of the blood-royal, excepting only at the feasts he gave them at their weddings. In short, the story rests solely upon the second-hand authority of an anonymous physician. M. Despois despairs of ever weakening the popular belief in the incident.

—In No. 534 we mentioned the swindling sales of so-called American degrees carried on abroad. The subject has been ventilated again of late in the English papers, and the London *Lancet* expresses the hope that Congress may be led to do something for the regulation of medical degrees among us. The character of these bogus degrees has been so often and so fully exposed (we believe one was overhauled in a German court last winter) that one might suppose the demand would have ceased. Mr. Sparke's correspondence with the educational authorities in Washington and Pennsylvania, to which we alluded the other day, resulted in an announcement that the charter of the notorious "American University of Philadelphia" was revoked some years ago. If this mean before the autumn of 1873, it has certainly had little influence on the operations of the active agents for the sale of its diplomas abroad, though the advertisements have been less numerous this summer than for some time. We are informed that in October, 1873, "Medicus" continued to promise an "M.D." or "Ph.D." in consideration of $125. He was still distributing a little tract, dated "October, 1872," and *printed in German* for "private circulation among students and candidates [for a degree]," setting forth the innumerable privileges and facilities of the "University" as well as the eminence and literary activity of its "thirty to forty" professors (particularly of Dr. J. Buchanan), but above all calling the attention of intending foreign candidates to P. F. W. van der Vyver, Dr. jur. (?), of Jersey (Eng.), who was authorized to arrange for parchment certificates of an education in their absence. Mr. Sparke's experience shows that "Medicus" (*i.e.*, v. d. Vyver) is still active, and we learn from a Philadelphia paper that he last year extended his operations to Spain. He is not wanting in a kind of grim humor, and once informed a correspondent that his university was "a far superior establishment than the Harvard College" whose new degree in Philosophy he was asked to *purchase*. Philadelphia is not alone in the glory of this trade. A London agent recently offered to procure the LL.D. degree of the "Livingstone University" (Haddonfield, N. J.) "in consideration of a subscription to the building fund." In September, a certain (or uncertain) E. Sturman ("Packington College, 145 Packington Street, London, N.") wrote an assistant of a leading firm of London druggists: "I can influence you the diploma of A.M. and Ph.D., or B.Sc., or D.Sc., etc., from *several universities in the States* . . . if you will send the fee (£15) I will send you the document at once with the registration certificate." No names of universities were given, and the correspondence was unfortunately published without waiting for details.

—Meanwhile, the traffic still goes on in Germany. Within a few weeks one of our correspondents has been offered a degree in Medicine or Philosophy by a Berlin agent. He proposed a document from Philadelphia or Haddonfield in return for $130. The degrees were declared to be very popular, and to have been extensively sold, and to be useful "in the provinces as well as in Berlin." The Berliner knew of no choice in the "Universities," and, pressed for particulars, sent the annual announcement for 1873–4 of the "American University of Philadelphia," as advertised by "John Buchanan, M.D., Dean." It may seem superfluous to devote so much space to such a subject. If foreigners care for this sort of thing, it may be said, let them get cheated. Bogus degrees, however, are not like poor mowing-machines or bad oil: the fact of their being sold at all has reflected severely upon all our higher institutions of learning. It is not enough to reply that German universities have had a very bad name too, so bad that some years ago one of the best of those in Prussia, exasperated by frequent enquiry from England concerning the price of a degree *in absentia*, felt called upon to announce publicly that it only gave degrees upon examination. All interested in the higher education among us may be very sure that these bogus degrees have really done us harm by lessening, where possible, foreign (and particularly German) esteem for our colleges. Many an American has been abashed on being asked by educated Germans, and in earnest, too, if this Philadelphia concern (whose abode is or was 514 Pine Street) be not our first University. And perhaps none of our institutions is safe from the insult of being addressed by traffickers on the other side in letters like the following, which we are permitted to publish, and which, it will be observed, is a very late instance:

"2 Lombard Court, Grace Church Street, [altered to]
Parker, 89 Chancery Lane,
Solicitor. "London, England, 9 October, 1875.

"Sir: I have a student with me who is desirous of proceeding to the degree of B.A.* *in absentia*. I therefore beg to enquire if your University will confer it upon him, and if so, what fees shall I remit for?

"Writing you in strict confidence, I am, yours truly,
"Thomas Parker.

* Or M.A.

"To the Secretary Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Greene County, Ohio."

—The following case of "journalism" occurred in the New York *Times* of November 13 and November 15. It is curious and instructive to see the way the quotation-marks are worked in as the writer gets heated and reckless over his own errors. The Italics are ours:

(*The Nation*, *November* 12.)

The plain facts of the case are *that the Reformers solemnly called on Tammany two years ago to reform the organization and expel the bad men.* So Kelly, assisted by a few respectable men like Mr. A. S. Hewitt, did drive out Morrissey and his following, probably the worst lot of rascals by which any Christian city was ever infested.

The above, as journalized by the *Times:*

(*Times*, *November* 13.)

Then the *Nation* said that "Morrissey and his kind" *were driven out of Tammany Hall two years ago*, whereas nothing of the sort took place two years, or even one year, ago.

(*Times*, *ovember* 15.)

The *Nation*, with astonishing ignorance of all the facts, says that "*Morrissey* and his kind *were driven out of Tammany Hall two years ago.*" Morrissey was, indeed, driven out a few months ago, in consequence of a personal quarrel with Fox and Kelly—but was Fox, a much worse man in every way, driven out?

—Messrs. Head & Meek, of Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London, have published a curious series of reprints of old English newspapers and gazettes from 1538 down to modern times. They all made their original appearance at important dates, and give the public the benefit of important news. The first of them is the *English Mercurie* (published by Authoritie. For the Prevention of false Reports), dated at Whitehall, July 23, 1588, containing the earliest intelligence of the descent upon the English coast of the Spanish *Armado*, and the naval fight between the galleons and galleasses of Duke Medina-Sidonia and the English under the Lord High Admiral as well as Sir Francis Drake, and Rear-Admirals Hawkins and Frobisher, who, about one in the afternoon, with eighty sail, came in sight of the Spanish armada "sailing in the form of a half-moon, the points whereof were seven leagues asunder." The galleons and galleasses were of a size "never seen before in our seas," and appeared like "floatinge castles." Nevertheless, "acclamations of joy resounded through the whole fleet," and the action began which ended so disastrously for the pride of "our bigotted and bloode-thirsty adversaries the Spaniards." No. 19 of the *Weekely Newes* (January 31, 1666) contains an account of the execution of Thomas Winter, Rookewood, Keyes, and "the great Devil of all, Guy Fawkes, *alias* Johnson," whose body was so weak with torture and sickness that he was "scarce able to go up the ladder, yet with much ado, by the help of the hangman, went high enough to break his neck by the fall." As we come down to modern times, we find newspapers announcing the Death of Oliver Cromwell, the Plague, the Great Fire of London, and among the files of the *Times* the news of the Battle of the Nile, of Copenhagen, of Trafalgar, the funeral of Lord Nelson, and finally, the Battle of Waterloo. Altogether, the collection is curious and interesting, though it has an illusory effect in bringing us, for perspective, almost too near the great events of the past. To journalists the collection will be very interesting, as it throws a good deal of light on the progress of the newspaper from the time when it was a sort of official bulletin issued "for the prevention of false

reports" to the present century, in which journalism has become a profession the members of which have for their chief duty not the suppression but the dissemination of reports of all sorts.

—A report from Cavallari (*Bullettino della commissione di antichità e belle arti di Sicilia*, No. 7, Parte Prima, Palermo, 1874) adds considerably to our knowledge of Selinus and its ruins. In 1872 Cavallari discovered the extensive necropolis of Selinus; in 1873 and 1874 he burrowed further, and found in all directions graves with vases. In order to complete his plan of Selinus, he undertook to find the street leading out from the city to the necropolis. Removing the masses of sand, he came upon the ruins of a smallish stone building, nearly square, and of the purest Doric, apparently of the fifth century before Christ, although in this matter of dates there is still some uncertainty. Some 800 lamps and statuettes were picked up in the building and its immediate vicinity. An inscription, of which almost the only word legible was HEKATAI, led to the conjecture that it was a temple of Hekate. But it now appears from the full plan and description that there is no cella, and, furthermore, both the east and the west ends are alike open. In all probability, therefore, it was a sort of portal or lodge to the cemetery. If so, it is the only building of the kind known. Further excavations on the acropolis of Selinus have unearthed quantities of weapons on the spot where Cavallari puts the agora. As the last stand made by the men of Selinus against the hordes of Carthaginians was, according to Diodorus, xiii. 57, in the agora, it is a strong argument in favor of Cavallari's theory of the situation of the agora, and it may well be that the arms lately found were the identical ones used in that unequal and desperate struggle.

—The excavations near the Dipylon at Athens are still going on; they have reached the lower floor of two houses, with remains of mural paintings. In one was a small collection of money, fifty-six coins of Athens and of Mithridates. Word has come to Athens that the part of the Elgin Marbles lost by shipwreck near Cerigo has been discovered by the aid of divers. A commission of the Archæological Society has gone to Cerigo to raise the sunken treasures, if possible. The survey of Athens and its neighborhood is pushed on with vigor under the direction of the Prussian engineer Kaupert, who received a furlough in March last to enable him to take charge of this very important work.

—Garibaldi's plan for improving the Roman Campagna has recently been the subject of very adverse criticism in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, under initials that suggest the capable editor of the *Ausland*. He has paid considerable attention to the literature of the subject, and uses Prof. Filopanti's little book as the exposition by which the plan is to be judged. His conclusion is by no means flattering to the much-lauded project, which he declares ought to satisfy no one having the real development of that part of Italy at heart. Too much stress is laid upon the regulation of the Tiber, far too little upon the improvement of the Agro Romano. The value of the proposed work at Fiumicino is much exaggerated, and the changes to be made in the river are given a totally disproportionate consequence. Any plan for improving the Campagna, says the critic, must use three important enemies of malaria: human dwellings, canals for drainage, and trees. Not only the great swamps of Ostia and Maccarese must be removed, but all standing water must be drained off. Trees must be planted in great numbers—preferably the eucalyptus, though other trees of rapid growth and abundant foliage will do. Along with these tree-plantations must go the work of colonization, a factor of prime importance in the regenerative process. To render this work practicable he proposes that a beginning be made at the lower end, where a strip of coast (usually free from malaria) would be in the rear as a protection, and the work gradually pushed forward in the less dangerous season with the south wind, and leaving only improved colonized land behind. It is, however, admitted that some considerable regulation of the Tiber will be required.

## LLOYD'S AGE OF PERICLES.*

THIS is a handsome book in two volumes, of some four hundred pages each, devoted to the history of Greece for the fifty years between 479 and 429 B.C. No one who knows that period will think this too much space for the full story of it. Mr. Lloyd's treatment is minute and elaborate, and in many respects valuable. We cannot help wishing that the plan had been somewhat different—that he had expanded the introduction so that the opening of the history itself with the evening after the battle of Salamis might have been less abrupt; that he had omitted some of the anecdotes and detailed narratives, such as that of the Corinthian and Corcyræan sea-fights, which have been well enough told before and seem to contribute nothing to his purpose, so as to gain room for more of original discussion of his proper theme; that he had not stopped so suddenly with the death of his hero, but had gone on, as even Thucydides in the same circumstances does, to consider the immediately-following years as throwing some light backwards. We notice, too, what seems disproportionate space given to Themistocles, who is really the hero of the whole first volume. Still, we welcome the book as it is, for, as a contribution to scholarship, the knowledge of what antiquity can tell us about itself and the criticism of that information, it has real value. Mr. Lloyd's criticisms are concerned mainly with minor points of chronology, the different departments of art, and the relations of art to history. One is tempted to wish that in his evidently wide reading of Greek authors he had caught something of the admirable clearness of style which marks most of those of this period. He has a habit of describing in roundabout phrase, instead of directly naming the thing he means, and another, of qualifying an expression by adding another of different or equivalent meaning, which load down his sentences. It wearies the reader needlessly to have to grasp such sentences as the following, which are not extreme examples. Speaking of state expense for public amusements, he says (I. 228), "So does the prudence at least, if not the obligation quite so readily, become in some degree recognized, of giving more unity to the system of society by a better diffusion of enjoyment, as well as comfort, than is the outcome of the vaunted, of the so often misstated and misunderstood, law of supply and demand." Again, in connection with the siege of Samos (II. 142), "It is happy that indignation should be unanimous on at least atrocities of this nature, though in truth they add but a very trifle to either the wickedness or [the] miseries that are involved, with applause no less unanimous for the actors, in what is known at this day as civilized warfare." But passing over such details, as well as some few misprints and inaccuracies, we propose to consider the more prominent features of the book.

The principal novelty in Mr. Lloyd's view of the 'Age of Pericles' consists in the connection which he endeavors to establish between art and history. This is made prominent on the title-page, and might perhaps have been anticipated from his previously published studies in art-criticism. Taking into consideration, so far as in any case may be possible, the time of a work of art, its peculiar myth or character in any respect, the position and relations of its author to other leading men, he makes out a theory from all these data as to the designed political bearing of the painting, poem, or sculpture. For, to use his own words in his preface, "at this particular time a work of art was apt to have the significance of a political incident, as its purport and vicissitudes had no unfrequent bearing on political feeling." There is no proof of this statement, and there hardly can be any except success in proving such intent in actual instances. In the single case of music, however, where we have even less knowledge of special works than in painting, he gives an outline of the general principles of Greek musical theory, and then indicates the effect upon the character of the people of the development of it in practice as a whole. The best idea of the method will be got from examples, and we take two which seem most elaborate and most satisfactory to the author.

The 'Persae' of Aeschylus was the second of a series of plays, the others, none of which is preserved, being entitled 'Phineus,' 'Glaucus Potnieus,' and 'Prometheus the fire-lighter.' It has long been a disputed question what was the purport of the plays, and how they came to stand in connection with the 'Persae,' which is a description, from the Persian point of view, of the battle of Salamis. Mr. Lloyd believes he has found the solution, as follows: The myth of Phineus turns upon his rescue from the persecuting Harpies by the winged sons of Boreas, whose daughter he had married. Now the wife of Boreas was fabled to be an Athenian nymph, and the Athenian fleet was greatly helped just before the sea-fight at Artemisium by this same north wind, on the ground, they thought, of his having an Athenian wife. So Mr. Lloyd finds in the tragedy of Phineus a reference to the battle of Artemisium. Glaucus Potnieus is by his name and in the myth connected with Potniae, on the battle-field of Plataea, so this tragedy is referred to that battle. Finally, Prometheus the fire-lighter, a satyric play, and therefore of comic or mirthful tone, represents the joyful ceremony of bringing from Delphi sacred fire to rekindle that of the altars of Plataea after the battle, and as fire is "the type and cause of all gladness, purity, and health, symbolizes the restoration of Hellas after the dispersion of the dark barbarian cloud." Thus the four plays correspond to the three great battles of 480–79 B.C. and the final repulse of the Persian invasion. The objection to this theory may be easily

* 'The Age of Pericles: a History of the Politics and Arts of Greece, from the Persian to the Peloponnesian War. By William Watkiss Lloyd.' London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1875.

stated. It introduces a principle of combination of plays into a tetralogy by a historical link entirely outside of the myths of the plays, which is not supported either by the one extant example (the Oresteia of Aeschylus) or by any just conjecture as to the drift of lost plays whose names are preserved in connection. It supposes, what we think the Greeks would have considered a violation of artistic propriety, that the poet inserted a purely historic play between two of mythical tenor referring in a recondite way, we might almost say by a pun, to battles closely connected in time with the one described. Mr. Lloyd's idea that the 'Persae' had also the design of glorifying Themistocles in opposition to Cimon, son of Miltiades the hero of Marathon, is in conflict with that of other scholars (for instance, Paley in his notes on the play), and seems to have no real foundation. When, to support it, he speaks of the "suppression of every allusion to Marathon by Aeschylus," he forgets line 475 (Dindorf), where the name Marathon occurs, as well as several other unquestionable allusions to that battle. And when he says "the name of Themistocles is suppressed throughout," he seems to overlook the fact (as we think it to be) that no tragedy contains the name of a living Greek.

In a chapter on the 'Prometheus Chained' of Aeschylus, the attempt is made to find in that grand character a reference to Themistocles, who, at the date Mr. Lloyd assumes for the play, was in exile at Argos. The parallel rests on the following points: Prometheus is called at the opening of the play son of Themis Orthoboulos, and further on son of Gaia; Themistocles dedicated a temple to Artemis Aristoboulos, and claimed connection with the Lycomid gens at Athens who worshipped Gaia. Prometheus deserted the Titan party in the struggle in Olympus; Themistocles "may have entered politics by attaching himself to a party from which he ultimately slipped away" (this Mr. Lloyd considers "a hint for history" derivable from the poem!). Prometheus declaims against the ingratitude of Zeus; Themistocles may consistently with his character have declaimed against that of the Athenian people. Prometheus gave men fire, and taught them how to build houses and ships; Themistocles restored the hearth-fires of Athens by the victory of Salamis, built up a new city there, and created the Athenian fleet. Prometheus sympathizes with Io, the Argive heroine; Themistocles's policy brought him into close connection with Argos. Finally, the two characters are alike in sagacity, daring, versatility, confidence in the future, and craftiness. Now, it must be admitted that these points are all true, one by one, and there is ingenuity in thus combining them, but the whole thing goes off and leaves nothing behind when one reads over the play. The poet must have had a far higher idea in his mind, one so far above this that it is impossible to believe he could have written such a poem with any such secondary allusion present to his thought. It belittles play and character, in our judgment, to ascribe them to a desire to glorify Themistocles, and indeed Mr. Lloyd himself seems partly conscious of this after he has finished his parallel. We cannot share his naïve wonder that "the drama should have been so constantly read, its passion so sedulously scanned, and not have recalled the character of Themistocles." These two examples fairly represent his method of connecting art with history, and seem to prove that it is rather ingenious than trustworthy, suggesting, perhaps, interesting thoughts, but shedding no real light upon either of the connected subjects.

After all, the most important question about such a book as this is as to the general impression which it gives in regard to the man and the period under discussion. Mr. Lloyd's picture of the age is on the whole better than that of the man from whom it is named. Any student of Greek antiquity will find here something to interest him in the chapters on the painting, the sculpture, the architecture, the music, the literature, the philosophy, the tribe distinctions, the forms of government, or the politics of that period of vigorous, multifarious, original, and marvellously successful activity. Yet the multiplicity of details forbids thorough treatment of any one department, and obscures, partly by the somewhat confused arrangement, the outlines of the leading figure. The character of Pericles—the most complete and symmetrical character in Greek history—is indeed fairly and correctly set forth, but not vividly nor with full appreciation. Mr. Lloyd has not caught Grote's intelligent, sympathetic admiration of Pericles as a statesman, nor does he show the exhaustive knowledge and masterly analysis of Curtius. We regret that he did not think worthy of more than passing reference the famous criticism made by Plato in the 'Gorgias,' that Pericles cannot have been a good ruler of men, because he left the Athenian character worse than he found it, as is shown by their censure of him near the close of his career. Nor do we find any satisfactory discussion of another criticism, more difficult to meet, that he managed the state well himself, but developed such a character in the people that none but a man as able and self-controlled as he, and as favored by circumstances of external prosperity, could govern them, nor could they govern themselves wisely without such a leader.

## GIFT-BOOKS FOR CHILDREN.*

'TWO Campaigns' is scarcely to be called a child's story, and yet is hardly adapted to maturer minds. It is a sort of half-grown juvenile romance; and a youth who has liked 'In the Year '13' of Fritz Reuter, and yet is neither well informed nor acute enough to perceive the difference between that excellent little historical picture and one based upon the wildest improbabilities, may enjoy also 'Two Campaigns.' The first part of the story is told by the hero, Max Roggenfeld, now grown old. His adventures carry us through the campaign of '93, when the Austrians and Prussians entered republican France. He is nearly destroyed under an accumulation of disasters, and, after the first campaign, goes to England, not to reappear until the second, which is that of 1812–13, when he joins Napoleon's forces. At the close of the war he is left in charge of the children of a dead comrade, and the story then makes another skip of twenty years or so, bringing us to an extraordinary concatenation of circumstances. One of the orphans, who are children no longer, falls upon a chain of evidence which, being followed up at once without the slightest difficulty, results in restoring all the Alsatian estates of the principal characters, which had been confiscated in '93, to their rightful owners or heirs. There were three of them, adjoining one another, and the French gentleman who holds them, on being made acquainted with the facts, relinquishes his claims with a promptitude and politeness which, if imitated in this country, would make courts a superfluity and the pursuit of misappropriated property a pastime. Yet another twenty years elapses, during which Max and his lifelong friend, the Countess of Wildenstein, have lived happily in their old homes; and the book then closes with their death, both being octogenarians. They die hand in hand, just after having had a conversation in which Max understands for the first time in his life that the Countess has always loved him. It is, perhaps, no detriment to young readers that the author has no weak leanings toward love affairs. His treatment of all his lovers will certainly prove disheartening to those who think a "happy ending" to a novel consists in something more than a restoration of family property to the right line. But in spite of the heavy use of tragic materials—which was of course to be somewhat expected, considering the period of the story—and the presentation of characters with only grand sentiments, there is nothing whatever between the two covers to affect the callous adult to a tear. It is really entertaining to see how close the author will let the lovers come without touching, as you may say. They are hardly permitted to understand each other, much less to have a chapter or even a page of happiness together; but, like the old-fashioned stage tragedy, the character "dies" at once whenever the effective moment comes. We cannot help suspecting a writer of this turn of a rather morbid fondness for playing on the melancholy tendencies of sensitive boys and girls. If a passion for country had been substituted for the passion of love, the latter could have been reasonably subordinated to it with good effect. But the patriotism exhibited in the 'Two Campaigns' is of a very cloudy character. We find ourselves among a mixed sort of Alsatians, who are fitted out first with German and then with French sympathies. The only distinct principles laid down are—that a good soldier must have no opinions, and that he must be always loyal to his company or regiment. The general morality of the book is pure, and respect for those in authority is always inculcated.

The device of collecting a number of old picture-plates, and getting a story written to illustrate them, is made use of more and more every year, so that the sort of children's books it calls forth now almost form a class by themselves. Decidedly the best we have ever seen of the kind was 'Roundabout Rambles,' not only because the author appeared to have turned to account every possible suggestion of his picture, but more especially because each picture was the subject of a separate story. Where all the pictures have to be brought in to illustrate points in one continuous narrative, the result, though generally an evidence of great ingenuity on the part of the compiler, is apt also to show a want of coherence and aim in the work which relegates it at once to the already large ranks of ephemera that appear every Christmas—a fate from which no beauty of binding or print can save it. 'Frisk and his Flock' and the 'Doings of the Bodley Family' are two very handsome and profusely bepictured—it seems like putting the cart before the horse to say "illustrated"—books of

* 'Two Campaigns: A Tale of Old Alsace. By A. H. Engelbach, author of 'Lionel's Revenge,' etc., etc. Published under the direction of the Committee of General Literature and Education appointed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.' London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Pott, Young & Co.

'Frisk and his Flock. By Mrs. D. P. Sanford, author of 'Pussy Tiptoe's Family,' 'The Rosedale Books,' etc.' New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

this species. The latter is indeed especially elegant in make-up. 'Frisk' is for little children, and is an innocent, pretty, wandering sort of history, including among its secular chat frequent texts from Scripture, which have the merit of being sensibly selected and pleasingly used.

The 'Bodley Family' is more important. "Phippy" is quite a character, and her brother and sister are also natural and well-drawn children. Their "doings" are of the usual country sort, but are conducted with sufficient freshness and fun to save them from the wearisomeness of the hackneyed egg-hunting and haymaking legends. A feature of the book is the introduction of poems recited by one or other of the characters. We commend the insertion of Browning's "Pied Piper," "John Gilpin," and the "Heir of Linne." Children will appreciate an odd classic or two given in this way who would not have looked at them otherwise ; and the same could be said of "Chevy Chace" if the language were not quite so difficult. It is rather bloody, too, for the nurseries of these humaner days. The other poetry is not so much to our taste. The "Little Rid Hin" is the best, but its "Irish" is shocking. The fairy pieces have charming vignettes, which were really made for them, but, as in the cases of "Harry O'Hum," "Bumble Bee and Bumble Bug," etc., while the manner is tinkling and taking, the thought is rather thin. The story of "Gran'ther Scupper and 'Lishy" is good till one comes to the disagreeable point of it ; and the love affair between the doll and the boy's head on the kite is silly as it is witless.

'Jolly Good Times' not only deserves its title, but the further praise of being pronounced a jolly good book. We took it up without much expectation of reward, because country life has been a hard-worked theme, and many of the stories about it have had nothing whatever to recommend them beyond the natural attraction of the subject for city children. On this occasion, however, the author has something definite to tell. The Kendall children and their neighbors and playmates live in the Connecticut Valley, not far from Deerfield, and we are given a sketch of their life during one period from the breaking-up of winter till the appearance of snow just after Thanksgiving. The merit of the story lies in its evident biographical truth. It is very plain that "P. Thorne" writes from memory and observation, and not pure fancy. The result is a charming local picture, quite worth the attention of English boys and girls, as showing what New England life is in a respectable farmer's family—plain folks, who do their own work, but entirely free from the low-comic variety of Yankee talk and manners too often considered essential to the success of a New England story. To be sure, Aaron, the free-born American hired man—whom it would be almost a misnomer to call a servant—tells his delightful Indian stories to the children in Yankee dialect, and other characters use it appropriately, but that is not what we refer to. When the admirers of the 'William Henry' series remark the absence of "smartness" among the Kendalls, they will have touched on the element we are happy to miss. 'Jolly Good Times' has one defect of style which may well be remedied in any future volume : we mean the interpolation of descriptive phrases or adjectives in a sort of "reportorial" slang, retarding the action and sounding affected to juvenile ears. Millie does something "expressive of rapture" ; or Ralph says something with a "superior air," "his literary tastes being decidedly bloodthirsty." They are in every case superfluous, and one who reads aloud to children will find himself instinctively skipping them.

'Nine Little Goslings' answers to nine different stories, each with a Mother-Goose title for a remote suggestion or "starter," as it were. For instance, "Lady Queen Anne" is a little girl who is happy under all circumstances ; "Ride a Cock-horse," a child circus-rider ; "Little Bo-peep," a girl who peeps into a forbidden chest, etc. The stories would amuse, probably absorb, most girls and some boys in their second seven years. They are full of invention and fancy and variety, but the prosaic impedimenta of probabilities are not always permitted to interfere with telling effects. Here is the plan of "Goosey, Goosey, Gander." One June evening little Dick is put to bed too early by a sister impatient to go out. His bedroom is under the roof, and there is an open scuttle through which he can look at the sky. Unable to go to sleep, the infant—who is apparently quite alone in the house—decides to get up. He climbs the ladder, gets out on the roof, walks across other roofs, and goes down somebody else's scuttle into a deserted garret. Here he amuses himself with rocking on an old rocking-horse. The sound of it makes an old man below start and say "Harry's horse ! but no"—or words to that effect. Then little Dick proceeds to another room, which is a deserted girl's-nursery, all the dolls and things having been kept where they were left, and being now covered with dust. In the opposite room the old man reads the letter of a penitent daughter, once the little girl owning the dolls, who now writes that her husband is dead and begs to be taken back home. A fair and a dark angel stand either side of him, one counselling forgiveness, the other hard-heartedness. They speak in alternate paragraphs a good while. Just as the old gentleman has decided for the dark angel, baby Dick strays in, the stern parent shrieks, totters forward, tumbles down-stairs, but isn't killed, Ellen is sent for, and all is right.

There is not oftener a handsomer Christmas book published than 'The Catskill Fairies.' The illustrations are uncommonly attractive, the designs being full of imagination and the drawing most careful and delicate. The title will perhaps prove a little misleading, as most readers are likely to expect from it something specially connected with the Catskills, possibly legends after the manner of Rip Van Winkle. They will be justly disappointed on finding nothing of the kind, but merely a series of ordinary fairy tales—pretty, fanciful, elaborate, but no wise unusual—which might as well have been associated with the Rocky Mountains, or the Alps, or any other "rising ground." The little Indian girl introduced in one story does not alter the case ; she might as easily have done what she did and been called a German peasant. The plan of the book, too, with such a wide range as the title implies, is singularly commonplace. Little Job, with his opportunities in the backwoods, might have met dozens of sprites and good-men face to face, whereas he is made to dream everything as any other child may do any night he chooses to combine a modern fairy-book and mince-pie before retiring. The same want of originality has made the stories themselves seem like the now too familiar class of current fairy literature. All the niceties are attended to ; the fairies are beautifully dressed in fresh designs of petals and flies' wings, etc. ; and all the other properties, though vamped up for the new season, are as easily recognized by us gaping and tired old folks. We must get our pleasure, therefore, from watching the delight which it can be safely predicted children will take in 'Catskill Fairies' in spite of our cynical exposure of it.

The last book on our list is designed for children of a somewhat larger growth than those who would appreciate the foregoing. The age at which they can be profitably instructed in wood-carving will vary, of course, with the mechanical aptitude in each case. What recommends this little manual beyond its clear and minute directions for the special operations of which it treats, is the incidental aid it gives to common carpentry. Not only does it abound throughout with ingenious suggestions which even the adult workman need not despise, but it gives in chap. viii. a narrative of Oriental achievement in turning in the open air "with a basket of tools and no lathe" which alone is worth the price of the book to a receptive young mind. The author dedicates his work to the "Boys of England," but he points out in the course of it that wood-carving is a very pretty and entirely practicable employment for girls as well as boys, and for young women as well as young men. In particular, as regards fret cutting and perforated carving, it "can be carried into the drawing-room. Numbers of ladies practise this beautiful art, and are really most skilful at it. One lady of my acquaintance is carving a set of chairs for her dining-room ; and a lady of my own family, at her first trial, fret-cut a bracket of a very complicated pattern, and executed it as well as if she had practised the art for years." Personally, Sir Thomas will be found a very pleasant acquaintance.

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*India and its Native Princes:* Travels in Central India and in the Presidencies of Bombay and Bengal. By Louis Rousselet. Translated by Lieut.-Col. Buckle. (New York : Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1876.)—Subscribers to the *Tour du Monde* three or four years ago congratulated themselves on the treasure which they had secured in the illustrations to M. Rousselet's 'L'Inde des Rajahs.' Not that the text was insignificant, but that, as often happens in the case of this periodical, it was overshadowed by the high quality of the engravings, as well as by the peculiar interest which the natural scenery, the temples, and the races of India must ever have for the Western mind. The translated work is, of course, of English manufacture, and is sumptuously printed and bound, making a quarto volume of 579 pages. M. Rousselet's journeying began in 1864, and was accomplished by all the prevailing modes of conveyance, including railway carriage, oddest of all being his experience with the Rajah of Punnah, with whom he "set out on a tiger and panther hunt in one of the wildest regions of India," drawn along by a road locomotive over a stuccoed sort of high-

'Doings of the Bodley Family in Town and Country, by the author of 'Stories from my Attic,' 'Dream Children,' and 'Seven Little People and their Friends.' With seventy-seven illustrations.' New York : Hurd & Houghton.

'Jolly Good Times ; or, Child Life on a Farm. By P. Thorne.' Boston : Roberts Bros. 1875.

'Nine Little Goslings. By Susan Coolidge.' Boston : Roberts Bros. 1875.

'The Catskill Fairies. By Virginia W. Johnson. Illustrated by Alfred Fredericks.' New York : Harper & Bros. 1876.

'A Manual of Fret Cutting and Wood Carving. By Maj.-Gen. Sir Thomas Seaton, K.C.B. With diagrams.' London and New York : Geo. Routledge & Sons. 1875.

way made expressly for it. He had introductions to the first native circles, and was entertained with great magnificence at the court of the Guicowar of Baroda, not, as we make out, the corrupt and profligate ruler accused last year of an attempt to poison the British Resident, but the predecessor and very "moral" of him. M. Rousselet devotes a great many pages to the Guicowar's barbaric displays and barbarous amusements, his gladiatorial combats, etc., and is evidently under some constraint as a guest not to speak his mind about this Mahratta Cæsar. The title, by the way, of "Guicowar," on which the princes pride themselves, means, according to M. Rousselet, the "keeper of cows." Of dancing-girls and jugglers our traveller saw not a few, and of the latter he says that some of their most marvellous tricks—like the boy stabbed through and through under a basket, or the growing of a complete plant from a seed under a cloth—are explainable to Europeans, but he does not appear to have been initiated himself. A fakir whom he encountered had, besides a withered arm extended upwards (a result not accomplished by simple will-power), what was still more curious—a small myrtle-bush growing out of the hollow of his hand, which had been filled with earth.

After all and above all, one returns to the illustrations so profusely scattered through this elegant volume. M. Rousselet was a photographer, and by far the greater number of the engravings are made directly from views taken by himself. This gives an especial value to the figuring of architectural subjects and of the native inhabitants, whether of high or low degree. Nothing more admirable or more authentic has ever been done for India.

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*The Border-lands of Insanity, and other allied Papers.* By Andrew Wynter, M.D., etc. (New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.)—Dr. Wynter's essays, mainly occupied with reflections and anecdotes destined to show "how fine is the line which separates sanity from insanity," are (with the exception of one point) rather light in matter for a collection of reprints, though they doubtless did good service as articles in the reviews in which they appeared. The author writes an excellent style, and, although he offers little that is novel to those familiar with the literature of morbid psychology, his book may well serve to lure young readers into that more appetizing than satisfying field. The one point we excepted above from our accusation of lightness is Dr. Wynter's attack upon the present overgrown asylum system. We are convinced that reform is nowhere more called for, and we therefore gladly welcome any critic whose attacks are as well and forcibly directed as his. It is the harmless chronic lunatics "who now choke up the public asylums throughout the land, converting them from houses of cure into mere prisons."

"As the asylums are spreading in size, the very atmosphere within the walls may be said to be saturated with lunacy. They are becoming centres for the condensation and aggravation of the malady rather than places of cure, just as the crowding a fever hospital makes the type of disease more malignant. We are convinced that this is an evil that has been too much overlooked. The insane not only require more physical support than the sane to keep them from going back, but also more healthy mental stimulus; they cannot lean upon themselves without deteriorating. Hence the true principle of cure for the curable, and of support for the incurable, *is an association with healthy minds.*"

The author's remedy lies in *dissemination* of the chronic patients. As the whole matter is largely a question of public economy, for which it is necessary to enlist the interest of laymen in their quality of taxpayers, we do not scruple to express the hope that Dr. Wynter's little work will be widely read. He has little faith that the present generation of asylum officers, bred in a vicious tradition, will do much to help reform in England ; we wish we could feel more sanguine about the profession in this country.

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*Deutsche Lyrik:* Selected and Arranged, with Notes and Literary Introduction, by C. A. Buchheim, Ph.D. (London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1875.)—The present volume, which serves as a pendant to the well-known Clarendon Press Series of German Classics, can only confirm Professor Buchheim's reputation for scholarship and good taste. Like the wise householder spoken of in Scripture, the editor has brought forth from his treasury things new and old, and all of them good. An introduction of ten pages, temperate in tone, gives a suggestive résumé of German lyric poetry from Luther to the present day. The literary and grammatical notes at the end are extremely good, and cannot fail to be a decided help to both teacher and reader. Two alphabet indexes, one of the authors, the other of the separate pieces arranged by the initial lines, will facilitate reference. Concerning the character of the selection, we can scarcely venture upon a criticism. The reader may perhaps miss some old friends, but their places, he must admit, are taken by very acceptable strangers, who bid fair to become old friends in turn. The editor gives nothing weak or ignoble because it happens to be new, and is true to his title by keeping within the strict limits of *lyric* poetry. We have said that the grammatical notes are extremely good, but this will not debar us from saying that there are some which we believe might be made better. Thus, Luther's lines (in the first poem of all) :

"Für allen Freuden auf Erden
Kann niemand kein feiner werden,"

are simply translated : "Of all joys upon earth none can be more exquisite." This is no explanation ; no account is taken of *für* for *vor*, of the use of the double negation, or of the significance of *werden*. *Gesellen gut* (in the same piece) we do not regard as a mere "poetical inversion for *gute Gesellen*," but rather as a reminiscence of the mediæval syntax (M. H. G.), where the post-positive adjective had emphatic force. Much less can we regard *böser Mörd'* as dependent for its case upon the verb *verhindern*. This verb, it is true, occasionally governed in archaic construction the genitive ; but in the present instance the word *Mörd'* is evidently governed by *viel*. It rather surprises us that the editor, in giving Schlegel's lines on the structure of the sonnet, p. 119, should not have added those by Schiller on the so-called elegiac verse used so extensively by Goethe. The selections from Goethe, while they are all good, labor under one defect—they are too one-sided, most of them being love-songs. Now, although it is perfectly true that no poet, ancient or modern, ever sang of love in a more loving or more lovable strain than Goethe, this is far from being all. Goethe sang of many other things equally well. We regret that Professor Buchheim has not given more specimens of Goethe's satirical and reflective vein, for we fear that the reader may gain from the present collection an imperfect impression of the wonderful range of Goethe's faculties.

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*Lincoln, Stanton, and Grant.* Historical Sketches by Major Evan Rowland Jones, United States Consul, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. (London : Frederic Warne & Co. New York : Scribner, Welford & Armstrong.)—It is not a very bold statement that one should speak respectfully of a respectable book, but, in these days of bookmaking without end, a reviewer may find growing upon him an impatience which makes it difficult for him to speak thus and only thus. After reading with attention the lives of Stanton and of Grant, which together make up more than three-quarters of Major Jones's book, we are forced to declare that it has no reason for existence, and to wonder that it found a publisher. Not that it is a bad book. In the first place, it is very handsome. Its large print, good paper, and liberal margins make it very tempting. It is fairly well written, its tone is good, and its creditable though not absolute accuracy shows that its author has been diligent in his collection of material, and painstaking in his use of it. But the fault of the book is that it adds literally nothing to what was known before upon the subjects of which it treats. After some reflection, we reach the conclusion that it came into being from the accident of its author's holding a consular position in England. There may be a demand for such a book in England, but there is no place for it here. It is without value for the American student, and not likely, in our judgment, to attract the general reader.

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*** Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* | |
|---|---|---|
| Ballantyne (R. M.), Rivers of Ice: A Tale | (Pott, Young & Co.) | $1 50 |
| Bright (Prof. J. F.), English History for Public Schools—Mediæval Monarchy | (Rivingtons) | |
| Boynton (Gen. H. V.), Sherman's Historical Raid | (Wilstach, Baldwin & Co.) | 2 00 |
| Lexington Centennial, 1775-1875 | (Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) | |
| Call (Prof. W. M. W.), Reverberations; Poetry, revised | (Trübner & Co.) | |
| Heaton (Mrs C.), Antonio Allegri da Correggio | (Macmillan & Co.) | 12 00 |
| Koch (K.), Vorlesungen über Dendrologie | (L. W. Schmidt) | |
| Larned (Ellen D.), History of Windham County, Conn., Vol. I | (Worcester) | |
| Michelet (J.), The Insect. Illustrated by Giacomelli | (Thos. Nelson & Sons) | |
| Moberly (Rev. C. E.), Xenophon's Memorabilia. I | (Rivingtons) | |
| Simcox (Prof. G. A.), Thucydides' Peloponnesian War. III., IV | (Rivingtons) | |
| Simcox (Prof. W. F.), Taciti Historiae. I., II | (Rivingtons) | |
| Seaton (Sir T.), Manual of Fret Cutting and Wood Carving | (Geo. Routledge & Sons) | |
| Scudder (S. H.), Fossil Butterflies: Memoirs of the Am. Asso. for the Advancement of Science. I | (Salem) | |
| Sheafer (P. W.), Historical Map of Pennsylvania, bds | (Philadelphia) | |
| Spruner (Dr. K. von), Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters, Part 13, swd | (B. Westermann & Co.) | |
| Stone (W. L.), Reminiscences of Saratoga | (Virtue & Yorston) | |
| Story (W. W.), Nero: An Historical Play | (Scribner, Welford & Armstrong) | 3 00 |
| Strebor (E.), Shadows and Silver Sprays: Poetry | (John F. Trow & Son) | |
| Talmage (Rev. T. De W.), Everyday Religion Sermons, 4th Series | (Harper & Bros.) | |
| Thorne (P.), Jolly Good Times | (Roberts Bros.) | 1 50 |
| Turner (Prof. J. A.), Handbook of Punctuation | (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) | |
| Trimmer (Mrs.), History of the Robins. Illustrated by Giacomelli | (Thos. Nelson & Sons) | |
| Verne (J.), Dropped from the Clouds | (Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) | 2 00 |
| Whymper (F.), Heroes of the Arctic | (Pott, Young & Co.) | 1 50 |
| Wilson (Sir R. K.), History of Modern English Law | (Rivingtons) | |
| Warren (Prof. S. E.), Problems in Stone-Cutting | (John Wiley & Son) | 2 00 |
| Woodbury (W. H. and E. K.), Easy Lessons in German | (Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co.) | 1 25 |
| Yates (E.), Wages of Sin, swd | (Wm. F. Gill & Co.) | 0 50 |

# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE third-term project has made sufficient impression on the public mind to produce great sensitiveness with regard to all rumors pointing to contingencies which might make General Grant again a necessity to the Republican party, and turn away popular attention from the scandals of our internal administration. Accordingly, a remonstrance addressed to Spain about the treatment of American citizens in Cuba by Spanish courts-martial, was sufficient, in the early part of last week, to make a small sensation as an indication of possible trouble with Spain. In Europe, where the traditions of the slavery period of American foreign policy still survive, and where the American Government is still supposed to be constantly hankering for war with a view of "influencing votes," the news seems to have produced a genuine sensation. One of its oddest results was an offer from Don Carlos, by a formal despatch to his cousin, to suspend hostilities during the prospective conflict with the United States, and to join forces against the common enemy; the Carlists not only to charge themselves with the defence of a certain portion of the coast, but with the fitting out of privateers to operate on American commerce. The arrangement would have been a very convenient one for the Pretender, as it would have enabled him to withdraw with a show of credit from his present enterprise, which is, by the last accounts, in a hopeless condition. Nearly all his principal officers have retired into France or been killed, and the remnant of his forces is hardly likely to hold together through the winter. What the United States Government has demanded is, it appears, the proper execution of the Treaty of 1795, the seventh article of which provides that in all cases of the trial of the subjects of one party for offences committed within the jurisdiction of the other, the accused shall be allowed to employ such counsel as he pleases, and have free intercourse with him. The stipulation has been disregarded time and again by the Spaniards ever since the Cuban troubles began, and notably in the *Virginius* case.

The death of Mr. Wilson can hardly be called a surprise, for he had been notoriously broken-down in health for a number of years. The moral drawn from his career by the newspapers is generally the obvious one of the success which may be attained in the United States by assiduity and earnestness. Mr. Wilson, who began life as a cobbler, died a Vice-President of one of the most powerful countries of modern times, and this, too, not merely in spite of his obscure origin, but in defiance, too, of the traditional maxim of prudence which enjoins upon all who follow a trade to stick to it. Going to the Senate nearly at the same time with Mr. Sumner, and sent there by the same political forces, it is natural to attempt a parallel between the two careers, but beyond their both being anti-slavery senators absolutely devoted to the promotion of equal rights, there was hardly anything in common between them. The part Mr. Wilson played at Washington was that of a quiet, hard-working legislator, while Mr. Sumner's forte was obstruction and classic oratory. During the war Mr. Wilson earned the gratitude, we may say, of every soldier in the country by the warm interest he took in their welfare and comfort, at a time when politicians of the baser sort were doing what they could to make money out of the relations of the Government to the army. He was an indefatigable worker, and probably killed himself by overwork. He was of course no statesman, and, as in the case of many of the other leaders of the anti-slavery struggle, Fate has probably been kind in removing him from a field of active life in which questions had become prominent which he was unfitted either by taste or training to solve. His death makes the wide gulf between the old anti-slavery politics and those of the present period of economical and administrative discussion, of scandals and rings and reform movements, seem for the moment to gape wider than ever, as if to emphasize the impossibility of any ordinary politician bridging it over.

The removal of Mr. Grinnell, chief clerk in the Patent Office, by Mr. Zachariah Chandler, has caused quite a sensation at Washington and among the patent lawyers. Mr. Grinnell has been chief examiner for a number of years, and has filled the office—which is one of responsibility, and requires experience and education for the performance of its duties—with credit. He had, in fact, the reputation of being one of the most capable and exact officials in any department at Washington, and rose gradually to the position of chief clerk by his thorough knowledge of all the machinery of the Patent Office. He was one of those men of superior abilities and attainments and long standing in office whom it is surprising to find in the subordinate service of the Government, and who are kept there simply because their knowledge and experience are absolutely needed to keep the machinery from going to rack and ruin. He had, however, declined to pay political assessments, and the new Secretary of the Interior at once descended upon him. Ordinarily, a clerk not dismissed for bad conduct is entitled to resign, and has a month's leave of absence, but in this case Mr. Grinnell has been removed summarily, the Department treating a refusal to pay assessments as an offence against the Government or malfeasance in office. The man who is put in his place knows nothing about the business of the office, or, in other words, his only qualification is that he is willing to pay tribute.

It is speaking within bounds to say that this case justifies all that has been said and much more that has been imagined with regard to Chandler's appointment. The *World* has recently been making up the "record" of the President with regard to the civil service since he first came into office, and it is bad enough without this last bit of evidence, but with it it is almost startling. He first (1870) gives notice to the country that he is going to reform the civil service, and begs Congress to assist him; he next announces (1872) that "political assessments, as they are called, have been forbidden within the various departments"; in 1872, he is re-elected President. In 1874, he announces that, unless Congress provides some "positive legislation" on the subject, he will "abandon" the reform. Congress does not provide any positive legislation, but, a scandal in the Indian Department revealing for the fortieth time the rotten condition of the service, the President makes a "new deal," and puts into the office of Secretary a man who is the most notorious defender of the old system. This man's first act is to turn out his best subordinate as a punishment for not contributing money for "political assessments," and to make him, by the contemptuous manner in which the act is done, a "terrible example" to everybody in the employment of the Government. There may be no connection between this defiance to public opinion, decency, and consistency and the fact that a Republican convention, largely consisting of office-holders, will meet in a few months to nominate a President, or that General Grant is talked of by some of his friends as a candidate; but if there is not, there ought to be, and the public will believe, too, that there is, no matter what is told them.

The Internal Revenue report shows that of a total revenue of $288,000,000 the Government last year drew $110,000,000 from spirits and tobacco alone, and it is believed that the better enforcement of the law against illicit distillation will this year bring the yield of the whiskey-tax alone from $52,000,000 up to $60,000,000. We presume an improvement, though by no means so great a one, might be brought about in most other branches. There is certainly

not one in which the character and discipline of the collecting officers might not be changed for the better. There has been a steady falling-off in the customs duties since 1872, and they will probably not improve until better times have fully set in; but here, again, the expenses of collection might doubtless be decreased by greater efficiency and by the appearance of a President with nerve enough to compel the Custom-House officials to abstain from local politics.

The Whiskey Ring prosecutions seem to be going on swimmingly, the proceedings against McDonald having already resulted in his conviction. The evidence is, or ought to be to the right-minded, very melancholy reading, which even the impudence of the convicted scarcely serves to lighten. In this way nothing could surpass the speech of Joyce, which has been going the rounds of the papers. Joyce, being convicted, obtained permission to say something in exculpation, and immediately proceeded to make a stump-speech of the most flowery kind, denying his guilt, denouncing his enemies, comparing the reform movement to an "epidemic" which has "risen like the mist of a mighty flood," and is speeding onward to "the gulf of punishment"; declaring that "the good and bad suffer alike," and that "many young oaks and tall sycamores on the banks are loosened from their firm foundation and dashed into the river of destruction"; but comforting his hearers with the reflection that "the flood even now is settling into its former bed, where the crystal waters shall again reflect the green foliage, the oak, and the sycamore, and the gentle breezes and birds of spring shall make merry music in the cathedral aisles of a generous nation." He also compared his case to those of Galileo, Columbus, Tasso, and Napoleon, and on sitting down was sentenced by the judge to three years and a half in the Missouri penitentiary. One witness, by the way, swore that Joyce told him he had bribed Mr. Wm. M. Grosvenor, the editor of the *Democrat*, to "let up" on somebody. Mr. Grosvenor denies this, and says that the transaction was simply a loan. The charge shows, nevertheless, how dangerous it is for reformers to have financial transactions with members of rings or "whiskey thieves" or "canal thieves," or any other kind of thieves.

The latest judicial scandal is the most curious of any. Judge Van Brunt, an able and respected member of the New York Court of Common Pleas, was some time ago fascinated on a trip to Europe by a lady, with whom he subsequently travelled and came to like so well that he returned home disgusted with his lawful wife, whom he persuaded into procuring a collusive divorce, the evidence for which he himself supplied. The divorce was granted, with the usual prohibition in the decree against his marrying again in his wife's lifetime, he being the guilty party. He thereupon returned to Europe, rejoined his new flame, and, it is now reported, has married her, in contempt of his court. The validity of this second marriage in this State raises, we believe, some nice points of law, on which we shall not touch. The most interesting feature of the case to the general public is the illustration it supplies of the need of a provision such as exists in the English Divorce Act, charging a Government lawyer (the Queen's Proctor was his old title) with the duty of keeping a lookout for all signs of collusion between the parties, and intervening if he has reason to suspect it. Without some such machinery, the law as at present administered in this State practically provides for divorce in all cases in which either party is willing to admit the commission of one of the requisite offences, and allows a wife to be coerced into divorcing herself for reasons which she would be only too glad to overlook, or in the existence of which she does not believe. It now appears that Judge Van Brunt has no present intention of returning to this country, and is willing to abandon his seat on the bench. The case is, we presume, without exact precedent, and supplies one more example, and a conspicuous and striking one, of the explosive force of the sexual passion, and of the dangers with which it constantly menaces society, even under the most powerful restraints. The amount of misery and demoralization, and the loss of confidence in character, which even one such escapade as this diffuses, is simply incalculable. It does not appear in the courts or newspapers, but wise men think of it.

General trade during the week has been of fair volume and good for the season. Demand loans continue easily obtainable at 4 to 5 per cent. The New York banks still have resting with them large balances belonging, for the most part, to the pork-packing trade, which is restricted this season by reason of the high price of corn and the consequent high price of hogs. All the currency wanted from here to pay farmers in the West for grain has been sent. More may be needed by the cotton States, the movement of cotton continuing active. The gold and foreign exchange markets have been higher than during the preceding week—gold less from commercial than political reasons. The belief that the talk about war with Spain was for the purpose of promoting a speculation in gold has appeared plausible to those who have closely watched the gold market. In London there has been a further advance in the price of such unquestioned securities as British consols and United States bonds; the Bank of England on Thursday reduced its discount rate to 3 per cent., and the "open market" has fallen to 2½ per cent. The same lack of confidence which has been the chief characteristic of our markets here for the past two years shows itself in London, and "money is easy" chiefly on this account. At the Stock Exchange here speculation has been tame, notwithstanding which prices have slightly advanced. Greenbacks during the week have ranged (for $100) between $86 95 and $87 62 gold.

The *Anglo-American Times*, a very good paper published in London, has in the number received by the last mail an article, almost ecstatical in its tone, entitled "Colonel John W. Forney and the United States Centennial Exhibition," in which the writer gives way to the most extraordinary rejoicings over the appearance of the Colonel in England as American "International Commissioner to Europe." We wish we had space to quote some of his dithyrambs over this auspicious event. They would greatly amuse some of our readers. We are sorry, however, to have to make known the fact to the *Anglo-American Times*, and to our English readers, that the despatching of the Colonel in an official character is looked upon by the best portion of this country as an unpardonable indiscretion on the part of the Centennial Commissioners, and as a striking illustration of the disregard even of appearances which familiarity with corruption has bred even in men who are themselves honest. Twenty-five thousand dollars of the Pacific Mail corruption fund were traced to the Colonel's capacious pockets in the Congressional investigation last winter, but he has never given himself the trouble to notice the charge, and his failure to meet it ought of course to have disqualified him for any place of dignity or emolument, and, above all, for that of an International Commissioner. Nor is this the first case of the kind in which the Colonel has been implicated and exposed; in fact, we believe it is the third. He certainly got $4,000 of the money of the Georgia Ring, headed by Bullock, when they were trying to get Congress to set aside the State constitution, in order to enable them to continue their game of fraud, before Bullock's flight from justice. It is, indeed, almost a matter of public notoriety that the Colonel has had a hand in most of the great Washington jobs, and his European mission is therefore a national disgrace for which the Centennial Commissioners owe an apology, not only to the public but even to the Indian Ring. When the Colonel lifted up his tuneful voice in London, a few weeks ago, in "vindication" of General Schenck, many honest Americans laughed through their tears, because there is a point at which rascality becomes funny.

One or two stormy meetings of the Emma Mine stockholders have been held in London, and some of the accounts of the concern have been published. The solicitors of the company seem to have gone to work thoroughly, and the secretary reports that the information conveyed in the accounts "has been obtained from each individual on oath and from the signed depositions of each party

referred to." The figures bear out all that has been said of the way that the shares were put on to the London market. It appears that each of the original English directors received qualifying shares from Baron Grant. Grant himself or the firm of Grant Brothers received £100,000 from Park, and nearly £100,000 more were paid to various persons to float the company or to keep it up after it showed signs of sinking. Brydges Williams, who was sent out here to visit the mine, and who made a flourishing report on the subject, and who, it is said—and indeed the facts pretty conclusively prove—knows nothing about mining, got for his trouble £5,000, and General Schenck was lent £10,000 by Park to enable him to purchase shares, he receiving from Park a secret written guarantee of eighteen per cent. This information was received by the stockholders with great delight, and all the directors were immediately "allowed" to resign. The announcement of the determination to prosecute both Park and Grant and "several others" was received with great applause.

The Berlin correspondent of the London *Times* draws a somewhat dismal picture of the commercial outlook in Prussia during the coming winter. Prices are high, business dull and declining, failures numerous, and money under the new banking law very tight, and the number of the unemployed large and increasing. As this comes close on the receipt of $400,000,000 in hard cash from France, it furnishes one of the happiest illustrations on record of one of the truths which sensible men are just now trying to hammer into the heads of the inflationists, viz., that supplies of money which are not drawn to a country by the legitimate demands of trade are sure, sooner or later, to work mischief. The money of the world has been well compared to a great ocean, with the various civilized nations lying along its borders, and with tides which ebb and flow in any particular place under the influence of an increase or diminution of business. If a particular community wishes greatly to sell, in it rushes to enable them to do so; if they greatly wish to buy, off it goes to the place where they desire to make their purchases; and the whole process, if not interfered with by crazy legislation, goes on with as much certainty as the rise and fall of the sea under the attraction of the moon. But the minute, through any agency whatever, money is forced on a community in which trade has not called for it, or in greater quantity than trade has called for it—whether it be gold or silver or greenbacks or three-sixty-fives—a state of disease is established which sooner or later brings on a collapse. When an inflationist therefore says that specie has not prevented trouble in Prussia, he furnishes a new proof of his folly or ignorance; but he is very angry when you call him foolish or ignorant, just as the Chinaman is if you laugh when he is beating a gong to get the dragon to stop eclipsing the sun. When you tell the Chinaman that he can't interfere with an eclipse, he replies, as the inflationist does, that this is *your* opinion, but that many thinkers of his acquaintance hold a different one; that there are astronomers in China as well as in Europe or America; that a little more modesty would well become you; and that your arrogance is intolerable; your astronomical notions have probably been put into your head by persons anxious to injure the gong business; and that there is not a province in the country in which the people would not give heavy majorities in favor of the gong theory of eclipses.

Russia is just passing through her first commercial panic, and the mere fact that she is capable of such an experience shows a great advance in material civilization, as it proves the growth and existence of credit. It has been begun by the failure of a noted German speculator named Dr. Strousberg, a man of the Jay Cooke or Jay Gould type—we do not exactly know to which he approaches more closely—who had enormous estates in Germany, Poland, and Bohemia, besides iron-works and car-factories in which he employed thousands of men. His liabilities are estimated in all at about $10,000,000, and his assets consist of $40 in cash and some household furniture, showing what would be considered over here unusual want of consideration for his creditors. He owed the Commerce and Loan Bank of Moscow so large a sum that his failure caused it to stop payment, and this caused a run on the other Russian banks—that on the Bank of Azov-Don in Taganrog and on the Moscow Merchants' Bank being, we are told, "on the American model." The Government has, however, arrested the panic by promising help by an issue of "the reserve," which we trust is not in irredeemable paper; but the crisis, as the London *Economist* points out, is serious, owing to the fact that the Russian banks are not over ten or twelve years old, and the whole system of credit which they create is therefore new to the country and imperfectly understood, and there is danger that the people, having once learnt the great American art of "making a run" on a moneyed corporation, may resort to it too frequently. How rapid the growth of the Russian banking business has been may be inferred from the fact that the total capital of the banks already exceeds $60,000,000. The Strousberg failure falls most heavily on Germany, where he owes over $5,000,000.

The Turkish bondholders, both of the earliest borrowing period and of 1858 and 1871, have waited on Lord Derby to solicit the help of the Government, but he has given them no hope of anything whatever except a good word whenever it shall seem to the Government it may be spoken judiciously; and as it now begins to be somewhat clear that even the other half of the coupons will not be paid in January, the situation seems desperate. It is aggravated, if aggravation be possible, by a sudden change of attitude on the part of Russia, brought about apparently by the repudiation; the official organs at St. Petersburg having abandoned their position of neutrality and abstention on the Herzegovina matter, and returned to the old one of active sympathy with the Christian population. They doubt the possibility of any reform being carried out, while giving the Sultan credit for good intentions, and use language which evidently points to the setting up of some form of purely Christian government in the disturbed provinces, and the renewal of the old policy of pressing the Turks back towards Asia. What Austria and Prussia will do is not yet known, but there is every likelihood that the non-payment of the January coupons will be followed by some decisive step, and it is increased by the news, probably true, of insurgent successes.

The drift in Turkish affairs points more clearly than ever towards intervention in some form. Russia seems to be really bent on bringing it about, and has it in her power to force joint intervention by threatening to interfere alone. Public opinion in England seems to be preparing for an Austrian protectorate of Herzegovina, at least, and, if there is any more positive step taken, to put the whole Ottoman Empire into the hands of trustees for the occupation of Egypt as a matter of safety with regard to India. Things are likely to be brought to a crisis as far as England is concerned by the financial situation. England and France jointly guaranteed a Turkish loan of $25,000,000 in 1854, which was to be secured by the whole revenues of the empire and by whatever remained of the Egyptian tribute after paying the interest on another loan previously contracted the same year. No default has as yet been made on the former loan, but there appears every reason to expect one; and in the new financial scheme of the Grand Vizier, no priority is assigned to this over any other item in the debt as a lien on the revenues. Whenever he fails to pay the interest, therefore, the English taxpayer will be called on for half of it, and then assuredly there will be a great outcry, and he will demand "something to show for his money." The financial circulars of the Turkish Government, in the meantime, continue to be very entertaining, owing to their tone of rigid commercial prudence and probity. They point out to the creditors in austere language the terrible consequences that would have resulted from paying the full interest any longer, and, while ignoring the outlay on palaces and iron-clads, talk of the existing embarrassments as if they were the result of a hail-storm or a bad harvest.

## THE BARBARISM AT ST. LOUIS.

THERE could hardly be more instructive reading at the present moment than the evidence in the whiskey trials at St. Louis. We do not propose to analyze it or comment on it in detail. Indeed, there is very little that is interesting in the cases of the individual defendants. There is nothing surprising or even impressive in their career. Neither they nor the distillers they preyed upon supply a single great moral catastrophe. One of the party, the ex-Supervisor McDonald, who has just been convicted, had so bad a character before his appointment that the two senators from Missouri, Messrs. Drake and Schurz, went to Mr. Boutwell to remonstrate or protest, as the case might require. He received their communications with calmness, and was not prepared to deny their truth, but declared that the nomination was inevitable, and apparently threw the responsibility on a higher power than himself. What followed has, therefore, no great moral lesson in it. The Government officers not only did not repress illicit distillation, but they made arrangements for it on a great scale. They stimulated the production of illicit whiskey by every means in their power, and collected princely revenues for themselves in the way of bribes. The honest distillers, finding they could not compete with the manufacturers of "crooked whiskey," were one by one either driven out of the market or forced to engage in the game of fraud. The gang had their confederates in Washington, who gave them early notice of the occurrence of anything likely to lead to their detection. As usual, too, the need of "the folks in Washington" for campaign funds furnished a frequent excuse for increasing the amounts of money extorted from the distillers, and the whole process was marked, of course, by every variety of fraud and falsehood at every step. A more shocking picture of morals and manners than that painted by the evidence, among men occupying positions of at least commercial prominence, could hardly be laid before the public. But then its lesson is political mainly. The immediate gain the Government is likely to make by these proceedings is estimated, at the outside, at about $1,200,000 a year, or about a single day's total revenue, which is doing very well; but it cannot be said that the pecuniary result of the attack on the Ring is likely to be very valuable. Indeed, if its pecuniary results were the only ones, few people would say it was worth making. We doubt very much indeed whether, if it is not to lead to very permanent reform, the money will compensate us for the publication of a scandal reflecting so much discredit on our institutions. But to secure through it any permanent reform, its lessons must be understood and laid to heart by the community.

It will not do to ascribe what has occurred in St. Louis to any peculiar baseness on the part of either the revenue officers or the distillers engaged in the frauds. They are, as regards character, probably quite up to the average of men in similar positions throughout the country. The distillers probably had the average morality of business men, and the revenue officers are persons of the sort ordinarily selected for their duties, and they were selected by the same process and under the same guarantees as to fitness as revenue officers in other parts of the country. The frauds have been due rather to the peculiar temptations of the whiskey manufacture than to any particular moral weakness on the part of those engaged in them. The civil service broke down more disgracefully at St. Louis than elsewhere, not because it was weaker there, but because it was exposed to a greater strain. The attack on the Ring alone, therefore, will not strengthen the service: it will simply temporarily remove the pressure on it at that particular point. The temptation will remain the same; and when new men are exposed to it, and the terror inspired by the present suits has passed away, they too will probably succumb, though perhaps with less recklessness. If, therefore, the success of the present "raid" should in any way increase the indifference of the public to the need of a thorough change in the mode of selecting and employing revenue officers, it will do harm and not good.

It must be observed, also, that the present vigor of the Government does not point to any permanent change in its methods of discipline. It is, on the contrary, largely the result of an accident. It is an accident, for instance, that a newspaper editor watched the conspirators and informed on them. It was also an accident that a man like Mr. Bristow was in the Treasury. He was not selected for that place on any fixed principle. He fills it because the President happened to take a fancy to him. Luckily, he is a good man for the place—a man who, though not an experienced financier, brings an excellent mind to questions of finance, and who, though not an experienced administrator, brings to the work of administration great vigor and perfect courage and integrity. When, therefore, he was put on the track of these frauds, he followed them up with remorseless severity; but it is safe to say that neither of his predecessors would have done so, and we have no good reason for expecting, with any great confidence, that his successors would do so. The Treasury was the fountain-head of some very bad frauds and abuses under both Mr. Boutwell and Mr. Richardson, but neither of these gentlemen felt called on to pursue them. On the contrary, the exposures were made by Congress, and the Secretaries had so little stomach or capacity for the work of reform that they had to abandon their posts. With the present civil service, therefore, the presence even of an unusually able and upright Secretary promises us no permanent safeguard against even gross corruption. If Mr. Bristow were to resign to-morrow, the old evils might spring up with renewed activity. How little sense of personal security we can derive from the possession of a good officer at the head of a department is well shown by the appointment of Mr. Chandler as the successor of Mr. Delano. Appointments which are the result of personal fancy, indeed, remind one of the methods of Oriental despots. The divan of Solyman or Haroun-al-Raschid was filled with the monarch's personal favorites, and when the Vizier was dismissed, or had his head cut off, the court-barber had as good a chance of the vacant place as the oldest statesman in the empire. Let us say, too, in all seriousness, that the purification of the civil service by "raids" and "assaults" is a thoroughly Oriental process. It has always been the custom of Eastern monarchies to bestow the offices of the government as evidences of the ruler's personal gratitude or affection, and not of his zeal for the welfare of the taxpayers; and then, when the abuses bred by this system in any particular district had become unbearable, to send down emissaries to despatch the chief offender with the sword or the bowstring. The proceedings at St. Louis are an exact copy of this method, with the modifications introduced by the greater mildness of our manners. Instead of strangling our peculators, we send them to the penitentiary. A curious illustration of a sort of subconsciousness of the Oriental analogy is furnished by our adoption of the phrase "decapitation" as a synonym for dismissal from office.

The civilized and scientific mode of maintaining the efficiency of a government service is so different both from the Oriental despotic mode and from ours, that the failure of the most progressive of Western communities to insist on its adoption, and to refuse to rely wholly on "raids" and "decapitation," is perhaps one of the most curious facts of the hundredth year of the national existence. It actually shows that in the work of administration, which is one of the prominent tests of civilization, we have retrograded towards barbarism, and are gradually getting back to a level with Turkey and Afghanistan. The modern scientific method, which is in use in all other first-class Christian states, is to organize the civil service on principles of human nature, and secure honesty and efficiency by diminishing temptation and stimulating hope, instead of relying, in Oriental fashion, on the brute terror caused by occasional applications of the halter and the knife. That is to say, they recognize the value of character, and employ men who, by having behaved well under observation for a long time, show that they are likely to behave well in future; they recognize the weakness of the best men by shielding them as much as possible against temptation, by the provision of careful checks, by the payment of good salaries, or giving the equivalent of good salaries in the shape of security of tenure or social consideration.

In other words, they conduct their business as civilized merchants and bankers conduct it and know that it is necessary to conduct it in order to avoid bankruptcy. If, therefore, public opinion were in a healthy state on this subject, the St. Louis affair would fill us all with shame instead of rejoicing, and the newspapers, instead of congratulating Mr. Bristow, would be filled with expressions of sympathy and regret at seeing him—an able and enlightened modern gentleman—compelled to use in the performance of his duty the machinery which was employed by Tamerlane and Jenghis Khan, and which has long ago been discarded by Christian statesmen.

## THE CUBAN SCARE AND THE PRESS.

THE discussion in the English and American papers of the supposed "note" addressed by the United States to Spain on the Cuban question, will not be likely to strengthen the hands of those who believe we are about entering upon an era of "government by newspaper." It is, for instance, impossible to read the articles which have appeared in London on the subject, dwelling as they do on the unwonted insolence of the demands made on Spain, the tone of haughty arrogance displayed by the "note," the traditional pride of Spain, etc., etc., without noticing a kind of exultation in the prospect of a "difficulty" between Spain and the United States which sadly mars the general tone of the journalistic verdict. We know, of course, on this side of the Atlantic what this feeling really is; every American journalist knows what anxiety is from time to time caused in his own mind by the dread of a "general European war," and how strenuously he endeavors from week to week, and from month to month, to arouse Europe to the dangers which beset her tottering principalities from the military ambition of France, the "earth-hunger" of Germany, or the "manifest destiny" of Russia, and how willingly he unmasks from time to time the combinations and alliances which the unprincipled kings and emperors are getting up among themselves with a view to war. There is an old story, which is supposed to burlesque their philanthropic efforts, of a leading newspaper whose managing editor reserves as one of his standing topics for weekly editorial discussion the "prospect of a general war in Europe," and we believe most people who have noticed the complete manner in which some of the best-laid plans of Bismarck, Thiers, and Gortchakoff for "internecine warfare" have been exposed and foiled by the efforts of the press of this city, will agree with us that there is not much burlesque in the story. We cannot, therefore, complain of the English newspapers for doing their utmost, too, to avert bloodshed in the New World by exposing from time to time the dangers of a "war with Spain." Indeed, the horror of bloodshed displayed by the English press during our Rebellion, and its manly efforts to prevent the catastrophe of a war with Spain, may fairly be set off against our own sadness and gloom at the prospect of a general war on the other side.

The Cuban scare is really a renewed illustration of the duty of journalistic calmness in a time of excitement. The prevailing theory is, we are aware, quite the opposite. According to this, it is the duty of the editor, as soon as he hears of a "crisis" or an "exciting" or "disquieting" rumor of any kind, first to excite and disquiet himself as much as possible, and then to proceed, by means of sensational head-lines and leads, to excite and disquiet his fellow-citizens as much as possible. Now, there is no branch of politics in which he can do this with less safety than in that of foreign relations, and no country whose foreign relations it is less safe to make the attempt with than the United States. We have had sad and mortifying proofs of this before now, in the *Trent* affair and the *Virginius* case. In the former, there can be little question that if it had led to a war with England the press would have been morally responsible for the result; for in the critical condition of the public mind with regard to the surrender of Mason and Slidell, the burden of responsibility fell upon those who undertook to advise the public as to its rights and duties, and this is the function undertaken by the press in civilized countries. Instead of examining the question in a calm and judicial spirit, the press refused to discuss it at all, and did its best to hound the Government into a suicidal war with England. Again, in the case of the *Virginius*, a well-known Cuban vessel—engaged, according to common opinion, in violating the law of the United States, and keeping up a system of piratical descents upon a friendly state from our shores—was captured, and it turned out that she had at the time been fraudulently flying the American flag. The newspapers immediately declared that the American flag had been insulted, demanded the surrender of the vessel, and threatened Spain with a bloody revenge. A few months later it was ascertained that the vessel had no right to an American register, and that we should have to dispense with the salute we had stipulated for as an amends to our wounded honor. The present Cuban scare is even more remarkable than the *Virginius* embroglio, for in that case there were at least some very high-handed proceedings on the part of the Spanish authorities to complain of; but on this occasion the scare has been managed from beginning to end as a strictly journalistic matter. Neither Spain nor the United States seems to have taken part in it, and the whole thing grew out of a letter of instructions given to Mr. Caleb Cushing by Mr. Fish, printed and discussed a year ago by all the newspapers. The only question which Spain and the United States have been discussing has apparently been the right, under the Treaty of 1795, of American citizens, tried by Spanish tribunals, to have counsel—a question the settlement of which, no doubt, was made necessary by the *Virginius* case.

There is one thing that the English press in all its discussions of Spanish-American relations seems determined to overlook, and that is the radical distinction between the relations of powers like the United States to a power like Spain and those existing between first-class European powers. It generally assumes that these relations are the same as between two first-class European powers—Germany and England, for instance, or Austria and France. They are, therefore, always surprised and alarmed at the tone taken by the Government of the United States towards Spain, and generally take pains to intimate that the United States would not address language of this sort to England unless it was ready to go to war. When they find Mr. Fish saying, as he did in his note published a year ago, that "the desire of independence on the part of the Cubans is a natural and legitimate aspiration," inasmuch as they are Americans and not Spaniards; reminding Mr. Cushing that it has long been seen that Cuba must become one of the family of American republics—that the independence of the island is "the manifest exigency of the political interests of the Cubans themselves," and "equally so that of the rest of America, including the United States"; declaring it impossible to doubt that "the ultimate issue of events in Cuba will be its independence, however that issue may be produced, whether by means of negotiation, or as the result of military operations, or of one of those unexpected events which so frequently determine the fate of nations"; and assuring Mr. Cushing that the policy of the United States with reference to Cuba is merely one of "expectancy," but "with positive and fixed convictions as to the duty of the United States when the time or emergency of action shall arise"—when they read these minatory prophecies, they are startled at the openness of the threats, and warn both countries to prepare at once for a bloody struggle. The papers are particularly fond of reminding us of the "haughty pride of the hidalgo," and the unfamiliarity of his ears with intimidating sounds. The fact is, however, that the hidalgo, however haughty he may be, has been accustomed to this sort of intimidation from the days of the Ostend Manifesto down to the present time; and when Mr. Fish talks to him of the attitude of the United States being one of "expectancy," and the destiny of Cuba being to form one of the great body of American republics, he hears what he has always heard for a generation, and is quite accustomed to putting up with. There cannot be said either to be anything very shocking or wrong in it. The reason why the blustering language formerly used to Spain by the United States in the old Democratic days was

disapproved by the majority of mankind, was not because it treated Spain as an inferior power, but because the great majority of civilized people disapproved of the object for which it was used—the annexation of Cuba as a slave State. The legitimate objects of the Government now, and the only objects for which diplomatic pressure has been brought to bear, have been either the protection of American citizens or the cessation of a perfectly barbarous and wasteful guerilla warfare—if warfare it can be called—both praiseworthy objects, provided they are honestly adhered to, and not made use of for electioneering purposes. The only question remaining, then, is whether the United States is entitled, in furthering these objects, to use such language as we have quoted from Mr. Fish's circular or not. There is no abstract international etiquette laid down by Wheaton or Grotius as to the proper language to be used in diplomatic intercourse, except between states which are really equals; and in the case of states really equal, no such language as we have been in the habit of using would ever have been allowed or possible. But Spain is not in the position of an equal, and there would be neither sense nor kindness in being too polite to her. Spain is a bankrupt, semi-civilized, superstitious, and stationary country, unable to govern itself, and devoured by civil war. No European power treats Spain, in fact, with punctilio, and even the language used in our diplomacy cannot compare with the proposal openly made by Germany a few years since, to police Spanish waters with the German navy.

There is really, in the circumstances of the case, so little reason for any Administration at the present time to have the faintest desire to go to war with Spain, that the suggestion looks on its face like a poor joke. Annexation ceased to be a possible policy with the destruction of slavery. A protectorate would involve us in needless expense, and must end in annexation. The island is Spain's most valuable possession, and would not be likely to be given away; and there is probably less military ambition in the American people at the present time, less desire for an "extension of the area of freedom," than for any previous time in the last fifty years. The only strictly military class ever produced in this country, outside the army and navy, were the old "fire-eaters" and filibusters, and they were produced by slavery. Finally, the Administration is not warlike, and, even if it were, it could, in the face of a bitterly hostile House of Representatives, do nothing. A "war with Spain" would therefore be an impossibility were it not for one thing—the fondness of the press for sensations and scares; and the ludicrous termination of the present discussion of the Spanish "note" will not, we hope, blind us to the danger of journalistic enterprise in matters of this kind. It is a gratifying sign of the improvement in the tone of newspaper discussion in this country that on this occasion the "scare" has been foreign rather than domestic.

## THE ARRANGEMENT OF GREAT EXHIBITIONS.

DR. H. SCHWARZ, professor of chemical technology at Gratz, in Styria, has submitted to our consideration certain rules and principles which should govern the subdivision of space and grouping of objects at future exhibitions. His views, evidently based upon careful observations made at Vienna, are characterized by a spirit of fairness and by the desire to bring the educational *moment* of such exhibitions into its rightful prominence. We shall endeavor to reproduce them with as much fulness as our limited space will permit, giving at the same time the reasons which lead us to withhold our assent.

The conclusions at which Dr. Schwarz has arrived are three in number: one is of a negative nature, two are positive. The negative conclusion is that the practice of subdividing space according to nationalities should be abandoned altogether. The progress has been hitherto from municipal to provincial, from provincial to national, from national to international exhibitions. It is now time, our author thinks, to take one more step by instituting what he calls an "anational" exhibition—that is to say, such an exhibition as shall afford to the individual man an opportunity of perceiving what mankind at large, irrespective of territorial distinctions, has effected in utilizing the materials and forces of nature. This substitution of the anational for the international idea will not only facilitate scientific study, but will also, it is thought, help to put an end to the bickerings and jealousies that are apt to arise among detached international commissions. The two positive conclusions are: first, that the space allowed to each class of objects, and to each nation in that class, should be measured by the value which that class and nation represent in the trade of the world; second, that the classes of objects should be grouped in sectors of a circle.

The significance of the first conclusion can be made evident by a concrete example. Let us assume—for the purposes of illustration—that the total area of an exhibition is 2,000,000 square feet; that the total value of the yearly products of the world's industry is $20,000,000,000; and that in this total the iron industry is represented by $1,000,000,000. It results from this that the space to be assigned to the exhibition of iron is 100,000 square feet. Proceeding in the computation, let us assume that the total of $1,000,000,000 for the iron trade is made up of $300,000,000 for England, $150,000,000 for France, Germany, and the United States each, and $250,000,000 for the rest of the world. England, then, would have as her share of space for her iron trade 30,000 square feet, Germany, France, and the United States would have each 15,000, and the remaining 25,000 square feet would be divided among the other nations. Dr. Schwarz maintains that the adoption of some such principle as that embodied in the above example is the only way of doing justice to exhibitors. Heretofore the assignment of space has been, to say the least, arbitrary. One exhibitor who happened to put in his claim before another, or who could bring more influence to bear in his favor, received the lion's share and the best position. This evil was too glaring at Vienna to escape the attention even of the most unobservant. One might perceive there a petty dealer in meerschaum pipes or Russia-leather portemonnaies occupying a far more conspicuous position than a manufacturer representing millions of capital and hundreds of workmen.

Dr. Schwarz's method of arrangement also needs fuller explanation. The centre or core of the circle is to be assigned to the department of education, because this is the basis and starting-point of all man's power over the material world. From this centre radiate the several sectors. Each sector is to comprise some one of the great groups of materials upon which man exercises his powers. Thus, one sector for minerals, another for ores, a third for salts, a fourth for fuels, a fifth for foods, a sixth for articles of clothing, etc. In each sector the objects are to be arranged in progressive order, the raw materials being nearer the core, the more finished products towards the circumference. If around the circle thus subdivided we draw a still larger circle, this outer ring will afford the room for machinery.

We have given little more than the bare outlines of a plan which Dr. Schwarz has elaborated quite in detail. Still, even these outlines will reveal sufficiently his purpose and the motive by which he has been governed. The object is indeed praiseworthy, and if we could only bring ourselves to believe that it was attainable we should not hesitate to give it our countenance. But the doubts that immediately suggest themselves are too numerous and too strong to be suppressed.

In the first place, we fear that Dr. Schwarz has overlooked one potent factor in all exhibitions, to wit, the motive that prompts the individual exhibitor to send his goods. This motive is not patriotism, much less the unselfish desire to instruct mankind in general. To be as brief and explicit as possible, we assert that the motive is the very selfish and ignoble desire to make money. The manufacturer of iron or sugar, the wool-spinner, the dealer in silks or bronzes, sends his iron or sugar, his woollens, silks, or bronzes, not that the tourist and man of science may make comparative studies, but that he, the manufacturer, may sell his goods or at least obtain orders. The key-note of all exhibitions, whether provincial, national, or international, whether at London, Paris, or Vienna, has been business. It is the expectation of increasing his business that induces the manufacturer or trader to go to the expense and annoyance of sending his goods hundreds and thousands of miles. To eliminate this element of money-making, to intimate in advance to exhibitors that their demands for space and their employment of handsome show-cases and other attractions must be squared to the ideal of a lesson in science, would be nipping the enterprise in the bud.

In the next place, we think that Dr. Schwarz sets an erroneous value upon this scientific teaching itself. Not that we regard a *coup d'œil* of the world's industry, properly classified and proportioned, as a thing of little value. On the contrary, were it a demonstrated possibility, we should welcome it as one of the greatest lessons of life. But the time has not come, and probably never will come, when a world's-fair can be used as the stage for such a *coup d'œil*. A world's-fair is only a vanity-fair, a jumble of good and bad, of wisdom and folly. Those who go to it are for the most part sight-seers. For one who visited Paris or Vienna with the steadfast purpose of study, one hundred came with no object in view beyond the gratification

of their curiosity, no expectation save that of making a stray bargain. Yet it is the hundred aimless tourists, in distinction from the one student, who support the exhibition, and it is for them, for their convenience and pleasure, that the exhibition must be planned. They do not look for a strictly scientific arrangement; in fact, they would be rather disconcerted and puzzled by it. Their chief concern is that the several objects and show-cases shall be easy of access, and that each case shall have its showman, ready to sell or to give information. In this very matter of showmen, the Germans at Vienna made, we think, a serious and to them costly blunder. Their arrangement was, in general, excellent—far better than that of most other nations. Articles of the same kind were carefully grouped, not infrequently in joint cases. There was more method, more science, if the reader will, in their department than in that of the French. Yet the French sold two or three times as much. The result was due in part, doubtless, to the attractiveness of the French goods, but it was also due largely to the circumstance that the French exerted themselves to sell, while the Germans did not. The Germans seemed to be "organized" out of all sense of individual enterprise. Case after case bore the placard: "For information, apply to the Office of the German Commission, No. —." We doubt if one in ten of the visitors who really wished to buy or to obtain information took the trouble of walking a quarter or half a mile to the German Commission's office.

Besides, it is not altogether evident to us that a grouping by nationalities is undesirable. The so-called geographical arrangement adopted at Vienna was unquestionably a failure. It was, in both the English and the German sense of the term, "fatal" to the last degree. Each nation stood by itself, and the great exhibition was little else than a string of little exhibitions. One who wished to compare English and Japanese porcelain, for instance, was compelled to walk the entire length of a building over three thousand feet long, because the English department was at one end and the Japanese at the other. But the "anational" arrangement advocated by Dr. Schwarz seems to us a move to the opposite extreme. We do not believe that mankind is ready yet to be denationalized. Even if the several governments entering into an international exhibition could be led to waive their claims for separate representation, such a denationalization would be attended with assuredly one evil consequence. Each visitor brings with him a certain amount of national preferences and prejudices. If he does not succeed in shaking them off and learning to look at the efforts of other nations in a more liberal and enlightened spirit, he fails to learn the first and perhaps the only lesson that an international exhibition can give him. Yet he undoubtedly will fail to learn it unless it be made easy for him, unless he be enabled to take in at a glance the entirety of products exhibited by his own country and compare it with the entirety of some other country. Such a comparison, crude and superficial as it may be, is still a gain, and a gain which every one can make for himself. Whereas the anational plan, by arranging all the products of the world according to certain principles familiar only to the professed technologist, would deprive the layman of his only basis and object of comparison. Now, as we have stated before, there are one hundred laymen for one technologist, and each one of these hundred laymen would like to see how his country as a whole, not in its iron industry alone or in its woollen industry, but as a nation among nations, will compare with its neighbors. Unless he can see this much at least, he will come away disappointed.

Each international exhibition has been the child of circumstances, not to say of adversity. The Paris Exposition of 1867 made the nearest approach to symmetry and completeness of arrangement. Yet it was only an approach, although it was the supreme effort of the most enlightened and proficient despotic bureaucracy that the world has probably ever seen. The other exhibitions all outgrew the ideas and capacity of those who projected them. To speak paradoxically, they succeeded too well, inasmuch as they succeeded in exhausting the resources of their managers. Such is to be the case, we apprehend, at Philadelphia. So far as Dr. Schwarz's theory may have been intended for the Centennial, we have only to say that it comes too late, and even if it had come in season it could not have been adopted by the Centennial Commission. That Commission is anything but a bureau of scientists. It is only a committee of business men, whose hands have been tied from the start, who have labored under disadvantages of every sort, who have done the best they could under the circumstances, and who are perfectly aware of their shortcomings. For a long while the very existence of the Centennial was an open question. Debarred from national subsidies, dependent upon State and municipal aid, it is only within the past six months that the Commission have convinced themselves and the world at large that the Centennial would in truth come into being. Now, by a revulsion of opinion which is common to all such enterprises, there is, perhaps, a trifle too much zeal for the Centennial, too much alacrity to participate in its benefits. The representatives of more than one European government have demanded an increase of space, and even Russia, which this time last year gratified an old grudge by snubbing the invitation extended to it, has reconsidered its action and decided to accept. It is self-evident that amid this conflict of hope and fear, doubt, delay, and hurry, the demands of pure science must give way to considerations of a more practical nature. The arrangement adopted by the Commission seems to us to be the only feasible one. It does not admit of such delicate adjustment of details as that which was carried out at Paris, but it promises to be far more satisfactory than the "herring-bone" at Vienna. The area of the Main Pavilion, a rectangular building, is to be divided into longitudinal and transverse zones, the former serving for the grouping of articles by departments, the latter by countries. This is not ideal perfection; there will be overlapping here, and crowding there. But it is a tolerable working plan. It will enable the visitor to compare his own country with another, it will also enable him to study different classes of products without too much fatigue and loss of time. It should satisfy both tourist and technologist, provided they do not make demands which it is beyond the power of an international exhibition to meet.

As to Dr. Schwarz's method of ensuring a juster apportionment of space among exhibitors we have also misgivings. In theory it may be possible to devise a formula for apportioning space according to the percentage of value which a certain article has in the trade of the world. But in practice the case is quite different. A world's-fair is not a government institution for the instruction of the people. It is a business enterprise, and like other business enterprises it is dependent for its success upon the observance of the usual business principles. In one sense it is not justice, abstract justice, that the heavy manufacturer should have to content himself with a few square feet in an odd corner, while the dealer in patent medicines or stove-polish has a commodious stand in the central aisle But if we go into the origin of the difference we may find that there is no injustice after all. The dealer may have had faith in the exhibition from the moment it was proposed, and put in his demand for space accordingly; whereas the heavy manufacturer, mistrustful and cautious, may have held back until the last moment. Experience warrants us in regarding this supposition as more than a supposition—as, indeed, an actual fact. We believe that in general the dealers, those who expect to sell on the spot, are more ready to take part in an exhibition than the manufacturers, who look upon their returns as less immediate and certain. This is only human nature; however much we may regret it, we cannot change or ignore it. So long as the managers of an exhibition are not the agents of a government strong enough and despotic enough to compel its citizens to exhibit in the way it deems best, just so long will they remain what they are—business men who have to act upon the old-fashioned rule of first come, best served. We must be satisfied if they only do apply the rule, and are not governed by considerations of an improper nature.

Dr. Schwarz's plan is perhaps feasible upon a narrower field than that of an international exhibition. If the government of some compact and thoroughly organized country—the German Empire, for instance—should resolve upon making a complete and scientifically arranged display of all its resources and industry, it might succeed. The Berlin Bureau of Statistics could sum up with accuracy the total value of the trade and manufactures of the Empire and calculate to a nicety the relative value of each branch. The Imperial Government, having at its command a host of perfectly trained officials familiar with the minutest detail of public and private activity, could bring a powerful pressure to bear upon each individual producer. This pressure, if wisely and persistently exerted, could scarcely fail of its aim. The country would not only respond, but it would submit to the regulations and restrictions imposed by the Government. But from such a national exhibition, even if it succeeded perfectly, to an international exhibition on like principles, is a long step. We doubt if even the German Government would be willing to undertake it.

## THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE ON THE EASTERN QUESTION.

PARIS, Nov. 5, 1875.

THERE is every indication that the Eastern question is reopened, and it will take for a time the first place in the preoccupations of Europe. The Herzegovina match has been touched to a fire which will never again be extinguished. The great feature of the situation in Europe is the alliance of the three Emperors of Germany, of Austria, and of Russia; and there can be no doubt now that the principal objective, to use a military term, of the alliance has been the solution of the Eastern question. It has been decided

between the Chancellors of the three courts (and time will show whether they have assumed or not an impossible task) that the Eastern question must be solved without war, that it must be solved without the interference of France and over the head of England; not that England will be excluded from the final settlement, but her influence in the solution of the question will not be allowed to be predominant.

It is a great mistake to have ever supposed that Prussia did not desire the aggrandizement of Russia. Prince Bismarck is too acute, too far-seeing to hope to keep Russia chained, like a polar bear, within its actual limits. It is the interest of Germany that the ambition and activity of the Russians should find an outlet in the possessions of the Sultan rather than in the possessions of Germany and of Austria. If the Russians find their way to Constantinople, if they claim their right to have a free access to the Mediterranean Sea, the Germans will be encouraged in their hope of getting a larger share in the possession of the coast of the Northern Sea. Nothing could be easier than to bring about an understanding between Russia and Prussia on the Eastern question. Prince Bismarck could give *carte blanche* to Prince Gortchakoff in the East without compromising in the slightest manner the interests of Germany which are confided to him. The difficulty could only begin with Austria; and as it suited both Germany and Russia that the Eastern question should receive a pacific solution, it became necessary to satisfy Austria, or, at any rate, not to drive her to any desperate action. But what could Austria do in the face of Prussia allied to Russia? She has been so humbled that her old spirit is quite destroyed. The Emperor, who has lost his Italian provinces, who has lost the leadership of the German confederation, has become shy, timid, and nervous; his only desire is to live from day to day; and Bismarck does not wish to humble him any more; on the contrary, it suits him not to see Austria, a semi-German empire, too much degraded. He has adopted the old theory of the *Allgemeine Zeitung:* Austria has a providential mission in the valley of the Danube; she imports civilization from Germany proper, and exports it among the many races which are living in the eastern part of her empire, and in the provinces which are now dependencies of Turkey.

It would be impossible to give the details of the agreement which has been made between Prussia, Austria, and Russia on the many questions connected with the settlement of the Eastern question. But it is impossible not to see that there is a plan; the insurrection of the Herzegovina was the opening of the drama. The Great Powers did not give any direct encouragement to the insurrection; on the contrary, it was left to Austria to discourage the Servians, the Montenegrins, and all the populations which could easily be induced to revolt against the Sultan. At the same time, an impression was produced: it became apparent that Turkey was living only as it were on sufferance in Europe, and that it was always in the power either of Austria or of Russia to bring its life to an end. The curtain was lifted from the bed of the sick man, and he was shown to the world. It was not enough to prove to the world that the Turkish rule was threatened on all sides by the Christian populations; it was necessary to precipitate the bankruptcy of Turkey. England and France had, since the Crimean war, supported the fallen empire of Constantinople; loans had been contracted year after year in London and in Paris; great reforms had always been promised, but these promises had never been executed; the contractors of these loans made great fortunes; new palaces were erected on the Bosphorus; the choicest diamonds in the world found their way to the harems of Constantinople; but the empire was falling into an abyss of misery; the pashas exacted by force from the impoverished populations taxes which they could only pay with the greatest difficulty. The sham civilization which had been introduced into the country of Islam was only a theatre-curtain, which covered the abominable corruption of a few men and the wretched poverty of the many. The soldiers received no pay; the functionaries were paid with paper which they had to discount.

The end has come. General Ignatieff went to the Sultan and showed him one of the bonds of the Turkish debt. "How much did you receive for this from your English and French money-lenders? The nominal value of this bond is 100; you did not receive more than 50, on the average." The Sultan called for the Grand Vizier, and said to him: "My ministers have been very foolish; the Christians only gave me half the capital which I must reimburse to them; it is wrong; pay only from this day half the interest which was first agreed." And so Turkey became half bankrupt, and the shock which her finances has received is so severe that many men ask themselves whether it will be possible for her to pay the half of the interest of her debt. The object of the great courts was obtained. The only losers in the affair were the English and French investors, who had hoped to prop up the rotten edifice of the Turkish Empire. Turkey had fallen in the estimation of the world; she had no money and had lost her credit; and the promises which Turkey made to the investors whom she had disappointed still gave them an interest in a pacific and quiet settlement of the Eastern question. If the Russians entered Constantinople by sea they might throw the innumerable bonds of the Turkish debt into the Bosphorus; but if Turkey, humbled, ruined, and despised, was forced to come to some agreement with the three courts, perhaps her debt might be partly recognized. Turkey from this day has ceased to be a power of the first order; she has sunk to the place where the Christians ought always to have kept her. The great Sultan stands in the position of a foolish young man, who has lost everything, and who goes to some relation who must put everything in order and give him a pittance.

What the pittance will be is probably only known by very few men. There may be a sort of confederacy formed in the East, in which the Sultan, confined to one province, would only rank like the prince who rules now in Roumania or the Prince of Servia. Russia might accept the protectorate of this new confederacy. The Sultan may be forced to leave Europe and to remain in one of his pashaliks in Asia. The divisions and rivalries of the races in the East make this settlement very difficult. Among these races, the Slaves form the most numerous and fanatical nucleus; even in Austria they have often become very troublesome; the hatred of the Croatians against the Hungarians was the principal cause of the failure of Kossuth's attempt in 1849. The protectorate of Russia would be hailed with joy by all the Slavic populations of the East. What will be done with Egypt in the new combinations which have been planned? England has so long assumed a sort of protectorate of the Ottoman Empire that she can hardly witness a sort of partition of this empire without either asking for a part of the spoils or without going to war. The second would be the proudest, the first the most easy, mode of action. How is England to go to war against a coalition of three powers like Prussia, Austria, and Russia? France, whom she abandoned in 1870, for whom she did not even utter a diplomatic protest when old provinces were torn from her territory—France can do nothing for her in the East. France needs no possessions in Asia or Africa, she does not care any more about the East; it is indifferent to her how the mantle of the great Sultan may be cut in pieces. There is and there will long be but one question for her: the question of Alsace-Lorraine. France has become the nation of one idea. She has no right to compromise her influence, her financial prosperity, her new army, in distant adventures.

England may therefore be left quite alone in the cold at the moment when the "sick man" comes to die. Great armies will march on the Danube from the north and from the west, and what will she do? She may call for a congress or conference: there she will find herself in a minority. No party in England desires a war; the material interests of the nation would suffer too great a shock from any long struggle with Europe. The English press is already preparing the country for a pacific solution of the Eastern question. "Since the Suez Isthmus has been cut," say the leaders of opinion, "England need not care so much about Constantinople; all she requires is a free road to India. Egypt must be kept free." Such are the words you now hear falling from the mouths of English statesmen.

Will Russia consent to see the Khedive become a vassel of England instead of a vassal of the Sultan? Will England ask for a neutralization of Egypt and of the Isthmus? How are the Powers to deal with M. de Lesseps and the French shareholders of the Canal? These are questions which will probably soon arise. The Khedive is already invited on many sides to make himself completely independent of the Porte; the English financiers would be quite pleased if he sent the annual tribute which he owes to the Sultan to the Bank of England. Practically, the Khedive is a sovereign prince; he has, unfortunately for himself, plunged into debt, and his financial embarrassments place him in the hands of the City of London. It is a new feature of the time to see financial questions intermingled so closely with political questions. England will have to abandon the long-cherished theory of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; she will witness a partition, in some form or other, of this Empire; she will herself probably only make a stand on this question of Egypt and the Isthmus. If Egypt has been promised to her, the Eastern question may be solved with the greatest ease; if England, as I incline to believe, has received no guarantee of any kind, we may expect to enter on a phase of long and difficult complications.

# Correspondence.

## ODIUM PHILOLOGICUM.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your issue of Oct. 21 there is a paragraph, at p. 261, with reference to a part of which I confidently appeal to your sense of justice.

Coupling Mr. R. G. White with myself, you remark that, in the controversy between us, "the abuse became so foul that one of the disputants was obliged to veil his epithets in the obscurity of a dead language." The foulness of abuse, as you deem it, which reached this pitch, was not on my part, and I think you should have made it plain that I am not the offender whom you point at.

Adverting to some comments which you made nearly two years ago, you repeat your opinion, "that the explanation of the fury which is apt to mark philological discussions is to be found in the fact that 'a man's speech is apt to be, or to be considered, an indication of the manner in which he has been bred, and of the character of the company he keeps.'"

Your article in which this passage occurs, headed "Odium Philologicum," appears to take for granted that I, equally with Mr. White, have drawn, from such considerations as a man's pronunciation, choice of language, etc., the inferences which you specify. I would be allowed to deny that I have done so. Of your "fact," as a general position, I have nothing to say.

As to the most approved pronunciation, I am satisfied, towards ascertaining it, with the decisions of the latest and most accredited English lexicographers. Further, in numerous cases where an expression, or a given sense of an expression, has been impugned as vulgar or the like, my argument, if I conclude it to be otherwise, consists in simply adducing printed proof to the contrary. In support of my conviction that any particular thing in our language is polite, or even allowable, I never take my stand on what I have heard with my own ears. Free intercourse, almost uninterrupted, with highly-educated Englishmen for nearly thirty years, might warrant me in being less exclusive as to the grounds of my philological judgments; but it is to grounds which any one may verify that I prefer to restrict myself.

This rule of procedure I am not aware that I have ever violated. Lest, however, I should see repeated for the twentieth time, and once more urged against me, a passage contained in pp. 50, 51 of my 'Recent Exemplifications of False Philology,' I hope you will permit me a brief explanation.

Mr. White lays down that to sound as in *father* the *a* of *glass*, *last*, and *pastor*, "is the surest indication, in speech, of social culture which began at the cradle." These words, thus sounded, I have told Mr. White, "come perilously near being vulgarisms"; and I have added: "The gossips that haunted his cradle must have been miserably underbred."

This style of pronunciation, Mr. White likewise says, "indicates breeding rather than education"; and no one can question that it is his own style. While, however, he gives no authority for it, save the chilling pronouncements just quoted, I have stated that, in the words above mentioned, the "*a*, according to all the orthoëpists that I know of, is exactly that in *an* and *at*." These orthoëpists I take to be trustworthy exponents of the pronunciation enjoined by "breeding," or the well-bred; and hence, having accepted concessively the standing-point which Mr. White assumes in the matter, I surely committed no very serious trespass in rating less highly than he rates the sympathizing neighboresses who moulded his loquiscential utterances.

The late Bishop Wilberforce was reckoned a perfect model as regarded orthoëpy, and his *after*, *alas*, *master*, *pass*, *staff*, etc., etc., had the sound of *a* in *fat*. It is nothing that I often noticed this myself. Will any one who recollects his oratory testify contrarily?

Finally, as to the view that such an exorbitance as "fury" has ever marked any of my "philological discussions," I have only to express my surprise (which is always of the very mildest type) that my hostile critics should fail to recognize in its true character the mere earnestness of a patient seeker after truth, when he finds himself face to face with a deficiency of the scientific in practice and in principle.

Your obedient servant, FITZEDWARD HALL.

HILL HOUSE, MARLESFORD, WICKHAM MARKET, Nov. 4, 1875.

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[We thought we had sufficiently indicated in the article on the "Odium Philologicum," by our quotations from Mr. Grant White, that, in the case in question, we considered him the principal, if not the only, offender. We ought perhaps also to have mentioned in our recent "note" on the same subject that it was he who had to veil in the obscurity of the Latin tongue some of his observations on Dr. Hall. We admit, too, freely, that it is Mr. White's method—viz., the following up of a hostile philologist to his mother's knee—which begets most of the excesses of language by which these controversies are marked. But having said this and expressed our regret for doing Dr. Hall even seeming injustice, we must repeat our belief that anybody who "locks horns," as the late Horace Greeley used to say, either with Mr. White or any other word-critic on questions of grammar or usage or pronunciation, must expect the encounter to be marked by atrocities of which he will inevitably have to bear a portion of the blame. The public sees the dust and hears the clash of the weapons and the shouts of the combatants, but which is most responsible for the disturbance it does not take the trouble to decide. —ED. NATION.]

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## SHERIDAN'S DEATH-BED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It seems to me that the writer of the notice of 'Personal Reminiscences' in No. 535 of the *Nation* is much too swift in denying the truth of the picture drawn by M. Taine of Sheridan's death-bed. M. Taine states substantially that the dying man was arrested on his death-bed by a bailiff, and would have been taken off in his blankets had it not been for the doctor's declaration that the sick man would die on the road; that a newspaper appeal shamed the great lords into leaving their cards at his door as he was breathing his last; and that he had lords at his funeral, and bailiffs at his death-bed. Your reviewer says that Taine has "taken the popular tradition as to the circumstances of Sheridan's death," and that "Michael Kelly, fifty years ago, had published a flat contradiction of the popular stories on the subject." I do not know what the "popular stories" or "tradition" are, but the above account by M. Taine is fully confirmed by Moore in his 'Life of Sheridan,' published in the same year with Kelly's book, 1825, and it is not contradicted by any of your reviewer's quotations from Kelly, which state only that Sheridan was not in want of the common necessaries of life, that he returned a gift of £200, and that "his own man" said that Sheridan wanted for nothing, and that all contrary stories were false. Your critic admits the truth of the story of the "death-bed *capias*," but comforts us with the remark that "*capiases* were an everyday affair in Sheridan's life, and they had long ceased to have any terrors for him." Moore, however, gives rather a different view. Pp. 442–4 of Volume II. (2d ed.), he says: "One of the most humiliating trials of his [Sheridan's] life was yet to come. In the spring of this year [a year before his death], he was arrested and carried to a spunging-house, where he remained two or three days. . . . On his return home, all his fortitude forsook him, and he burst into a long and passionate fit of weeping at the profanation, as he termed it, which his person had suffered." In his last sickness, shortly before the arrest mentioned by Taine, Sheridan writes to Mr. Rogers, pp. 454–5: "I am absolutely undone and broken-hearted. . . . They are going to put the carpets out of window, and break into Mrs. S.'s room and *take me*" (the italics are his own); "for God's sake, let me see you." Mr. Rogers went and saw him, and by paying £150 saved him *that* time. As to the desertion of his death-bed, which you say "was made out of whole cloth," Moore says, p. 461, "This is a subject on which it is difficult to speak with patience," and he relates at length the facts given by M. Taine; and, after enumerating the king's brothers, the peers, and great men who carried the pall, and whose carriages swelled the funeral pageant, he says it was not a little interesting to see, walking humbly side by side in the procession, "the only two men whose friendship had not waited for the call of vanity to display itself—Dr. Bain and Mr. Rogers."

Very respectfully yours, S.

BOSTON, October 31, 1875.

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[We had no intention, as our correspondent seems to suppose, of representing the death-bed of Sheridan as an enviable one, or of intimating that because *capiases* were an everyday affair with him, he had contracted a liking for sheriffs' officers. But there is a direct contradiction between Moore (whom Taine evidently followed blindly) when he speaks of the "only two men whose friendship had not waited for the call of vanity to display itself" as being Dr. Bain and Mr. Rogers, and Kelly. The latter took the pains to investigate Sheridan's pecuniary condition at the time, and found, 1st, that there was nothing he could do for his friend, and, 2d, that people of distinction and wealth (the £200 seems to have come from some relative of the king) were interesting themselves in him. If our correspondent will compare Taine's account with Kelly's, he will see that the former has wholly overlooked or slurred over the contemporary controversy as to Sheridan's death-bed, which was of sufficient importance to his friends to induce them to take an active part in it.—ED. NATION.]

# Notes.

DODD & MEAD have nearly ready 'The Relations of Civil Law to Ecclesiastical Polity and Property and Discipline,' by Justice Strong, of the U. S. Supreme Court.——A 'Dictionary of Cookery' is announced by Cassell, Petter & Galpin.——J. W. Bouton will publish 'Etchings from the National Gallery.'——The fourth volume of Max Müller's 'Chips' is announced by Scribner, Armstrong & Co.——'Our Place among the Infinities,' by Richard A. Proctor; and 'The Five Senses of Man,' by Prof. Bernstein, of Halle, are in the press of D. Appleton & Co.——Macmillan & Co.'s fall list includes the following works not already mentioned by us: 'The Makers of Florence,' by Mrs. Oliphant, uniform with 'Holland House'; 'The History of Eton College,' by H. C. Maxwell Lyte, illustrated, and uniform with the foregoing; 'Political and Military Episodes during the First Half of the Reign of George III.,' by E. B. Fonblanque; 'The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, from the Earliest Date,' by W. D. Killen, D.D.; 'Shakespeare's Plutarch's Lives,' by the Rev. W. W. Skeat; 'The Austrian Arctic Expedition,' by Lieut. Payer; and 'Angola and the River Congo,' by Joachim Monteiro.——F. B. Patterson will shortly republish in book-form Mr. Geo. A. Baker, jr.'s series of essays on the 'Bad Habits of Good Society.'——Jansen, McClurg & Co., Chicago, announce 'Graziella,' an episode in the life of Lamartine, translated by James B. Runnion.——Jas. R. Osgood & Co. announce 'Essays,' by John Fiske.——'The Life and Works of Count Rumford' will be published by Estes & Lauriat.——Roberts Bros. have in preparation 'Eastern Life, Past and Present,' by Harriet Martineau; and 'Protection for Majorities,' by Josiah P. Quincy.——Robert Clarke & Co. announce the 'Poems of George D. Prentice,' edited by J. J. Piatt.——Students of the history of the present century will be glad to learn of a very valuable compendium just about to appear in England, 'The 'Map of Europe' by Treaty, 1814–1875.' This work is in three volumes royal 8vo, pp. xxxvi.–2,400, and is designed to show the political and territorial changes which have taken place since the general peace of 1814. It therefore contains declarations of war, treaties of peace and boundary, decrees annexing territory, protests, reports of European conferences, etc., etc., illustrated by numerous notes and colored maps, and accompanied by a copious index. The editor is Mr. Edward Hertslet, librarian and keeper of the papers, Foreign Office.

—We lately noticed the publication, by August Auerbach, Stuttgart, of a German translation of Prof. C. K. Adams's 'Democracy and Monarchy in France.' It appears that this was the beginning of a "line" which the enterprising publisher has undertaken with a view to making known to German readers the productions of contemporary American writers—in each case by special arrangement with them. We hear of Mr. Bigelow's 'Autobiography of Franklin' as in preparation, and in the meantime Herr Auerbach sends us Bayard Taylor's 'Geschichte von Deutschland' and Francis Parkman's 'Die Pioniere Frankreichs in der neuen Welt.' That Mr. Taylor's school-history of Germany should not be coals to Newcastle is certainly complimentary to the author. The translation has been made by his wife (*née* Marie Hansen), and its exactness is consequently assured. The work is provided with eight historical maps. The translator of Mr. Parkman's 'Pioneers of France' is not named, nor is it stated on the title-page that only the second part of the original, relating to Champlain and his associates, is here reproduced. This is, however, not overlooked in the Introduction by Dr. Friedrich Kapp, the reason for the omission being that the Huguenot settlements in Brazil and Florida had no real connection with the founding of New France. The German version is noticeably closer and, with the above exception, fuller than the French of the Countess Clermont-Tonnerre which Didier published last year. Dr. Kapp gives a sketch of Mr. Parkman's life based on that of the Abbé Casgrain (Quebec, 1872), and considers the value of his works for German readers to lie in the picture they give of that French absolutism from which the German people suffered so much—directly from the wars and devastations of the two Louises, and indirectly from the aping of French manners and immorality and the senseless copying of the French political system (*Staatswesen*). He announces that the kindred work on 'The Old Régime in Canada' will next be put forth, and if these volumes meet with favor the rest of Mr. Parkman's works will follow in due time. We would call the attention both of teachers and of students of the modern languages to this German-American series of Herr Auerbach's, as furnishing a capital means of exercise in translating from one tongue into the other. It would, we think, have been wise to give a uniform size to the volumes.

—A correspondent writes us from London, under date of November 6: "Mr. Henry Irving's *Macbeth*, which, on the actor's first appearance in the part in London some six weeks ago, produced not a little disappointment in the general public, seems to have been accepted as an interesting if not a triumphant attempt, and is exhibited to audiences numerous if not overflowing, and deferential if not enthusiastic. Considering the actor's reputation, indeed, the very undemonstrative attitude of the spectators at the Lyceum is most noticeable. Mr. Irving's acting is, to my mind, not of a kind to provoke enthusiasm, and I can best describe it by saying that it strikes me as the acting of a very superior amateur. If Mr. Irving were somewhat younger, and if there existed in England any such school of dramatic training as the Conservatoire of Paris, any such exemplary stage as the Théâtre Français, a discriminating critic might say of him: 'Here is an aspirant with the instincts of an artist, and who, with proper instruction, may become an actor.' But, thanks to the absence of a school and of any formidable competition, success has come easily to Mr. Irving, and he has remained, as the first tragic actor in England, decidedly incomplete and amateurish. His personal gifts—face, figure, voice, enunciation—are rather meagre; his strong points are intellectual. He is ingenious, intelligent, and fanciful; imaginative he can hardly be called, for he signally fails to give their great imaginative value to many of the superb speeches he has to utter. In declamation he is decidedly flat; his voice is without charm, and his utterance without subtlety. But he has thought out his part, after a fashion of his own, very carefully, and the interest of his rendering of it lies in seeing a spare, refined man, of an unhistrionic—of a rather sedentary—aspect, and with a thick, unmodulated voice, but with a decided sense of the picturesque, grappling in a deliberate and conscientious manner with a series of great tragic points. This hardly gives an impression of strength, of authority, and it is not for force and natural magic that Mr. Irving's acting is remarkable. He has been much criticised for his conception of his part—for making *Macbeth* so spiritless a plotter before his crime, and so arrant a coward afterward. But in the text, as he seeks to emphasize it, there is fair warrant for the line he follows. Mr. Irving has great skill in the representation of terror, and it is quite open to him to have thrown into relief this side of his part. His best moment is his rendering of the scene with the bloody daggers—though it must be confessed that this stupendous scene always does much toward acting itself. Mr. Irving, however, is here altogether admirable, and his representation of a nature trembling and quaking to its innermost spiritual recesses really excites the imagination. Only a trifle less powerful is his scene with Banquo's ghost at the feast, and the movement with which, exhausted with vain bravado, he muffles his head in his mantle and collapses beside the throne. Mr. Irving has several points in common with Edwin Booth, and belongs to the same general type of actor; but I may say that if, to my thinking, Edwin Booth comes nearer being a man of genius, I find Mr. Irving more comfortable to see. Of Miss Bateman, who does *Lady Macbeth*, the less said the better. She has goodwill and a certain superficial discretion; but a piece of acting and declaiming of equal pretensions, more charmless in an artistic way, it has not been my fortune to behold."

—It is estimated that about one person in eleven hundred in the United States is mentally deranged. These figures, although more favorable than those for many other countries, give a motive for careful study by the laity, as well as by physicians, of the outline of the modern treatment of the insane, especially as four-fifths of our institutions for their care belong to the public. Dr. Charles F. Folsom, of Boston, Secretary to the Massachusetts Board of Health, has introduced in some interesting letters from Europe (*Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. XCIII., Nos. 7, 9, 11, 16) observations on this subject made abroad which merit a more general circulation than a strictly professional journal commands. These show that the treatment by confidence, as it may be called—that is, not only the abolition of direct mechanical restraint, but the absence of indirect confinement, as by locked doors or barred windows, or even by walls at the boundaries of the grounds—can be successfully used in a very large proportion of unselected cases. That "the more you trust, the more you may" could be possible in any enlarged sense with the insane, is an outgrowth of the teachings and the practice of Dr. Batty Tuke, by whom this open-door system was introduced less than five years ago at Cupar-Fife, Scotland. "Restraint is neglect" is a maxim with the best alienists, and inattention is equally neglect. This disuse of barriers would be inattention were there not enough competent attendants, and were not other agencies invoked. Congenial and constant employment, cheerful surroundings, and the perpetual cultivation of self-respect and self-control, are powerful aids in the care and in the cure of the insane. At Munich, it is claimed that the in-

fluence of the beautiful in the rooms and grounds for the most demented has reduced that very troublesome class, "the filthy," seventy-five per cent. The medicinal treatment of the insane does not concern us as laymen, nor are the methods alluded to all novel in this country; in fact, the increase of liberty and comfort was once known as the American system. But the description of what Dr. Folsom has seen, and especially a letter from Dr. John Fraser, of Scotland, which he reproduces, deserve the attention of philanthropists as the latest and most advanced experience in this interesting province.

—If Mr. Freeman has any sense of humor—and we believe his friends claim it for him—he will be amused with an article in the last number of the *International Review*, written by a gentleman who outherods Herod in his development of one of the hobbies of the historian. Mr. Freeman, as our readers know, is the protagonist of that school of students of English history who shake the dust off their feet when they leave the houses of those who talk of "Anglo-Saxon" literature or recognize any historical people as "Anglo-Saxons" England is the only name they are willing to give the island, and English the only name they are willing to give to the language of the inhabitants, at whatever date. According to this theory, as we understand it, the tribes which migrated to England from that part of the continent now called Schleswig-Holstein, either on their way across, or immediately on their arrival, began to talk, not Anglo-Saxon, but "the common language of Shakspere and Milton," and from that day to this the language of the people has been and remained English. We have always thought it would be strange if some traces of this tie between the Schleswig-Holsteiners on the continent and that branch of the tribe now governed by Queen Victoria were not apparent, and it seems from the article to which we refer, on Ernst Curtius, Müller, and Mommsen, by Robert P. Keep (late U. S. consul at Athens), that it is plainly visible and probably even audible. In the summer of 1873 Mr. Keep visited, he tells us, Schleswig-Holstein, the cradle of the race, as we may call it, and "had the privilege of spending some hours in the society of Professor Jansen, of the Gymnasium at Kiel." He was received hospitably, but noticed from the first that there was something strangely familiar about everything he saw and everybody he met, and shortly found out that what struck him was "something English in the physique and physiognomy of many of those whom he met"; on entering the Professor's house he "not only found what seemed like an English home," but was surprised to find that the Holsteiners took "what may be called the English point of view." At last he cried out: "Why, what does this mean? I have seemed to see about me in the streets English faces and English forms, and now on entering your house I discover an ability on your part to enter into my views, and a sympathy on my part with yours such as is usually found only in those of the same race and language." To this the Professor replied without hesitation that such a state of affairs was natural enough, inasmuch as this was the very ground from which the English came, and since, in fact, "we [the Schleswig-Holsteiners] *are* English," or rather "the English are the descendants of our fathers." It seems from this that the sort of feelings which Americans often say they have on going for the first time to England—a feeling of return to one's real country—must be closely akin to that which the British feel on going back to the parent "lodge" on the Continent. A more striking and touching instance of blood being thicker than water we have rarely met with than in this recognition (after a race-separation during all these years) by Mr. Keep, on setting foot in Jutland, that he had really got back to the "old home" again.

—The success of the Austrian Expedition promises to revive the waning interest in Polar discovery. Thus far, the English national and private parties have been the principal tangible result of this enthusiasm. In Germany, the Government invited a number of gentlemen to examine the whole matter and give an opinion upon the desirableness of an expedition. This commission, under the presidency of Privy-Councillor V. Möller, contained Prof. Dove, Dr. W. Siemens, and Baron v. Richthofen (President of the Geographical Society) of Berlin; the astronomers Winnecke, Rumker, H. Karsten, and Prof. Bruhns, of Strassburg, Hamburg, Rostock, and Leipzig respectively; Prof. Neumayer of the Admiralty; Prof. Zittel, Munich; Grisebach, Göttingen; Prof. v. Quenstedt, Tübingen; Prof. Karslen, Kiel; and Prof. Schimper, Strassburg. They have just finished their labors, and have reported adversely to further exploration, on the ground that we have as yet too little experience to render such expeditions profitable. They recommend, however, the establishment of stations in high latitudes, both at the North and South Poles, for meteorological observations, and that, to this end, the co-operation of other nations should be invited as far as practicable. This, we suppose, renders any German exploring party an impossibility for the present, as private enterprise is hardly likely to get out ships suitable to this end unaided by the Government. This reminds us that at the recent (the forty-eighth annual) meeting of the German Scientific Association in Gratz, Lieut. Weyprecht read a little paper on the objects of Polar expeditions. He believes their real value consists in the opportunity offered for studying physical and biological problems under very exceptional conditions, and that, in the future, physics, botany, and zoölogy must take the precedence of mere geographical discovery in the more limited sense. The purpose of an Arctic journey, he says, must be something more than the nomenclature of several newly-discovered bays or bits of land, deeply buried in ice, or the attainment of high latitudes. This is very true, and a good view for the closet and scientific circles; but, as Petermann said last winter, it is extremely "fortunate for science that the North Pole is yet unreached, the source of the Nile still undiscovered, and other noted problems not yet solved," and that all progress will be made slowly.

—The *Galaxy* for December contains an article by Mr. H. James, jr., on Balzac which we believe is a real contribution to the literature of the subject. Mr. James notices the fact of the extremely inadequate discussion which Balzac had received, not merely at the hands of English critics, but also in France, and attempts to supply the defect by an analysis of his writings. The conclusion which he reaches would probably be supported by nine out of ten readers—that Balzac's strength lay in his wonderfully minute description and portraiture of the life in France which he knew best, and which we could perhaps best make into English by calling boarding-house life—a term which, at any rate, has the merit of suggesting to English or American readers just the sort of unpleasant associations, though in an infinitely less degree, that crowd Balzac's pages. As to aristocratic life, Mr. James thinks that Balzac drew upon his imagination for his facts, and that consequently the pictures he drew of high life are exaggerations or caricatures. We are willing to confess to an insufficient familiarity with the works of Balzac—a writer much more talked about than read, we fancy, either in or outside of France—to speak *ex cathedrâ* of the various points raised by Mr. James; but we have found ourselves generally agreeing with him throughout. It must candidly be admitted that Balzac is an author of whom an immense amount might be lost with no little advantage to the world and relief to the tedium of life; and that the world itself is gradually coming to the same conclusion, and proceeding to carry it into effect in the ways so well known to itself, is highly probable.

—As a good specimen of the best kind of contemporary English low comedy, we have not seen a better piece of acting for a long time than that of Mr. George Honey as *Eccles* in "Caste," at Wallack's. The part is a somewhat burlesque part, the relations of the broken-down, maudlin father to his daughters being decidedly overdrawn for real effectiveness, and the apparently intended pathos of the situation frequently turning out, in obedience to that sort of dramatic "Grimm's law" which is so often noticed to be in operation on the stage, to be nothing more nor less than sheer bathos. Nevertheless, as a strictly comic part, within the limitations prescribed for him by the author, it would be difficult to conceive anything better done than Mr. Honey's impersonation of the drunken old "workingman," with his by-gone self-respect converted into shambling impudence, his ragged, disreputable make-up, and his masterly oratorical domestic efforts on behalf of "the poor and lowly." The type he represents is that of the laboring-man broken down by his own faults, who revenges himself upon society by undertaking the communistic rôle. It is a type familiar enough to everybody, either in real life or from the newspapers; and though probably not so well developed in the atmosphere of the "American bar" as in the patriarchal English pot-house, is still easily recognized and welcomed by an American audience. Mr. Honey is an actor who has the great merits of thorough seriousness (which, by the way, is just as important, though not commonly felt to be so, in a part like *Eccles* as in any other), a perfect command of his voice, a clear enunciation, and a great power of mobile expression. Of his class he is probably now much the best actor in this country, if we except Mr. Florence (any attempt to compare the two would be a failure, owing to the widely different range of their parts), and perhaps is more nearly on a level with Mr. Toole, many of whose characters were drawn from the same sort of London life which evolves and perfects *Eccleses*. Mr. Honey deserves all the more credit for what he is able to do with the part, because "Caste," like many if not all of Mr. Robertson's other plays, is nearly devoid of action, and its success depends entirely upon the manner in which the parts are brought out. As put on the stage at Wallack's, it would stand the suppression of any of the parts better than that of *Eccles*.

—The exasperation of the French scholars and literary men against

everything German has at any rate the effect of leading them to close intellectual relations with those peoples on the east who also feel themselves crowded, or in danger of being crowded, by victorious Teutonism. The latest manifestation of this philo-Slavic tendency is the 'Études Slaves' of M. Louis Leger, a moderate duodecimo, which, he says, may in a sense be regarded as a sequel to 'Le Monde Slave,' published two years ago. The various writings of this author in this field belong to the past ten years, and he announces a history of 'Autriche-Hongrie' in further continuation of them. The present volume is for the most part an interesting account of life and journeying in Russia; but the two closing chapters upon Bohemia—the country in which the contest of Teuton and Slave is at present most vigorously carried on—are the most significant portion of the work. One of these chapters is devoted to the present aspect of politics and public opinion in Bohemia, the other to an account of the political writings and views of the venerable historian Palacky, the most eminent of the champions of Bohemian nationality against the Germanizing movement. The Bohemians are not unnaturally indignant that while Hungary has received an independent government, their kingdom, equal in antiquity and in rights, should be left a mere province of Cisleithania. As to Panslavism, it is maintained that Russia is far from desiring any further extension of its already unwieldy empire towards the west; while Bohemia looks upon herself as the natural leader of the Slavic peoples. Russia, says Palacky, has as its basis "not the Slavic principles, but an amalgam of German and Mongol." The chapter on the Southern Slaves is very timely and instructive in the present complications. The author evidently believes in their future.

## BOYNTON'S REVIEW OF SHERMAN.*

I.

WE began to read this book with the expectation of finding evidence that Gen. Sherman, in his 'Memoirs,' had fallen into serious and important errors of fact, and had been betrayed by an untrustworthy memory into misstatements of events and unjust judgments of men. We lay it down with the conviction that the General's narrative is, on the whole, more accurate and his judgment fairer than we had supposed. We will try to show how this conviction is produced.

The author of the Review before us served through three years of the war with honorable distinction, as Major and Lieutenant-Colonel of an Ohio regiment, in the Army of the Cumberland, and was brevetted a Brigadier as a recognition of his merits. Since that time he has been the Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, and has proved himself an indefatigable worker and a fearless and vigorous investigator of many matters which the public needed to have unearthed and exposed. His training, therefore, in both the military and the newspaper service fitted him to do very thoroughly the work he has here undertaken to perform—namely, to collate from the War-Office files the written evidence of the incorrectness and injustice of Gen. Sherman's 'Memoirs.' He says: "This book is a criticism upon Sherman as a general, only so far as the official records presented furnish such criticism. There is no attempt to contradict his statements except as the records contradict them" (p. 3). Testing the Review by this standard, we say broadly that, in nearly every matter of importance it discusses, the "records" cited do not "contradict" the General, nor do they convict him of "grave injustice both to the living and to the dead."

Sherman's Memoirs, like all such personal reminiscences, take some tinge of color from the feelings, the natural pride in his own great deeds, and the instinctive wish to present himself well to the eyes of posterity, which belong to the most candid and honorable mind. Absolute impartiality in judging of one's own career is not to be looked for in human nature; but we think Gen. Boynton's review will go far to convince candid and intelligent readers that Sherman is franker, fairer, and more considerate of others than most men in his place would be. This, however, is quite consistent with minor slips of memory, and with the capacity, in common with most Christians, to entertain some prejudices. More than this is certainly not proved in the volume before us. The Review dwells largely upon the fact that since the war Gen. Sherman has had "uninterrupted access to the official records," and, no doubt, this would be an aggravation of his offence if he should appear to have been reckless or unprincipled in his statements. If he does not so appear, the question of the extent of his search of the War Department files is of small account—nay, it gives critics like Gen. Boynton the better chance to test his memory and to help us do it. We may wish that Sherman had written a formal history, like the Comte de Paris, but he has not. Whether press of other work or indolence prevented him is of small account to us. We are glad to get what we have, and the only question is whether the personal recollections he has written are accurate and his opinions of men reasonably fair. Gen. Boynton says that Sherman's work, when "judged by the official record," is "intensely egotistical, unreliable, and cruelly unjust to nearly all his distinguished associates" (p. 8). We have read the evidence produced, and say that in no single instance does it justify such a judgment.

The Review is divided into chapters which may be called the counts of the indictment. The first of these is intended to support the charge that Sherman gave to Halleck the credit of planning the movement up the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers in 1862, though he knew, or ought to have known, that it was Grant's conception. The evidence on the first part of the proposition is certainly conclusive. Sherman does say it was Halleck's plan, and tells a most interesting anecdote of Halleck sitting in his room in St. Louis and catechising Gen. Cullum and himself as to the plan of campaign, drawing pencil lines on the map to show the rebel positions, and, having thus made a diagram of their line, asking, "Where is the proper place to break it?" The natural answer was, the centre. Halleck drew the line perpendicular to the centre; it coincided with the general course of the Tennessee River, and he remarked, "That's the true line of operations." It would certainly be hard to state a plan more plainly, or to demonstrate it more nicely by diagram than Halleck did, and Halleck was then Grant's commander, and this was before Grant moved up the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers under his orders. How, then, could it be shown by the "record" that Sherman is unjust to Grant? Plainly, first, by showing that Grant had previously submitted the same plan to Halleck; or, second, by showing that Sherman has told an imaginary story. The latter is not even suggested, and we must examine the "record" evidence which Gen. Boynton offers as to the former. This consists, first, of a letter to McClellan from Halleck, dated January 20, 1862, in which he opposes the idea of a campaign down the Mississippi, and says: "A much more feasible plan is to move up the Cumberland and Tennessee, making Nashville the present objective point. This would threaten Columbus and force the abandonment of Bowling Green," and he calls this "the great central line of the Western theatre of war" (p. 12). So far from having any contradiction of Sherman here, we have the most explicit corroboration. But what says the "record" as to a prior suggestion by Grant? Not a single word. The only data from the files which are quoted are telegraphic despatches from Grant and Commodore Foote to Halleck, dated January 28, in which they offer to take Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and there is neither intimation nor suggestion that they or either of them made any previous communication of the kind to Halleck.

On the evidence, then, that Grant and Foote proposed to move against Fort Henry eight days after Halleck had written his plan to McClellan, and no one knows how long after he had explained it to Sherman and Cullum, Sherman is charged with unjustly denying the credit of the conception to Grant. On this charge we think there should be no hesitation in acquitting Sherman.

The Review quotes also a letter from General Buell to Halleck, under date of January 6, which Gen. Boynton says sets forth "most of the ideas which Halleck afterwards submitted as his own to McClellan." Buell's letter distinctly proposes "a combined attack on its [the enemy's] centre and flanks" (p. 15), whereas Halleck was planning a decisive move on the centre alone to "break" the line—two things as different in strategy as day from night; and Halleck accordingly answers (p. 16) that Buell's is "a plain case of exterior lines," "which, unless each of the exterior columns is superior to the enemy, leads to disaster ninety-nine times in a hundred." But one is tempted to ask whether Sherman would have been guilty of cruel injustice to Grant, in Gen. Boynton's opinion, if he had given the credit of the plan to Buell, and what the friends of Admiral Foote might have said if he had given it either to Buell or to Grant? Grant and Foote indisputably deserve the great credit of courage and enterprise in carrying out the plan proposed; but if there were any doubt before, Gen. Boynton's compilation "from the files" makes it equally indisputable that the plan was Halleck's, and that Sherman was generous as well as just in giving it to him, in view of the subsequent breach of friendship between them.

The second charge is that Sherman was "mainly responsible" for a surprise of the Union army at Shiloh. This involves two points—first, that there was a "surprise," and, second, that Sherman was "mainly responsible" for it. As to the first point, it must be borne in mind that in military parlance a surprise does not mean simply an unexpected attack. It means

* 'Sherman's Historical Raid. The 'Memoirs' in the Light of the Record. A Review Based upon Compilations from the Files of the War Office. By H. V. Boynton, Washington Correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette.' Cincinnati: Wilstach, Baldwin & Co.

more—viz., that the attack must be both unexpected and not provided against by the usual precautions as to timely notice. If pickets and vedettes are properly posted, so that there is time for an army to form for battle after the notice of a hostile advance is given by the outposts, it is no surprise. An enemy never sends notice of a purpose to attack at a given day and hour. No military authority would call it a surprise when an attack is made upon the proper front of an army which is covered by outposts and sentinels, from whom, in fact, such notice is received that the brigades or divisions in advance have time to form their line of battle. It is admitted that Sherman's division occupied the front of Grant's army at Shiloh. He says, in the 'Memoirs,' that his front was covered by outposts and pickets "*well out* on the roads," and that "one of our picket guards, composed of an officer and seven men, posted a *couple of miles* out on the Corinth road," was captured by a dash of the enemy's cavalry on the 4th of April, two days before the battle. Sherman's assertion in the 'Memoirs,' therefore, is that the line of outposts and vedettes was where it should be. On this point Gen. Boynton quotes "from the files" Sherman's testimony at a court-martial for trial of a colonel, which is still more explicit, for he gives the ground allotted to each brigade, and says "pickets, one company to a regiment, were thrown forward a mile and a half to the front, vedettes a mile further, making a chain of sentinels" (p. 29). Unless this statement can be proved untrue, it must be admitted that the camp was properly and fully covered by both the regular grand guards and sentinels. Gen. Boynton says, as to the pickets (p. 34), that "it is noticeable that Gen. Sherman fixes them much further from camp than all the other officers who have given testimony," etc. But as he has promised not to contradict Sherman without producing the "record," we look for the proof, and find not a single word on the subject from any officer of the Union army. We must, therefore, hold it proved that there was no fault in this respect. The quotations given by Gen. Boynton from reports of brigade commanders of Sherman's division all fully corroborate Sherman's statement, that after the alarm at the outposts, his troops had plenty of time to form, and, in fact, formed and advanced in line to meet the enemy; Buckland says thirty to forty rods, Hildebrand says three hundred yards (p. 33). The outposts had been sufficient, therefore, by the crucial test of having given the line time to form after a rapidly advancing hostile army drove in the sentinels. The "record" proves, then, that there was no surprise of Sherman's division, at least.

With the failure to prove the principal fact, the second part of the charge, viz., Sherman's responsibility, falls also; but we must notice the fact that the evidence adduced in the Review would have proved that if blame were to rest upon any one, it would have been upon Grant, the actual commander of the army. Gen. Boynton says Grant's headquarters were twelve miles away, and that Sherman, "while not technically in command of the entire camp, was constantly treated, trusted, and consulted by Gen. Grant as if he were the senior officer at the front" (p. 26). And again (p. 27), "Sherman was the senior officer on the main front." These assertions are intended to lead to the conclusion that if there were faults in the position of the divisions other than Sherman's, he was responsible for it, and, "holding steadily to the last, and against all evidence, to the belief that no immediate attack was probable, by impressing his convictions upon Gen. Grant, misled the latter as to the real condition of affairs along the front" (p. 26). As Sherman says, in a passage of the 'Memoirs' quoted on p. 27, "I was only responsible for my own division," and Gen. Boynton has promised only to contradict him by the "record," we look for the evidence on which the charges are based which we have referred to above; but we again look in vain. There is no evidence that Sherman was the senior officer present; and if there were it would make no difference, for Grant was in command in person, and there is no order or suggestion of an order from him to the other division commanders to report to Sherman for directions. He had ordered Sherman to superintend the disbarking of his own and Hurlbut's divisions, but nothing more. Indeed, Gen. Boynton himself says, "Other divisions as they arrived selected camps to suit themselves." This was on the 18th and 19th of March and the following days, the battle not being fought till the 6th of April. To assert, therefore, that Sherman and not Grant was responsible for the position of the cocqual division commanders, must, in the light of the "record," be held to be a contradiction of it as well as of Sherman.

As to Grant's relying upon Sherman's opinion, he would not, as commander, be absolved from responsibility by relying on any one's opinion; and there is no evidence that any peculiar closeness of relations had yet arisen between him and Sherman, as this was the very first movement in which the latter had served as his subordinate. But Gen. Boynton himself furnishes the evidence that Grant did not rely on Sherman's judgment in regard to the position and intentions of the enemy, for he quotes (p 32) Col. Buckland's report of the battle, in which that officer states that he learned from Sherman that his (Col. B.'s) report of the reconnoissance of the enemy's position on the 4th had been sent by Sherman to Grant the same night; and the language of Grant's report to Halleck on the 5th bears internal evidence of his receiving as the truth Buckland's report of the enemy being in force with all arms. If, then, the commander of the army was in as full possession of the facts on the 4th as Sherman himself was (for such is the evidence of the "record"), the assertion that the latter was responsible on the 6th for the position of divisions in no sense under his command, or for their state of preparation for combat, is shown to be wholly untenable, and, in view of Grant's well-known characteristics, the suggestion that he was mentally or morally under Sherman's controlling influence can only excite a smile.

The charge that Sherman did not do justice to Buell and his army at Shiloh appears to be limited in the body of the present Review to Sherman's failure to recognize the service they performed on the evening of the first day's fight, though in the summing up at the end of the volume it is treated as if he had failed to give them any credit whatever. In our original notice of Sherman's 'Memoirs' we referred to his cordial and generous recognition of their services on the second day, and the hearty praise he gives their division and brigade commanders by name. In failing to make this distinction clearly, Gen. Boynton is in danger of appearing to intend an injustice to Sherman. As to the first day, it is admitted on all hands that no part of Buell's army was on the field till after five o'clock in the afternoon, an hour so near dark at that season of the year that it cannot be alleged that much could have been done (p. 39). Gen. Buell's report of the battle says that when he saw Grant in person, before his own troops had come up, some persons were killed by the enemy's artillery and musketry "on the bank at the very landing"; that Nelson coming up with Ammen's brigade at the opportune moment, it was posted with a battery that was there to meet this attack, and, with the aid of the gunboats, repulsed it; "the attack on that point was not renewed, night having come on, and the firing ceased" (p. 42). Grant's report explains (p. 41) that this was at his extreme left, where he had thought the ravine which covered his flank and the protection of the gunboats made him safe, so that he had posted no force there but some artillery with a small infantry support. Hence the attack there did not show that the main line was not still far to the front where Sherman was, and he cannot be charged with unfairness in omitting a minor episode which did not occur under his own eye and which does not appear, under the light of the whole "record," to have any great significance. The charge of injustice to Buell and his army fails like those preceding it.

## DRAPER'S SCIENCE AND RELIGION.*

SOME twelve years ago, Dr. Draper published a bulky volume entitled 'A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe,' in which his professed purpose was to show that nations or races pass through certain definable epochs of development, analogous to the periods of infancy, childhood, youth, manhood, and old age in individuals. But while announced with due formality, the carrying out of the argument was left for the most part to the headings and running-titles of the several chapters, while in the text the author peacefully meandered along down the stream of time, giving us a succession of pleasant though somewhat threadbare anecdotes, as well as a superabundance of detached and fragmentary opinions on divers historical events, having apparently quite forgotten that he had started with a thesis to prove. In the arrangement of his "running heads," some points were sufficiently curious to require a word of explanation, as, for example, when the early ages of Christianity were at one time labelled as an epoch of progress and at another time as an epoch of decrepitude. But the argument and the contents never got so far *en rapport* with each other as to clear up such points as this. On the contrary, each kept on the even tenor of its way without much regard to the other. From the titles of the chapters one was led to expect some comprehensive theory of European civilization continuously expounded. But the text merely showed a great quantity of superficial and second-hand information, serving to illustrate the mental idiosyncrasies of the author. Among these idiosyncrasies might be noted a total incapacity to understand the part played by Rome in the work of civilization, a singular lack of appreciation of the political and philosophical achievements of Greece under Athenian leadership, a strong hostility to the Catholic Church, a curious disposition to overrate semi-barbarous or abortive civilizations, such as those of the old Asiatic

* 'History of the Conflict between Religion and Science. By John William Draper, M.D., LL.D.' Fourth edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875. 12mo, pp. xxii., 373. (International Scientific Series, XII.)

and Native American communities, at the expense of Europe, and, above all, an undiscriminating admiration for everything, great or small, that has ever worn the garb of Islam or been associated with the career of the Saracens. The discovery that in some respects the Mussulmans of the Middle Ages were more highly cultivated than their Christian contemporaries, has made such an impression on Dr. Draper's mind that it seems to be as hard for him to get rid of it as it was for Mr. Dick to keep the execution of Charles I. out of his 'Memorial.' Even in an essay on the 'Civil Policy of America,' the turbaned sage figures quite prominently; and it is needless to add that he reappears, as large as life, when the subject of discussion is the attitude of science toward religion.

Speaking briefly with regard to this matter, we may freely admit that the work done by the Arabs, in scientific enquiry as well as in the making of events, was very considerable. It was a work, too, the value of which is not commonly appreciated in the accounts of European history written for the general reader, and we have no disposition to find fault with Dr. Draper for describing it with enthusiasm. The philosophers of Bagdad and Cordova did excellent service in keeping alive the traditions of Greek physical enquiry at a time when Christian thinkers were too exclusively occupied with transcendental speculations in theology and logic. In some departments, as in chemistry and astronomy, they made original discoveries of considerable value; and, if we turn from abstract knowledge to the arts of life, it cannot be denied that the mediæval Mussulmans had reached a higher plane of material comfort than their Christian contemporaries. In short, the work of all kinds done by these people would furnish the judicious advocate of the claims of the Semitic race with materials for a pleasing and instructive picture. Dr. Draper, however, errs, though no doubt unintentionally, by so presenting the case as to leave upon the reader's mind the impression that all this scientific and practical achievement was the work of Islamism, and that the Mohammedan civilization was of a higher type than the Christian. It is with an apparent feeling of regret that he looks upon the ousting of the Moors from dominion in Spain; but this is a mistaken view. As regards the first point, it is a patent fact that scientific enquiry was conducted at the cost of as much theological obloquy in the Mohammedan as in the Christian world. It is true there was more actual tolerance of heresy on the part of Moslem governments than was customary in Europe in those days, but this is a superficial fact, which does not indicate any superiority in Moslem popular sentiment. The caliphate or emirate was a truly absolute despotism, such as the Papacy has never been, and the conduct of a sceptical emir in encouraging scientific enquiry goes but little way toward proving anything like a general prevalence of tolerance or of free-thinking. And this brings us to the second point—that Mohammedan civilization was, on the whole, rather a skin-deep affair. It was superficial because of that extreme severance between government and people which has never existed in European nations within historic times, but which has always existed among the principal races that have professed Moslemism. Nowhere in the Mohammedan world has there ever been what we call a national life, and nowhere do we find in its records any trace of such an intellectual impulse, thrilling through every fibre of the people and begetting prodigious achievements in art, poetry, and philosophy, as was awakened in Europe in the thirteenth century and again in the fifteenth. Under the peculiar form of unlimited material and spiritual despotism exemplified in the caliphate, a few men may discover gases or comment on Aristotle, but no general movement toward political progress or philosophical enquiry is possible. Such a society is rigid and inorganic at bottom, whatever scanty signs of flexibility and life it may show at the surface. There is no better illustration of this, when well considered, than the fact that Moorish civilization remained, politically and intellectually, a mere excrescence in Spain, after having been fastened down over half the country for nearly eight centuries.

But we are in danger of forgetting our main theme, as Dr. Draper seems to do, while we linger with him over these interesting wayside topics. We may perhaps be excused, however, if we have not yet made any very explicit allusion to the 'Conflict between Religion and Science,' because this work seems to be in the main a repetition *en petit* of the 'Intellectual Development of Europe,' and what we have said will apply as well to one as to the other. In the little book, as in the big one, we hear a great deal about the Arabs, and something about Columbus and Galileo, who made men accept sundry truths in the teeth of clerical opposition; and, as before, we float gently down the current of history without being over well-informed as to the precise didactic purpose of our voyage. Here, indeed, even our headings and running-titles do not materially help us, for though we are supposed to be witnessing, or mayhap assisting in, a perennial conflict between "science" and "religion," we are nowhere enlightened as to what the cause or character of this conflict is, nor are we enabled to get a good look at either of the parties to the strife. With regard to "religion" especially are we left in the dark. What this dreadful thing is towards which "science" is always playing the part of Herakles towards the Lernæan Hydra, we are left to gather from the course of the narrative. Yet, in a book with any valid claim to clearsightedness, one would think such a point as this ought to receive very explicit preliminary treatment.

The course of the narrative, however, leaves us in little doubt as to what Dr. Draper means by a conflict between science and religion. When he enlarges on the trite story of Galileo and alludes to the more modern quarrel between the Church and the geologists, and does this in the belief that he is thereby illustrating an antagonism between religion and science, it is obvious that he identifies the cause of the anti-geologists and the persecutors of Galileo with the cause of religion. The word "religion" is to him a symbol which stands for unenlightened bigotry or narrow-minded unwillingness to look facts in the face. Such a conception of religion is common enough, and unhappily a great deal has been done to strengthen it by the very persons to whom the interests of religion are presumed to be a professional care. It is nevertheless a very superficial conception, and no book which is vitiated by it can have much philosophic value. It is simply the crude impression which, in minds unaccustomed to analysis, is left by the fact that theologians and other persons interested in religion are usually alarmed at new scientific truths, and resist them with emotions so highly wrought that they are not only incapable of estimating evidence, but often also have their moral sense impaired, and fight with foul means when fair ones fail. If we reflect carefully on this class of phenomena, we shall see that something besides mere pride of opinion is involved in the struggle. At the bottom of changing theological beliefs there lies something which men perennially value, and for the sake of which they cling to the beliefs as long as possible. That which they value is not itself a matter of belief, but it is a matter of conduct; it is the searching after goodness—after a higher life than the mere satisfaction of individual desires. All animals seek for fulness of life; but in civilized man this craving has acquired a moral significance, and has become a spiritual aspiration; and this emotional tendency, more or less strong in the human race, we call religious feeling or religion. Viewed in this light, religion is not only something that mankind is never likely to get rid of, but it is incomparably the most noble as well as the most useful attribute of humanity.

Now, this emotional prompting toward completeness of life requires, of course, that conduct should be guided, as far as possible, in accordance with a true theory of the relations of man to the world in which he lives. Hence, at any given era the religious feeling will always be found enlisted in behalf of some theory of the universe. At any time, whatever may be their shortcomings in practice, religious men will aim at doing right according to their conceptions of the order of the world. If men's conceptions of the order of nature remained constant, no apparent conflict between their religious feelings and their knowledge need ever arise. But with the first advance in our knowledge of nature the case is altered. New and strange theories are naturally regarded with fear and dislike by persons who have always been accustomed to find the sanction and justification of their emotional prompting towards righteousness in old familiar theories which the new ones are seeking to supplant. Such persons oppose the new doctrine because their engrained mental habits compel them to believe that its establishment will in some way lower men's standard of life, and make them less careful of their spiritual welfare. This is the case, at all events, when theologians oppose scientific conclusions on religious grounds, and not simply from mental dulness or rigidity. And, in so far as it is religious feeling which thus prompts resistance to scientific innovation, it may be said, with some appearance of truth, that there is a conflict between religion and science.

But there must always be two parties to a quarrel, and our statement has to be modified as soon as we consider what the scientific innovator impugns. It is not the emotional prompting towards righteousness, it is not the yearning to live *im Guten, Ganzen, Wahren*, that he seeks to weaken; quite likely he has all this as much at heart as the theologian who vituperates him. Nor is it true that his discoveries, in spite of him, tend to destroy this all-important mental attitude. It would be ridiculous to say that the fate of religious feeling is really involved in the fate of grotesque cosmogonies and theosophies framed in the infancy of men's knowledge of nature; for history shows us quite the contrary. Religious feeling has survived the heliocentric theory and the discoveries of geologists; and it will be none the worse for the establishment of Darwinism. It is the merest truism to say that religion strikes its roots deeper down into human nature than speculative opinion, and is accordingly independent of any

particular set of beliefs. Since, then, the scientific innovator does not, either voluntarily or involuntarily, attack religion, it follows that there can be no such "conflict" as that of which Dr. Draper has undertaken to write the history. The real contest is between one phase of science and another; between the more crude knowledge of yesterday and the less crude knowledge of to-day. The contest, indeed, as presented in history, is simply the measure of the difficulty which men find in exchanging old views for new ones. All along, the practical question has been, whether we should passively acquiesce in the crude generalizations of our ancestors or venture actively to revise them. But as for the religious sentiment, the perennial struggle in which it has been engaged has not been with scientific enquiry, but with the selfish propensities whose tendency is to make men lead the lives of brutes.

The time is at hand when the interests of religion can no longer be supposed to be subserved by obstinate adherence to crude speculations bequeathed to us from pre-scientific antiquity. One good result of the doctrine of evolution, which is now gaining sway in all departments of thought, is the lesson that all our opinions must be held subject to continual revision, and that with none of them can our religious interests be regarded as irretrievably implicated. To any one who has once learned this lesson, a book like Dr. Draper's can be neither interesting nor useful. He who has not learned it can derive little benefit from a work which in its very title keeps open an old and baneful source of error and confusion.

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*Nero:* an Historical Play. By W. W. Story. (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1875.)—Mr. Story here offers us another proof of his remarkable versatility and facility. This would be a clever production for any one, but it is especially clever for a man who has found so much besides to do with his imagination. And yet, after all, this long drama is the work of a man who has made a specialty of the picturesque; if Mr. Story were not a distinguished sculptor, we should say it was the work of a painter. It is the picture in his subject that has most taken his fancy, and if a poet is always made up of a painter and a moralist, it is quite the painter that is predominant here. The history of Nero is certainly a subject to fix the attention of a dramatist, overcharged as it is with tragic incident—horror outstripping horror, and deepening, as it does, to an extraordinarily dramatic catastrophe. If, too, the dramatist has lived long in Rome, and has formed the habit of peopling mentally the old scenes with the old figures, and seeing imperial ghosts in the sunny stillness of the Palatine, it is easy to conceive that the figures of Nero and Agrippina, of Poppæa and Tigellinus, may have come to haunt and importune him. Mr. Story has breathed for many a year that densely-weighted Roman air; he has read and re-read his Tacitus and his Suetonius; he has lingered often among the portentous Roman busts in the Vatican and the Capitol, and at last the images of writer and sculptor have become vividly real to him, and he has reproduced them with conviction and energy. He has crowded his stage, laid his hand upon every incident and detail that seemed characteristic, and painted a goodly picture. He has painted a picture, in fact, rather than written a play; and indeed we think that, to the dramatist's second thought, there was no play here to write. The subject, especially as Mr. Story presents it, is too complete a monotony of horror. There is little contrast, little complexity or development, though indeed there is a constant progression—the progression from bad to worse, from one atrocity to another. But it is all bad and all hideous, and there is no dramatic pivot, as it were, on which the story may turn and show us its diverse faces. If Mr. Browning, for instance, had written the play, we should have probably had certain scenes in which Nero would have been made to show us not only the fine fellow (this indeed Mr. Story in some degree represents) but the altogether high-toned and superior gentleman which the pedantic young butcher presumably considered himself to be. Mr. Story has attempted contrast in some of the accompanying figures—in Octavia, Poppæa, and Seneca—in Poppæa very happily; but we think that the dramatic instinct of Racine was the true one when he decided that, in his 'Britannicus,' a single episode of Nero's history was an available subject, but not the whole career. In that masterpiece of the formal and harmonious style there is a certain mixture of elements—a struggle, a conflict. We see the young man passing from good to bad and back again, and the interest of the drama lies in our curiosity as to which side the catastrophe will deposit him on.

Mr. Story has given us rather a panorama of the whole reign—a rolling chronicle. His play is Tacitus and Suetonius piece by piece, in verse and dialogue. He has great precedent for this in Shakspere's dramatizations of Plutarch. 'Antony and Cleopatra' is apparently none the worse play because it takes everything that Plutarch gives it. Of course it takes a great many things besides, and so also does Mr. Story in his 'Nero.' He has not been afraid of giving himself a great deal to do, and he moves easily and gracefully among his multitudinous figures. He has desired to be as complete as, in such a case, poetry can be, and in one or two instances he has not shrunk from a formidable realism. He has gone as far as Tacitus beckoned. He has represented Agrippina, in one scene, striving to regain her lost dominion over her son by the exercise of those charms which she had found potent in cases of an altogether different kind—a scene such as, to the best of our knowledge, no modern dramatist has attempted, and which must look for its mate among the early audacities of the Elizabethans. In his picture of Nero he has been forcible and abundant in color rather than especially subtle—as Nero, compounded of numerous elements, and with his strange jumble of brutality and æsthetics, of the ferocious and the maudlin, might have offered the poet a chance to be. But Mr. Story has wished simply, we take it, to give an effective picture of prodigious, grotesque, fantastic vanity and cruelty, gorging themselves, as it were, upon impurity, and his picture is decidedly effective. Even more so is the portrait of Agrippina—a dramatic interpretation of one of those formidable imperial female busts, the hard, superb great Roman lady, low-browed, inexorable, and insatiable. Mr. Story's phrase is easily vivid and picturesque—it is naturally that of an artist; but we think it is sometimes too diffuse, and that the whole work would have gained by compression and by occasional cancellings on a final revision. The dramatic point is sometimes diluted. For instance, when Nero makes the unsuccessful attempt to put an end to his mother's life by the disaster to her galley off Baiæ, he is shown us waiting on shore for news of the result of his plot. The galley has gone to pieces, but the empress has been rescued. A messenger arrives with this information, and relates that he has seen Agrippina:

> "To you, great Cæsar, her first thought was given.
> 'Go, Agerinus, go,' she said, 'and bear
> This message to my son—His mother lives;
> But bid him calm his fears,—I am not hurt,'" etc.

It would have been much better here, surely, that the message should have simply been, "His mother lives." It would, in the situation, have been more eloquent and portentous. The lines which follow weaken the effect.

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*Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida.* By B. F. French. Second Series: Historical Memoirs and Narratives, 1527-1702. (New York: Albert Mason. 1875.)—We have been long in reaching this book, which appeared some months ago, and now that we have examined it we regret that we cannot praise it without reserve. In spite of its defects, every one who already possesses Mr. French's former series bearing the same title (New York: J. Sabin & Sons, 1869), will wish to own this volume also; and Mr. Francis Parkman's many admirers will be glad to have in this shape, sometimes translated and sometimes in the original French or Spanish, documents on which he has relied in writing the history of the French in America. Thus, for what concerns La Salle, Mr. French gives versions of the memoir which the explorer addressed to Monseigneur de Seignelay on his discoveries in 1678, and of the *procès-verbal* relating to his taking possession of Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi in April, 1682. We have also, for the first time in English and in print, the narrative of Iberville's colonizing expeditions to Louisiana, with sundry companion-pieces. The rest, rather more than half the book, pertains to Florida, and is mainly occupied with the romantic episode of the attempted Huguenot settlement of Jean de Ribault. The narrative of his first voyage is followed by a memoir of the fatal expedition of Menendez, and another (in the old French) of the brave Captain Gourgues, who answered the Spanish butcher's "I do not this as unto Frenchmen, but as unto Lutherans" with "Je ne faicts cecy comme à Espaignolz, n'y comme à Marannes; mais comme à traistres, volleurs et meurtriers"—or, as Hakluyt has phrased it: "I do not this as unto Spaniards, nor as unto mariners [*qu.* sons of Moors?], but as unto traitors, robbers, and murtherers."

As a translator, Mr. French is in no danger of becoming a classic like Hakluyt. His style is slovenly in the extreme. In a foot-note, on p. 45, we read: "Father Anastasius Douay Recollect—we know but little of his history previous to his coming to Louisiana with M. de la Salle in 1684, and who (*sic*) returned to France with M. Joutel, the historian of that expedition, after the tragical death of Sieur de la Salle." Here we miss the point of punctuation after Douay—a serious omission, since Recollect is printed in small capitals, as if a proper name—and are perplexed by the extraordinary "and who," which is a characteristic construction with Mr. French, and occurs constantly. We cite a second instance where the sense is hopelessly obscured by it (note, p. 13):

"The English assert that Colonel Wood, of Virginia, spent at different times, from 1654 to 1664, several years in the discovery of the Mississippi

River, which is not improbable, as Daniel Cox, in his account of Louisiana, *and who* sent an expedition there of two ships-of-war to take possession, in 1698, which he claimed as a grant from the English Government, and described in his work on Louisiana, from memoirs and journals kept by persons who had been sent there, which is not improbable."

Sometimes a bracketing-out of Mr. French's relative pronouns restores the true connection of his involved sentences, as (p. 119) :

"By a secret treaty of Nov. 3, 1762, signed the same day on which the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain were signed, [in which] France ceded to Spain 'all the country known under the name of Louisiana, as also New Orleans and the island on which it is situated'—that is, so much of Louisiana as had not been agreed to be transferred by France to Great Britain."

On p. 124 (note), we are told of the Normans that they planted themselves "in Northeastern America, where . . . . " they "became for many years more influential than all their rivals ; and, for a long time, was (*sic*) the battle-ground for the conflicting claims of France and England." In this case the relative adverb was doubtless felt to be the proper subject of *was*. We might cite other examples of this writer's carelessness, which is certainly without excuse. A corresponding want of clearness is manifest in the arrangement of his pieces, and for this he makes no compensation in an index. Even the table of contents is put at the end. Externally, the typography is neat and tasteful.

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*Antonio Allegri da Correggio.* From the German of Dr. Julius Meyer, Director of the Royal Gallery, Berlin. Edited and with an Introduction by Mrs. Charles Heaton. (New York : Macmillan & Co.)—This handsome volume, uniform with the Albrecht Dürer and Leonardo of the same editor, will not be overlooked by possessors of those biographies ; like them it has a seasonable attractiveness. The critical value of the work here done into English (by Miss Spencer) is what least entitles it to preservation ; it embodies all of the wonderfully scanty results of research into the life and technical training of Correggio, and it enumerates and describes the works known to be his or attributed to him. Mrs. Heaton does comparatively little to reinforce Dr. Meyer either in his criticism or his facts, and her Introduction would perhaps hardly be missed, but her notes are worth having, as they supplement or correct the original. By the way, we notice on page xix. that Mrs. Heaton speaks of Leonardo's influence as "paramount at the beginning of the *fifteenth* century"—he was born in 1452. The illustrations which she brings together are mostly photographs from line-engravings after Correggio, with the shadows intensified by we know not what process, as if to imitate the chiaroscuro of the canvas ; and this is measurably successful when the print is not held too near the eye. The other illustrations are carbon facsimiles of drawings in English collections. Though there is no authentic portrait of Correggio, a supposed portrait is reproduced, for what reason it would be difficult to say.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* | |
|---|---|---|
| Achard (E.), History of My Friends | (G. P. Putnam's Sons) | $1 75 |
| Andersson (C. J.), Notes of Travel in Southwestern Africa | (G. P. Putnam's Sons) | 2 00 |
| Baumgart (Dr. H.), Goethe's Märchen, swd | (L. W. Schmidt) | |
| Beta (Dr. H.), Wohl- und Uebelthäter in unseren Groszstädten, swd | (L. W. Schmidt) | |
| Charles (Mrs.), Bertram Family | (Dodd & Mead) | |
| Deutsches akademisches Jahrbuch | (L. W. Schmidt) | |
| Eyssenhardt (F.), Die homerische Dichtung, swd | (L. W. Schmidt) | |
| Fleishman (S. L.), Prose Miscellanies from Heine | (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) | |
| Gildersleeve (Prof. B. L.), Latin Primer | (University Pub. Co.) | |
| Latin Grammar | " " | |
| Latin Exercise-Book | " " | |
| Latin Reader | " " | |
| Hartt (Prof. C. F.), Notes on the Manufacture of Pottery among Savage Races, swd | (Rio de Janeiro) | |
| Henderson (P.), Gardening for Pleasure | (Orange Judd & Co.) | 1 50 |
| Holtzendorff (Dr. F. von), Psychologie des Mordes, swd | (L. W. Schmidt) | |
| Lady's Almanac for 1876 | (New England News Co.) | |
| Nöggerath (Dr. J.), Der Torf, swd | (L. W. Schmidt) | |
| Palmer (R.), Poetical Works | (A. S. Barnes & Co.) | 4 00 |
| Preston (Margaret J.), Cartoons : Poetry | (Roberts Bros.) | 1 50 |
| Rousselet (L.), India and its Native Princes | (Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) | 2 50 |

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# Fine Arts.

## VON BÜLOW.

DR. VON BÜLOW'S way in this country was well prepared before him—discreetly, without exaggeration, but with enough exaltation to excite the curiosity of such musical people as were not familiar with his reputation ; so that when he appeared in Boston his audience knew that he was a person to be listened to with deferential attention. This was wise ; for neither his person nor his manner is commanding ; and his style of playing is not such as to impress itself strongly upon an average audience. The folk of Modern Athens decided that nothing too much had been told of him ; and they were right, as they not unfrequently are. Von Bülow is not merely a dexterous and finished pianoforte player ; he is a musician of distinguished ability, a thoughtful and highly cultivated man, whose special means of self-manifestation is the pianoforte. He would have made his mark in any department of music to which he might have devoted himself, and it is safe to say that he would have attained a more than respectable position in any other profession which was at all suited to his personal tastes and peculiar powers. In this he is singular among musicians, and particularly among musicians who are only artists ; for these are generally, if not always, limited by their art ; they live *for* music as well as by music. Von Bülow is a fine example of that rare creature, the intellectual musician. He shows this in every way : in his face, in his personal bearing, in conversation, as well as at his instrument. His style indicates thought rather than emotion ; it is the exponent of discipline rather than of impulse. The impression that he produces is that of completeness, of plan and conscious purpose ; of a focus of well-directed means in a bright and beaming end.

Von Bülow's performance—we mean more than his style—is the result of discipline. Discipline appears in it from beginning to end. And by discipline we do not mean merely practice. Of thoroughly practised pianists we have heard not a few ; men who had literally at their fingers' ends all the resources of the instrument ; to whom the complete mastery of the key-board had become a second nature, and to whom the perfect execution of any music possible to the instrument was as much a matter of course as walking or breathing. But all this is possible without the discipline that appears in every performance of Von Bülow, let it be of the lightest possible character. His performance indicates something like this style of preparation: the composition is taken, studied as a whole, then divided into grand divisions, the relation of which to each other is determined ; these divisions are again divided, and the relation of the new parts as to importance and signification is determined ; these again are resolved into phrases, the phrases into groups, the groups into single notes ; and each division, each phrase, each group, and last, we may literally say each note, is assigned its peculiar and exact weight and prominence. To the working out and exposition of this appreciation, at once large and minute, the performer then brings his powers of perfect and finished execution. The result is a thoroughness and completeness which place the hearer simply in a receptive position. We have only to listen and to accept ; and it is not until after the performance is over that we can question with ourselves whether we are satisfied or not, and whether our pleasure was equal to our admiration. This style of discipline, this analytical thoroughness, is almost distinctively German. It pervades all German work of modern days. Von Bülow owes his distinctive eminence to the same spirit and the same purpose which have made Germany the leading nation of the present day in science and in literature, as well as in arms and in statesmanship ; and that spirit and purpose we expressed in the one word, discipline. The Germans have taken their present position because they are the most thoroughly disciplined people in the world.

As to Von Bülow's execution, there is little to be said about it, for the reason that it is as nearly perfect as anything can be in a world in which nothing is absolutely perfect. In appreciating an artist of Von Bülow's grade, one does not go into the question of scales and double octaves and clear articulation. All that may be assumed. In the matter of intonation a pianist is free ; that is cared for by the pianoforte-maker and the tuner ; and if his keys and hammers work well he is sure of his notes. But his touch is his own. That marvellous and inexplicable expression of the individual man—more easily comprehended where the finger actually touches the string or the lip the mouthpiece, but which even in the pianoforte is transmitted by a wooden lever to a loosely-playing hammer—is something that cannot be acquired. It may be improved by practice, but it cannot be imparted by teaching, and all the discipline in the world cannot make it better or worse. It is a gift of nature. And here, with all the richness of his gifts and his acquirements, Von Bülow leaves something to be desired. His touch has all the qualities that we could ask for but one. It is clear, firm, delicate, of a liquid clearness which, at times, is like the dropping of water in a well, always nervous, vigorous enough upon demand and yet as light as the sweep of a swallow's wing. But it lacks sweetness, fulness, and, above all, it lacks that quality which makes the tone vibrate in the heart of the hearer, and for which there is no other word than sympathetic. We are lost in admiration, but we sit unmoved. We are startled into applause by a perfection of conception and execution which rise into a blaze of splendor, but it is a blaze without warmth, and we turn away untouched. The depths of our souls lie untroubled ; we do not pay the great homage of silence. In a word, Von Bülow's style is cold—that is, as cold as a style so

nervous can be. It is not a coldness which proceeds from his lack of feeling, but from his lack of an adequate means of expression—a sympathetic touch; although, again, it *is* somewhat dependent upon the attitude which he assumes towards his music. His performance is intellectual, not emotional. It is not merely a perfect and admirable mechanical performance, like that of most cold pianists. It is far above that. But it seems as if the very discipline of which it is the result—the clear, precise, predetermined, and almost preordained relation of phrase to phrase and note to note—were incompatible with that expression of feeling which, after all, is the one thing needful to the highest enjoyment of music.

Apart from this, however, Von Bülow leaves nothing to be desired. Whether he plays Beethoven or Bach, or flashes through the somewhat unmeaning intricacies of Henselt or of Liszt, he leaves us nothing to say but to express our admiration of his perfect conception and perfect rendering of the intention of the composer. The simplicity of his manner is in itself most admirable. He comes before us in his precise way, with his crush-hat and his decoration, and, bowing precisely, he sits down and at once begins to play; and as he plays he spends no time or force and diverts no attention by unmeaning flourishes. He makes no "damnable faces," but begins, and as he begins he goes on, seeking only to convey to us the meaning of the composition that he carries in his intellectual head. There is no waste of power or of nervous energy in superfluous motion; all his energy is directed to one object. He has no grand airs or imposing gestures, and he plays as anybody might play, like a simple gentleman, an amateur; and at times, in a very amateurish way, he does not disdain to seem to be picking out with his eyes as well as with his fingers the keys which he must strike with just that predetermined force that will produce the exact quantity and quality of tone that his study of the passage has satisfied him is required to express the composer's intention. And with it all we are so sure of him. We acknowledge, and, more, we feel, his perfect mastery of his instrument, and of his music, and of himself. We have no fear that he will for a moment be beside himself, and, snatching at a grace beyond the reach of art, perhaps fail in its attainment. For this reason, and because of his great acquirement as a musician, and his perfect accomplishment as an executant, it is difficult to say in what style of music he most excels. For in all there is manifested the same clear conception of the requirement of his music, and the same ability to meet those requirements, however great they may be. His audiences, composed largely of amateur pianists, may find their greatest satisfaction in his performance of Liszt's music and the like; but those who go to hear music merely for music's sake will find their highest pleasure in his performance of Beethoven's concertos and sonatas, or in his marvellously clear delivery of Bach's fugues.

This series of Von Bülow concerts must be regarded as a musical event of no small importance. They certainly cannot fail to have a very refining and elevating effect upon the taste of our multitude of amateur pianists, who could not have a finer model placed before them than this eminent German master of their instrument. Nor would a notice of these concerts be justly closed without a recognition of the ability which that highly-accomplished musician and violinist, Dr. Damrosch, has shown in the quick gathering and training and conducting of the orchestra, whose part in them is hardly inferior to that of Von Bülow himself.


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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE publication of General Schenck's testimony in the Emma Mine suit and his contract with Park shows that the character of the transaction has not been at all misrepresented. The facts are simply these: He was one day introduced to Park, of whom he knew nothing before. Park immediately begged him to become a stockholder and director of the Emma Mine, about which he knew even less than he did about Park. Schenck had himself no money to invest. Park immediately produced his own purse, and lent Mr. Schenck the sum of $50,000 (or lent him stock which could have been sold for more than that sum). Even this was not enough, for Park added a guarantee of dividends at eighteen per cent., and, to make all secure, an engagement to take the stock off Schenck's hands at par, provided that a tender of the par value of the stock should, whether accepted or not, release Park from his agreement as to dividends. Schenck now says that he has lost a great deal of money by the operation, and still has the stock on his hands. But this fact makes no difference. He had a contract with Park which would have made him, had he so chosen, absolutely safe. He was entitled to the eighteen per cent. without any risk to his property whatever, for he put no property whatever into the concern, and by taking the par value of the stock when Park actually offered it he would have merely made a nice little sum of money without any risk. His case is, indeed, a solitary instance of a mining investment which was so arranged as to have no dependence whatever on the character or product of the mine. Now, people like Park do not make such bargains for nothing. He did not lend General Schenck $50,000, and at the same time agree that he should get eighteen per cent. on the money, without an equivalent which, in his opinion, was worth what he gave. The equivalent was the name of the Minister, and any other explanation is not only impossible, but shows the most astonishing impudence or ignorance in any one who advances it.

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There are two versions afloat now of the nature of Mr. Chandler's changes in the Department of the Interior. According to one, to which we have inclined ourselves, he is doing what the politicians call "reorganizing the party," by dismissing all persons who are not likely to be useful in the great struggle in defence of "equal rights for all" which he thinks will take place next year. According to the other, he is simply breaking up the rings of corrupt fellows which were formed in the Department under Mr. Delano, the accounts of whose operations, as published by Mr. Chandler's friends, are really shocking. But then we have the authority of the very highest officer in the Government for saying that Mr. Delano's administration was in all respects pure and efficient, and that the charges made against it were newspaper stories, got up to gratify the malice of venal scribblers, so that the good citizen is placed on the horns of a dilemma. Either Chandler is a "bad man," or the Presidential letter to Delano was no better than a "newsy paragraph" in a "breezy little sheet." However, we think, in spite of the generally low opinion entertained of Mr. Chandler, there will be no disposition in any quarter to deny him credit for any good he does, and there is a strong disposition to believe that a great many removals were called for in the Department for better reasons than the good of the party.

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The Comptroller of the Currency reports a decrease in bank-note circulation since January 14 (the date of the passage of the Resumption Bill) of $6,274,548, and the amount of legal-tender notes "permanently retired" under the act as $8,763,756—the act having thus far worked as a measure of contraction. The large amount of currency retired is, we believe, explained by the fact that the Secretary of the Treasury has construed the act as compelling him to withdraw greenbacks as he issues bank-notes in the proportion of 4 to 5, independently of the question whether banks are returning their circulation to the Treasury on account of the dulness of the times. In other words, while some banks have been voluntarily returning circulation to the Treasury they could not use, the Secretary has been retiring currency against bank-notes issued to other banks which wanted circulation. The whole subject will no doubt be made plainer by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

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Mr. Smith's Indian report is a cheerful document, in which he calls attention to the generally encouraging tenor of the Agents' reports, and declares that they prove conclusively that the civilization of the Indians "is not only entirely practicable, but is fairly under way." As the reports of the Agents are not published, we are unable to say how far this may be borne out by the facts, and Mr. Smith himself does not give any to show the exact level which Indian civilization has reached. He says that not less than a thousand miners, "with the number rapidly increasing," have made their way into the Sioux country in the face of the army, and that an emigrant society has been formed, laws and regulations adopted, and claims staked out, though the negotiations for the purchase of the territory have as yet come to nothing. The removal of the captives of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Cheyenne tribes to some portion of the Indian Territory where they could be civilized has not been accomplished, but seventy of the worst of them have been sent to Florida Fort—a kind of treatment which has had a "most happy effect" upon the remainder. Mr. Smith thinks the transfer of the whole Bureau to the War Department would be a mistake, because the Indian needs to be surrounded by the gentle influences of peace, and not by "men in uniform," and quotes with approval the report of the Peace Commission in 1868 recommending Congress to pass a law fixing a day on which all the Indian offices should become at one stroke vacant, so that those who have been proved unfit will find themselves removed "without an opportunity to direct attention from their own unworthiness by professions of party"—a recommendation, he says, which, though not acted upon by Congress, was virtually adopted by the President in "requiring the nomination of all Indian Agents to come from the several religious bodies of the country." The transfer of the purchase of goods to the War Department he approves.

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Major-General Schofield has made a report on the condition of affairs in the military division of the Pacific, in which he takes a less roseate view of the Indian question than does Commissioner Smith. He gives as an illustration of the present system the case of the Arizona Indians. A few years ago, he says, they were in a wild state and hostile. Life and property were everywhere insecure. The President put the whole matter in the hands of a division commander, with full powers. A well-matured plan was adopted and instructions issued. The result was that all the Indians were subdued and placed on their several reservations. And now, he says, "all this must be undone by the Indian Department as soon as they can get control." He asserts that the present system is substantially a see-saw between the Indian Department and the army—the Department first "civilizing" the Indians into a war, and the army then being called in to exterminate enough of them to render the remainder sufficiently peaceable to be turned over again to the contractors and agents; and declares that though, in the interest of the army itself, he has always been opposed to the transfer of the Indians to its care, he has been forced to the conclusion that the

transfer has become a public necessity; and suggests that military management will give a greater opportunity for Christian missionaries to civilize and instruct; and thinks it highly advisable that these "worthy philanthropists be relieved from the responsibility and contamination of more worldly matters"—a recommendation which Smith and Saville, in their retirement, will no doubt piously echo.

Several schemes are coming before Congress this winter in the hope of getting money appropriated for their benefit, and among others that of the Centennial Commission. General Hawley made a speech on Monday at the Stock Exchange, in which he stated that $1,500,000 are needed to open the Exhibition in May, and he expressed the opinion that the "burden would be distributed fairly" if Congress should appropriate the needed sum. The application made last year was defeated on the ground that the act of incorporation distinctly provided that the Government should in no way become financially responsible for the undertaking, and the results show that the refusal of Congress had a most excellent effect, since it convinced the managers that they must carry the project through by their own efforts. During the past year they have worked hard, and now—in the grounds, in the number of applications for space from abroad, and in the arrangements for the convenience of spectators and exhibitors—they have every promise of success. Yet it cannot be denied that the Exhibition has still a local character; nearly all the money has been subscribed either by the State of Pennsylvania or by Philadelphia, and little enthusiasm has been shown for it in other parts of the country. This million and a half will no doubt be raised whether Congress appropriates the sum or not, and there are many objections to a tax for the purpose. One of them is that the Centennial appropriation will be used as a cover for many other schemes—for instance, for the Texas-Pacific subsidy—and it will be easier for Congress to refuse all than to discriminate.

The Governor of Connecticut has made a very good choice in selecting Mr. James E. English as Mr. O. S. Ferry's successor. Mr. English is one of the Connecticut War-Democrats, a man of large property, and, like his predecessor, "sound" on the money question. We wish we could say as much of Senator Ferry of Michigan, whose opinions on finance have become, by the death of Mr. Wilson, accidentally important. He has been "interviewed" by the *Herald*, and declares that he is not an inflationist. We should be very glad of this, but we feared on seeing the announcement that it was too good to be true, and so it proves to be. Mr. Ferry is, to be sure, in favor of a return to specie payments, but he has also supported most of the measures which the inflationists have voted for. He thinks that the currency ought to be limited for ever to a maximum of $800,000,000, and the country ought to be allowed to "grow up" to specie payments; he thinks the Resumption Bill of last year was in a certain sense a "triumph for his own opinions"; he would like to have had greenbacks substituted for bank-notes uniformly, and paper made receivable at the Custom-house for duties; thinks that the contraction of the currency provided for by the Resumption Bill is counterbalanced and rendered harmless by the correlative increase of bank-note circulation which must accompany it; declares that he was in favor last winter of putting off the date for resumption "as long as possible." This does not perhaps prove that Senator Ferry is an inflationist who will "roar for soft-money" this winter, but it does show that he knows little or nothing about the subject, and, like so many other politicians at Washington, is possessed by the delusion that specie payments can be reached by some other process than by redeeming the promises of the Government in coin.

The latest plan proposed by the Anti-Tammany party for the restoration of pure and honest government in New York is the abrogation of the charter of the Tammany Association. As the only benefit the Association derives from the charter is the power of holding a small amount of real estate, the fondness with which some of our contemporaries are dwelling on this scheme has something very curious about it. The withdrawal of the charter would not kill the Association, or, indeed, injure it materially. The members would get somebody to hold their property in trust, and continue their sinful ways just as before—electing delegates, holding "secret meetings," and pulling wires and making bad nominations and setting up bosses in the old style. Does it not occur to the *Evening Post*, for example, that the strength of Tammany lies not in its charter but in the number of votes it controls? By the bye, why do we not hear more from the "reformers" about John Morrissey? What work of purification is that modest Christian gentleman now engaged in? We hope he does not often see Kelly—for the mere sight of that bad man must pain him. He must often ask himself: "How can *any* man be so bad as Kelly?"

The liveliest newspaper war that has raged in this city for many years has been going on between the *Times* and a firm called Goodsell Bros., who publish an illustrated paper called the *Graphic* and an insurance paper called the *Spectator*, through which last they are charged with levying blackmail on insurance companies. The *Times*, which recently promised us to prove the editor of the *Tribune* a "liar and a cheat," but apparently gave it up in disgust, has undertaken to "expose" the Goodsells, and to "expose" their lawyers, and "expose" almost everybody who meddled in the quarrel. The Goodsells, nothing daunted, replied by caricatures in their "low sheet," and the *Times* every day called on all sneaking officers of insurance companies to stand by and see what was going to happen to the Goodsells, and observe how little afraid of them it was, and to take heart and defy the Goodsells; and the Goodsells, in their turn, made ridiculous pictures of the editor of the *Times*; and then the new insurance companies wrote to the *Times* to bid the Goodsells come on, and the *Times* threatened to publish any insurance officers who advertised in the *Spectator* as poltroons and evil-doers; and the whole town got excited over the fight, which will probably end in proving a prodigious advertisement for the *Graphic*, the principal engine of the guilty firm. The Goodsells have begun a suit against the editor and the publisher of the *Times*, but it is questionable whether they will make as much by this procedure as by their blackmail operations in the *Spectator*, whatever that may amount to.

In the financial world the week has been notable for an advance in London in the price of British consols to the highest figures attained since 1860. This advance to 95¾ was maintained only for one day; the next brought the announcement that the British Government had purchased from the Khedive of Egypt his shares in the Suez Canal Company, the price paid having been £4,000,000. This news caused a decline of about 1 per cent. for two reasons: first, on account of the addition of £4,000,000 to the British funds; and second, and chiefly, because of the political complications possible from such a movement on the part of one of the leading powers of Europe. From the extreme decline of 1 per cent. there was a recovery of ½, part of which, however, was subsequently lost. There were no other movements of special interest in the London market, money having continued in unhealthy abundance. Our securities continue to grow in favor in Europe, and private advices more than quotations warrant the belief that investors, particularly in England, are transferring their money from the securities of Eastern and South American governments to United States bonds.

Wall Street was tranquil until the latter part of the week, when both the gold and stock speculations were awakened into activity, the former by reason of Washington despatches respecting Cuba, and the latter on account of the U. S. Supreme Court decision in the case of the Union Pacific Railroad against the Government. The despatches in regard to Cuba have mysteriously hinted that our Government is preparing for war in various ways, and that the President, in his Message, will take a menacing attitude. Whether these despatches are more than the cunning contrivances

of gold speculators remains to be seen. The decision of the Supreme Court clears away doubts which have surrounded the securities of all the Pacific roads, and this is shown by the advance in the bonds and stocks of these companies, part of which advance was due to speculative manipulations. The upward tendency of the stock speculation was turned before the close of the week by the "war news" and various other rumors of a disquieting character. The enlarged volume of business at the Stock Exchange, together with the drain on the New York banks for currency, had the effect of advancing the rate for demand loans to 5 per cent. The gold value of one hundred dollars in greenbacks has varied during the week between $87 62 and $86 39.

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The opinion of the Supreme Court in the Union Pacific case is so clear that there will fortunately be little room for criticism and none for suspicion. The claim advanced by the United States was its right to set off the interest paid on the bonds issued in aid of the road against half the compensation due the road for Government transportation. As to the other half, there is no dispute that the Government has the right to retain it. Practically, therefore, the matter at issue was, as the Court says, whether "the Company is required to pay the interest" (on these bonds) "before the maturity of the principal." The decision of the Court in favor of the Company puts off the repayment of both principal and interest to the same time—the maturity of the bonds, or some time about the close of the present century. The principles of law on which the decision is founded are so familiar that it is difficult to understand what the technical case for the Government could have been supposed to be. The Court were of course obliged to decide it not upon any general right of set-off, but upon the terms of the contract between the United States and the road contained in the acts of Congress, and these acts had to be looked at in view of all the surrounding circumstances—the general belief that the road was a necessity to the Government for military and other reasons; that it could not be built by private capital; that it was needed to develop the Western country and to unite the Atlantic and Pacific slopes; and, as the Court says, the fact that doubts now exist as to the necessity of the Government aid can have no weight in determining the question, for "Congress acted with reference to a state of things supposed to exist at the time, and no idea can be derived in the construction of legislation from the consideration that the theory on which it proceeded turned out not to be correct."

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While the law of the matter seems to be clear enough, there is little doubt that the equities of the suit are all the other way, and that the United States, which originally had ample means to protect its advances to the road, has, by the neglect or something worse of Congress, lost a great part of the value of its security. The original acts with regard to the road allowed the Government to retain the whole compensation due to the corporation for services, and made the bonds a first-mortgage lien. By the amendatory act of 1864, however, not only was the land-grant doubled, but the Government lien was made a second instead of a first mortgage, and a provision was inserted that only one-half of the amount due for transportation should be retained by the Government. Notwithstanding all this liberality, the managers of the road got Congress involved in a disgraceful scandal with regard to its construction, which probably did more to impair the reputation of the Government than any one thing that has happened since the passage of the Legal-tender Act. These circumstances the public can take into consideration, though the Court could not.

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The Conservative Ministry in England has performed a veritable *coup de théâtre* by the purchase from the Khedive of his 177 of the 400 shares of the Suez Canal. The story goes that they were first offered to the French Government, but, owing to some small difficulty about raising the money, the offer was not at once accepted, made then to England, it was taken on the spot. It is rendered all the more remarkable by the fact that England bitterly opposed the construction of the Canal, while France supported it, and it was largely made by French capital. It has cost $86,807,882, and when opened, in 1869, it was supposed it would not begin to pay its expenses before 1874, but, in reality, it not only paid them in 1872, but made in that year a profit of $414,255, since which it has been gaining steadily. The opposition of England to its construction was due to Lord Palmerston's belief that it would tend more to help the French or Russians in attacking India than to help the English in defending it—a belief which his successors have perhaps not wholly abandoned, and which, therefore, has led them to seize the first opportunity of getting hold of it. British merchant vessels, as might have been expected, are already the best customers of the Canal, and will probably continue to be so, so that it is not unnatural on commercial grounds that the management of it should fall into British hands, but there will probably be a strenuous attempt now made by France to "go halves," the success or failure of which will probably depend on the temper of the English public. At present the Government seems to have made a great hit, and to have roused as no Government has done of late years the old martial temper of the nation, and the desire, now so long kept down, of having a say in European politics. The Khedive was to get no interest on his stock for twenty-five years from 1869, but is, it is said, to pay England five per cent. during that period.

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The unfortunate captive who is languishing in the British bastille known as Dartmoor Prison, has been writing some letters to his friends and patrons, Mr. and Mrs. Onslow, which are supposed to throw an interesting if not startling light on the question of his identity. The governor of the prison, with the brutality which generally marks the British governor of prisons, carefully erased some of the most important parts of the letters, which, no doubt, had they been published, would have brought out in strong relief the odious character of the conspiracy which now detains the rightful baronet behind the prison-bars; but enough remains even of these officially-mutilated documents to show that Sir Roger Tichborne, as he calls himself in his letter to Mr. Onslow, or Thomas Castro, as he romantically signs his name in addressing Mrs. Onslow, is by no means unoccupied during his enforced leisure, but is devoting a good deal of his time to perfecting himself in certain branches of learning which he had during his travels sadly neglected. It will be remembered that during the trial of the Tichborne case, notwithstanding the fact that Sir Roger himself was proved to have had a good classical education, and to have been as familiar with the French as with the English tongue, the Claimant had no little difficulty in remembering the meaning of any French word, and made some translations from the Latin which caused a great deal of unfair amusement among the aristocracy; though his translation of *Laus deo semper* into "the laws of God for ever" seemed to a very large number of people unacquainted with the language a very successful effort. Since his imprisonment, however, he has improved his opportunities for "culture," and appears now to have got back to just the point which he had reached a generation ago, when he left his native land. Not only are his letters written in English of the purest sort, bearing no resemblance to the style of the famous maxim he was believed to have composed relating to the rights and duties of that class in the community which has "plenty brains, no money"; but his Latin, too, is classical to that degree that he concludes a paragraph (from which, we are sorry to say, the governor has erased a good deal) by the well-known line, *Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.* Altogether, it begins to look as if, on his liberation, his education would have progressed so far that he would have little difficulty in proving his identity and upsetting the base conspiracy which has ruined his fortunes. We wish we could believe that Tweed were as well employed as Sir Roger, but we fear he will never be able to quote Ovid.

## THE SUPREME COURT AS A STEPPING-STONE TO SOMETHING ELSE.

CHIEF-JUSTICE WAITE, who has been talked of as a candidate for the Presidency, has made a really valuable contribution to political literature not only by declining to allow his name to be used for any such purpose, but by pointing out the gross impropriety of making the bench of the Supreme Court a stepping-stone to something else. The question was raised some years ago in Mr. Chase's case, and it caused then scandal and misgiving enough, one would think, to prevent its ever being raised again. The maintenance of public confidence in a tribunal charged with such powers as those of the Supreme Court, and in times when judicial independence has become a thing of doubtful good to many of the newer communities out West, is, under the most favorable circumstances, a task of no little difficulty. If it became the practice of politicians to search the Court every four years for available men, it would become impossible. Seats in the Court would be sought as a means of making the holders conspicuous among the Presidential aspirants, and from this the progress to looking on the judges as invariably candidates for the Presidency would be short and easy. The downward road in these matters, as we all know, is a smooth one, and the pace on it is apt to be tremendous. The decisions of the Court would then, in all the weightier questions, either come to be stump speeches, or would come to be so considered out-of-doors, and we should have discussions in the newspapers as to the effect of the judicial opinions on each man's "chances," and should be told that So-and-so's ruling in the Smith case had "killed him" or "laid him out," and "left the track clear" for his brother justice, who had taken the opposite side. After the process of degradation had gone on for a while, the persons who protested against it, and sought to arrest it, would be told that they were theorists and visionaries, that the kind of court they were trying for might perhaps be set up during the millennium, but that in these degenerate days we had to recognize the great fact that judges were men with the same passions as the rest of the community, and act accordingly; that England was very corrupt in the days of Robert Walpole, and that corruption existed in this country in the days of the Revolution; and that, after all, the best course to follow was to "leave the whole thing to the people." They know what they want, and if they want a President off the Supreme Bench, why, let them take him.

We have in this State an illustration of the danger there is in this indifference to tendencies, which was one of the most marked features of the Democratic movement of 1846. The leading theory of that movement, as of the French school from which it drew its political ideas, was that man was governed by pure reason, and that *all* progress was sure to be in the right direction, and that therefore the one duty of the statesman was to trust everything to the popular judgment of the hour, no matter how it was obtained or expressed. The people were therefore called on to select judges and attorney-generals with just as much confidence as to express their opinion on a tax, and it was said that the judges could not go wrong because "the people" would watch them, and that, if they did go wrong, the people, by some process which was never clearly explained, would bring them back to the paths of virtue with a sudden jerk at one or two elections. What followed was very instructive: the character of the courts rapidly deteriorated under the operation of principles of human nature with which every man and woman of the race have been familiar since the dawn of self-consciousness, but which the Democratic philosophers assured us ceased to have any force on the Fourth of July, 1776. It was then found, after the deterioration had become notorious, and when an effort was made to reform, that reform was no longer an easy matter; that political abuses injure not simply those who profit by them or perpetrate them, but those who permit them; that a bad judge debauches the very suitors who suffer from his badness; and that when you try to remove him you discover that mere familiarity with his doings has blunted or destroyed the popular horror of them, and made the very community he preys upon somewhat indifferent to his character.

In this State it was found, when, a few years ago, an attempt was made to return to the older and better judicial system, that the greatest obstacle consisted in the loss by the public of the old judicial ideal. People had forgotten what kind of thing an upright and independent judiciary was, and, therefore, when it was described to them as desirable they listened as they would listen to a discourse on the character of Abraham or the wisdom of Solomon, as something admirable, but distant, vague, and unattainable, and were easily persuaded that it was a literary man's dream. A good deal, however, was accomplished, thanks to the gross scandals of the New York City judiciary. The term of office was so lengthened as to make it practically a life-tenure, and thus greatly increase the attractions of the bench for lawyers at the age when the judicial qualities are at their highest; and the present Court of Appeals, when elected, was generally considered the best we had had for many long years, and perhaps so it is. But we have by no means got back to the old standard. The habits formed both by the public and by the judges since 1846 cling to them. The public continues to suspect the judges in spite of the new guarantees, and the judges, knowing they are suspected, are not careful about their reputation. They do not give up being politicians. They linger in the arena, and "confer," and plot, and plan, and intrigue, and aspire, and put themselves "in the hands of their friends," as before, although the temptations have been greatly diminished. The atmosphere, in short, from which a healthy and high-toned judiciary has to draw its life has ceased to exist, and has to be re-created before mere legislative reforms can bear full fruit.

We must not flatter ourselves, therefore, that if we let the Supreme Court go it will be easy to get it back again. Let one or two of its judges run for the Presidency, and no constitutional amendment making them ineligible would at once, if ever, restore the old tone and dignity and purity. Neither judges nor other men respect themselves if no one else respects them, and nobody could respect a bench which had supplied candidates to a convention. The Court has already suffered a good deal. It suffered seriously from the Dred Scott decision. It has suffered still more from the legal-tender decision; and it will be apt now to have cases constantly before it—such, for instance, as those arising out of the disputes between the Grangers and the railroads—which a suspected Court would find it difficult to dispose of satisfactorily. The strain, indeed, which the increase and conglomeration of wealth are likely to put on judicial integrity and judicial reputation, is certainly greater than that to which they were exposed through the pressure of royal influence. The influence of the new temptation is far more subtle, and far less alarming to judicial virtue, and far harder to discover. The growth of riches is creating powerful bodies of persons whose interest in legislation and judicial decisions is enormous, whose assiduity never tires, and who can often accomplish their object just as well by pretending they are able to corrupt officers as by acknowledging that they have corrupted them. The Rings never admit that any man is pure; they enlist support for their schemes by maintaining that there is no quarter in which they cannot "fix things." The stronger and more daring they grow, the more necessary it is that courts of justice should be fortified against them; and a court of justice is never fortified as long as it is not above suspicion. The Supreme Court is above suspicion thus far, and there is no such dearth of Presidential candidates as to make it excusable to expose it even to the shadow of a doubt.

## ENGLAND IN EGYPT.

THE purchase by Great Britain of the Khedive's interest in the Suez Canal for about $20,000,000 would probably have excited comparatively little interest or attention if it were not for the exceeding delicacy of the crisis which has arisen in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire. The outbreak of the insurrection in Herzegovina found both Russia and Prussia disinclined to interfere, and Austria

quite resolved that it should not spread or assume serious proportions; and Turkey, under these favorable conditions, was able to master and all but suppress it. But she was unable to suppress it without finding that she had become vulnerable in a way of which she had had no experience in any of her former troubles. In her various wars and rebellions prior to 1853, she had enjoyed the very great advantage for a semi-barbarous power of having neither debt nor credit. In other words, she paid as she went, and when she could neither pay nor plunder any longer she stopped fighting, and found herself very much where she was before she began. If the Government borrowed, it borrowed small sums at enormous rates of interest from Armenian or Jewish money-lenders at Constantinople, and, if it felt disposed to repay, raised the means of doing so by stripping a rich pasha or Christian of a portion of his fortune, or by applying the screws to the revenue farmers in one of the provinces. But it was in no way dependent on the good-will of the Western exchanges. Its good or evil fortune was not measured by the very delicate gauge of a rise or fall in stocks in London or Paris. It was, therefore, a great misfortune for it to be introduced, in 1854, into the circle of borrowing nations, because it added to its other burdens the burden of sustaining its credit; and if the conditions of national credit had been as thoroughly understood then as they are now, doubtless France and England would not have assumed the responsibility of doing so. The credit of a power which spends money otherwise than by the vote of specific appropriations by a legislative body, and which prepares and publishes no budget in preparation for the financial year, cannot possibly last, even if it possesses a good system of taxation and an efficient civil service, owing to the temptations offered in these days to spendthrift governments. It is very doubtful whether even Frederic the Great or the Bernese oligarchy would have remained thrifty and prudent and honest if they had had the facility in making loans which nearly all countries with even a semblance of civilization have enjoyed during the last forty years. It was therefore an act of folly for the Powers interested in the preservation of Turkey to launch her on a career of borrowing, because they greatly increased her vulnerability. She is undoubtedly stronger to-day in the kind of strength she has always had than she was at the fall of Sevastopol. She suppressed the insurrection in Herzegovina with rather more celerity and efficiency than she has ever shown under similar circumstances before, and if she had had no credit in the Western stock-exchanges, all would have been well. But her default in the payment of her coupons was at once taken as a sign of an approaching collapse against which her military strength and successes availed nothing; and as soon as it was announced, Russia changed her attitude and treated the crisis as a grave one, calling for decisive measures, and it is now said that the three great Eastern Powers are in accord in their proposed dealing, whatever it may be, with the Turkish problem.

The solution which seems to find most acceptance with the press is the occupation or protectorate of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria, of Bulgaria and Roumelia and Constantinople now or shortly by Russia, and the retirement of the Sultan to Brusa in Asia Minor, from which his ancestor started for his final assault on the Greek Empire; and everybody says that this of course means Egypt for England, and takes the cession to her of his interest in the Canal by the Khedive as an indication that he knows what is coming, and like a wise man is preparing for it. This programme, if carried out, would be substantially that proposed by the Emperor Nicholas to Sir Hamilton Seymour in 1852, which brought on the Crimean War, and its acceptance now by England, after the expenditure of a thousand million dollars and of a hundred thousand lives in opposing it, would be one of the strangest episodes in modern politics; but that England has all but made up her mind to accept it there seems little doubt. One of the reasons for doubting whether the three Great Powers have really come to any conclusion about the matter is, that while it is true that it has certainly ever since 1866 been the policy of Prussia to assign Austria a kind of missionary rôle among the Slaves in the Valley of the Danube, in order to prepare and compensate her for being one day pushed completely out of Germany and deprived of the German element in her population, this is a rôle which Austria is by no means ready to accept, both because the spirit of adventure is dead in her, and because the addition of a considerable body of Slaves to her population would aggravate what is already one of her greatest difficulties. She has already more discontented Bohemians and Croatians and Dalmatians on her hands than she can well manage, and it is more than doubtful whether, under the most favorable circumstances, she could ever incorporate them thoroughly into an empire which must inevitably for a long time to come be ruled by Germans and Magyars, and whether she could ever break them of the leaning towards Russia which the latter has sedulously cultivated during the last twenty years. Another reason is the improbability that Germany would be willing to have that immense population of European Turkey pass into the hands of a power with which the Germans must, in the natural course of things, have a good many questions to settle before their relations can be permanently adjusted. There is plenty of ground for supposing that Colonel Chesney's anticipation that the next great war in Europe will consist in a trial of strength between Germany and Russia is well founded, and, if it be, Germany can be in no hurry to put her rival in possession of the enormous advantages derivable from holding the Lower Danube and Constantinople, with a certainty of having Greece when she pleases.

But whatever way the question may be settled as between Austria, Germany, and Russia, England is fully aware that she will exert no influence on the settlement, and that she must prepare for the worst that can happen. The essential thing for her is to keep open her communications with India, and consequently the preservation of Egypt from foreign attack or occupation has been a prime object with her ever since the end of the last century. It was for this that Nelson's victory of the Nile was won, and that the expedition under Abercrombie was sent out and fought the battle of Alexandria three years later. There was a force of Sepoys sent up from India to take part in that campaign, though too late to contribute to the French evacuation, but their appearance was the first recognition of the fact that Egypt is and must really be considered, and now more than ever, an appendage of the Indian Empire. In fact, some of the most prominent Indian statesmen and soldiers of late years, among others Sir Charles Napier, have advocated its annexation as a thing sure to come, and the latter was in the habit of drawing glowing pictures of the army which might be made out of the Fellahs. They are, in fact, as military material, much superior to the Sepoys, and the contingent they furnish to the Turkish army has long been the most valuable portion of it. It is fair to believe that the purchase of the Canal, therefore, is the first step in a process which will reduce the Khedive to the position of one of the dependent Indian princes, and place his army at the disposal of the British War Office.

The satisfaction with which this bold move has been received in England is a strong indication of the extent to which the British public has been chafing under the timid foreign policy of the Liberals, but it makes it not unlikely that the Tories may take to it somewhat too freely as an avenue of escape from the consequences of their late blunders; and that it is a dangerous avenue there is no question, as it is one in which it is very easy to go too far. The probabilities are that it will be received with great satisfaction at St. Petersburg, as it will be taken as a sign that Great Britain is willing to accept the programme of 1853. The whole affair promises to be one more step in the process of pushing back the Oriental invasion which at one time came so near covering the whole of Europe, and augurs the speedy disappearance from the observation of the ordinary tourist of a civilization which, with all its moral and material imperfections, had certain charms in which ours is more and more wanting, and for which we more and more yearn the richer and more powerful we become. The East, ages ago, learnt only too well how to "rest and be thankful." The lesson has proved her political and social ruin, but we all acknowledge that a little of her power of repose is what Western progress needs to make it healthy and truly fruitful.

## NOVEMBER IN ENGLAND.

London, November 11, 1875.

MR. BROWNING has written a pleasing sonnet on the beauty of England in the month of April, expressing, in felicitous language, the delight which any one must feel who happens to be in England in that exhilarating month, when the early green things are budding. I am not aware that any poet has been inspired to celebrate the grim charms of the month of November in this country, and I am sure I do not wonder at it. The greater part of the Midland Counties through which I came the other day is under water, owing to the late floods, and a cheerless east wind broods over the whole land, like a malign divinity of Homeric times, drawing over to England the cold, inhospitable sea-damp from the Dutch coast across the German Ocean. But even with these discomforts surrounding us, there is some happiness in life for those whose destinies permit them to live out of London. Country-houses are generally well and hospitably filled at this season with pleasant people, and—for the men, at least—there is plenty to do. Covert-shooting is at its best. The leaves are off the trees, the undergrowth is no longer a jungle, the birds are strong on the wing, woodcocks—an animal highly prized by English sportsmen—have begun to show themselves here and there in the plantations, and the weather is mild enough to admit of a man standing for three-quarters of an hour in one spot without being incapacitated by cold from taking advantage of such opportunities as arise. Cub-hunting, which is poor sport to the regular hunting man, is over, and the true British sport of fox-hunting is in full swing; and if you want to find an Englishman in his most genial mood, you will do so when he has come home from a good run with a good pack of hounds, when he has been well mounted and led the field; and even if one or two of his best friends may have broken their collar-bones during the proceedings of the day, his spirits will not be seriously dampened. He has been on horseback all day, he has had his run and ridden his tired hunter home some fifteen or twenty miles, and he comes down to dinner as fresh and cheery as if he had done nothing to exhaust himself. He makes himself especially pleasant to the ladies, who have spent a dull day by themselves indoors, and he probably rides the run over again in the smoking-room for the entertainment of the less enterprising spirits who preferred the tame pastime of pheasant-slaying to the more invigorating pleasures of the chase. There is not much to complain of if your lot is cast in such pleasant places just now, and if your tastes are sufficiently cosmopolitan to enable you to enjoy such pleasures as the country offers—pleasures, be it remembered, which go a long way towards the formation of British character, and which, though they contain no small element of barbarism, have a good side also, and bring out the manliness and endurance which have ever distinguished those of Anglo-Saxon blood.

November is tolerable to and even enjoyable by those who spend it in the country, but to any one who is doomed to live in London it is the dreariest portion of the year. The yellow fogs for which this huge caravansery of human beings is notorious are generally at their best—or worst. We breakfast by candle-light at half-past nine o'clock, and grope our way from early morn to dewy eve in a thick, greasy darkness that might be felt. In December, we have frost and snow to cheer us and Christmas to look forward to. In January, the days begin to lengthen, and with their lengthening comes a sense of hopefulness, especially as Parliament will soon assemble and give us something to talk about. But November is the deadest, dullest month of the whole year. The statistics of London suicides stand high this month, as they ought to do. But as they are made up mainly of depressed Parisians who have not become acclimatized, we do not pay much attention to them.

Appropriate to the time of the year, the English law courts open at the beginning of the month; the municipal elections take place over England and Scotland, followed by an historical pageant called "The Lord Mayor's Show"; and people who have no opportunity of speaking elsewhere, or who want to keep their names before the public, go about the country lecturing to philosophical or literary associations, which generally commence their winter sittings in this dismal month.

A certain interest was attached to the opening of the law courts this year, because the old, confused system which had prevailed for centuries came to an end under the operation of the Judicature Act, and the Courts of Common Law and Equity were formally fused into one. But that interest was transient, and it affected the lawyers mainly—the general public only in a secondary degree. The effect of the changes will be that equity barristers will be less prominent than heretofore, and much of their business will become chamber practice. But the spirit of litigation is stated to be actively abroad in England, and there is plenty of work going about to delight the hearts of the lawyers. The new act is, on the whole, working smoothly, but it is said to be pregnant with questions of procedure which cannot fail to raise interesting points and to afford employment to many deserving young men. I cannot say how this may be; but a visit to Westminster and Lincoln's Inn and the Temple enables me to say with great distinctness that there is no lack of young men eager for employment. To them no doubt the future is bright with hope, and even the November fogs are tolerable.

The municipal elections have in the main resulted in favor of the Liberals. Last year, it was otherwise. But he would be a sanguine Liberal who saw in this fact even a symptom of the decay of the Conservative reaction which placed the present Ministry in power. Political feeling is undoubtedly one of the elements which determine the result of a municipal contest, but it is only one of them. The franchise is the same for municipal as for parliamentary elections in boroughs, except that women have votes (which they rarely use) in the former and not in the latter. But many local and provincial and personal considerations influence votes in the smaller arena which are necessarily excluded in the larger. The present Ministry have made more serious blunders in the eighteen months during which they have held office than the Gladstone Ministry made during their whole tenure. But the country is still with the present men, and they are permitted to secure seat after seat as they become vacant, because there is no fight left in the Liberals, and nothing to fight for if there was. The leaders of the Liberal party seem to have made up their mind to run a waiting race. This Parliament they give up as hopeless, but they husband their strength and their resources in order to show a good front at the general election, whenever that may be, and they are not unwise in this policy. The country is resting and comfortable. No one can say when or how it may awaken and bring itself together for action. The Turkish complications may arouse it more suddenly than any of us anticipate, or the outbreak of a religious war in the far East, of which the recent outbreak at Perak may be the premonitory symptoms, may cause us to open our eyes with a ruder shock than we expected. Whenever or however it comes about, the Liberal party, I doubt not, will give up its differences and throw aside its temporary supineness. In the meantime, let us be grateful for our repose, and enjoy what little excitements the spirit of November-time affords us.

In this mental attitude of gratitude I went to hear Mr. Forster (who was with you last year) open the Philosophical Institution in Edinburgh last Friday with an elaborate lecture on our Colonial Empire, and I assisted from a window at the Lord Mayor's show here last Wednesday. I cannot honestly say that I thought very much of either of the performances. Mr. Forster had apparently given a good deal of attention to the subject, and had carefully prepared his lecture. He gave us some interesting facts and a few not uninteresting surmises, among them these: that taking our colonies in the strictest sense—those only which are or can be peopled by white men—their area was not much less than four millions of square miles; and if the area of British India and of our tropical dependencies be added and that of the United Kingdom, the whole British territory is about eight millions of square miles, or more than one-eighth of the whole surface of the globe. The colonial population, he said, amounted to about six millions and a half, or an increase in twenty-one years of more than eighty-eight per cent., and that in eighty-four years from this time, allowing a similar ratio of increase, it would amount to eighty-two millions. These statistics and the calculations deduced from them were listened to with attention, as such dry bones always are listened to by a hard-headed Scotch audience. The abundant flattery which Mr. Forster poured out upon his hearers was also accepted pleasantly. But, to my mind at least, there was the want of the true ring of conviction in much that Mr. Forster said. It seemed as if he had got up what he considered the popular side at the present moment—as if, in short, the motive of the address was not so much the future of our colonial empire as the future of Mr. Forster.

My other little excitement, the Lord Mayor's show, was indeed a pitiful one—a procession consisting of twenty shabby carriages, six men in armor mounted on steeds which had not a caracole among them all, six men dressed like Robin Hood in a provincial theatre, the Lord Mayor's coach as it appears in Hogarth's picture of the "Good Apprentice," and several bands of music. That was the whole ceremonial. I may dismiss the matter with a sentence borrowed from Mr. Samuel Pepys when he went to see the same performance two hundred and fifteen years ago, on the 29th of October, 1660: "I up early, it being my Lord Mayor's day, . . . to one Mr. Isaacson's, a linendraper at the Key in Cheapside; where there was a company of fine ladies, and we were civilly treated, and had a very good

place to see the pageants, which were many, and I believe good for such kind of things, but in themselves but poor and absurd" (Mr. Pepys's 'Diary,' Vol. I., page 150).

# Correspondence.

## THE CHEVALIER HABICHT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Some time since your paper gave currency in an editorial to a charge made in the *Herald* reflecting upon the official character of "the Chevalier Habicht" while Consul of His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway.

The *Herald* publishes a card from Mr. Habicht which appears to conclusively establish his innocence of the charge anonymously made in the *Herald* and credited editorially by yourself.

Is it not due to fair dealing that you should give Mr. Habicht the benefit of his denial? A charge of this sort, receiving the editorial sanction of yourself, preserved in a paper credited with care and accuracy in all departments, and which from its excellence as well as from its form is frequently preserved for binding and future reference, is more serious than the same in a great morning daily, which is almost never preserved.

I am, dear Sir, very respectfully yours,

Rowland R. Hazard.

[It is. Our not having sooner done what we could to set Mr. Habicht right on this matter has been due to oversight simply. We had ourselves made enquiries prior to the appearance of his card in the *Herald* which satisfied us that Mr. Seward had acted with undue precipitation and with great injustice. He condemned the accused without a hearing, and apparently without any investigation whatever; but then it was in the middle of the "little bell" period, when the country was eager for vigor above all things.—Ed. Nation.]

## THE NEO-PAGANS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: What is a poor reader to do when the most authoritative dictators of literary opinion flatly contradict each other? I am composing, for the use of high schools and academies, a manual of the literature of the nineteenth century. After reading the able article on Charles Baudelaire, by G. Saintsbury, in the November *Fortnightly*, I penned a short notice of him for my work, based on what Mr. Saintsbury had said, for I have no first-hand acquaintance with his writings. No sooner had I done so than a friend pointed out to me an article in the last volume of 'Études,' by Edmond Schérer, which made me tremble at my rash confidingness. Which is right and which wrong? Here is the key-note of Saintsbury:

"Valuable and delightful as he is for private study, with no further end, he should be yet more valuable and productive of multiplied delight as a model and a stimulant. It is reported of a scholar not unknown at one of our universities that before going to bed he invariably, in conscious or unconscious parody of ancient habits, reads a sonnet of Shakspere. If this practice should spread, and manuals of devotion become common among men of letters, I know none that I should be tempted to adopt myself and to recommend to others in preference to the writings of Charles Baudelaire."

And here a specimen of Schérer:

"There is no reason why this process [of seeking strong *sensation* in literature] should ever stop. The terrible being exhausted, we come to the horrible and the disgusting. We paint unclean things. We grow furious and wallow in them. But this rottenness itself rots; this decomposition engenders a decomposition more fetid still, until there remains an indescribable something that has no name in any language. *Voilà Baudelaire.*"

Yours truly, W. J.

Worcester, Mass., Oct. 29, 1875.

[We fear that this letter, under the specious garb of ingenuousness, may really be an insidious attack upon the authority of literary critics generally. We shall not ourselves state whether we consider M. Baudelaire an Hyperion or a Satyr—our words might only make confusion worse confounded—but we will simply remind our correspondent that the utterances of a critic, like those of any one else, should be read in the light of the previous tenor of his life and of the company he keeps. Now, if our memory of previous articles in the *Academy* signed by G. Saintsbury serves us aright, there mantles already upon his genius the hue of a premature decrepitude. We think it was he who in a recent notice of Walt Whitman picked out for special glorification all the most spurious-sounding passages in that poet's works—those about the grass being "the beautiful uncut hair of graves," "the produced babe of the vegetation," and the like.

The entire neo-pagan school of writers in England, from Mr. Swinburne all the way down to the present critic, must fill conservative Britons with amazement at its performances. It is impossible to imagine anything less like the voice of the stout, vascular, humorous Anglo-Saxon temperament than their stringy, shrill, emasculate falsetto. To be for ever conscious of the tremendousness of one's own "culture" and of the gulf that lies between one's own illuminated intelligence and the ordinary Philistine brain, is no doubt a very flattering unction to the soul, but a bad thing for the judgment, especially in minds as impervious to humor as these writers all are. The tone in which they urge us to cultivate in turn the frivolous, the cruel, and the libidinous capacities of our imagination is usually as dry and solemn as that of a Scotch funeral sermon. It really takes the Latin races to do this sort of thing with a light and unpedantic touch. For these Englishmen to have made the tardy discovery that the moral didactic element is not the all-in-all of literary art is no doubt well and good; but it does not follow that they need therefore seize upon every witless literary manifestation—provided only it be immoral also—and command us to revere it. They forget that, pursued in this singularly heavy and studious fashion, vice loses more than half its charm. Its principal merit always lay in its spontaneity and freedom from the Pharisaic exclusiveness that virtue often engenders. But when vice grows exclusive and priggish and sicklied o'er with pale, æsthetical self-consciousness, all the odds pass to the side of virtue. *It* becomes the symbol of lightness and emancipation, and vice the dreary and burdensome thing every passing minute which it is commonly admitted to be in the long run.

The truth is that the only tolerable way to be unmoral is to be so by the grace of nature and unconsciously. Once begin to theorize and write magazine articles about what is the most vulgar and what the most *distingué* form of moral sensibility to possess, and any genuine pagan will repudiate you for a dilettante and a sham. You have been caught *in flagrante delicto* of having a conscience, and a most superfine one at that; you can nevermore get rid of it, and the only question for you is, Shall it keep natural and wholesome, or spoil upon your hands? If the little sect of English writers we are considering affect to prefer the latter alternative, and to enjoy a rancid and gamey flavor in their ethics, M. Schérer has never been guilty of any such pretentious inanity. He is one of the foremost of living critics, and we think that our correspondent (if still bent upon composing his 'History' at second-hand) will find him a far safer guide to follow than any of his English "pagan" rivals.—Ed. Nation.]

# Notes.

The *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October is entirely occupied with Centennial addresses and proceedings, from the centenary of the meeting of the first Continental Congress, Sept. 5, 1874, to that of Washington's taking command at Cambridge, July 3, 1875. The number has also been published as a separate volume, in an edition limited to 250 copies. The illustration is a portrait of Gen. Warren.——Henry Holt & Co. send us a complete set, in twelve volumes, of their library edition of Taine's works, whose titles are as follows: 'English Literature' (3 vols.), 'Lectures on Art' (2 vols.), 'On Intelligence' (2 vols.), 'Italy—Rome and Naples; Florence and Venice' (2 vols.), 'Notes on England' 'Notes on Paris,' and 'A Tour in the Pyrenees.' As our readers are aware, the paper, print, and binding of this series leave nothing to be desired in

point of taste and attractiveness, and holiday gift-buyers may well bear it in mind.——The usual pamphlet 'Proceedings of the American Philological Association' for the seventh annual session, held at Newport last July, has just been published at Hartford.——Quite recently we had occasion to notice the supplement to the catalogue of the Wisconsin Historical Society's library, and now we receive from the Pacific Coast a supplement to that of the Mercantile Library of San Francisco. The main work is, as our readers are aware, one of the very best of the recent improved catalogues on the dictionary plan. The supplement fills 168 pages, and represents an accession of about 5,000 volumes to the 36,000 reported up to February 1, 1874—certainly a very healthy growth. It merits the same praise as its predecessor for attractive typography, judicious subdivisions, and full analyses of contents. The only new feature is a numbering with reference to position on the shelves.——According to the *Athenæum*, a codex of the Hebrew Scriptures revised by Rabbi Aaron Ben Asher has lately been discovered at Aleppo, and Dr. Ginsburg is about to set out for Syria in order to collate it.——In Italy, the Government assists by subsidies in the establishment of popular (as distinguished from public) libraries. By a recent order of the Minister of Public Instruction, hereafter no moneys will be given for the acquisition of books, but at discretion the books themselves will be furnished according to the locality and the prosperity of each institution. The Minister has invited the state teachers, authors, and publishers to point out and submit to him the works they deem best calculated to improve artisan and peasant readers.

—In *Harper's* for December there is a very fresh and entertaining paper on the colonial antiquities of suburban Charleston, called "Up the Ashley and Cooper," by Constance Fenimore Woolson. The writer has been diligent in collecting facts about the old houses and churches of the "first families" on the back plantations along and between the two rivers, and has found much that is curious to tell about the Draytons, Izzards, Middletons, Warings, Blakes, Gibbeses, Smiths (of the same stock that furnished a wife for John Adams), Moultries, and the other settlers of Dorchester and Goose Creek. She has also, apropos of the Ashley, something to say about the post-bellum phosphate industry which has done so much to help South Carolina over the thin ice of commercial reconstruction. The illustrations which accompany the article are excellent. Mr. Parton's series on caricature concludes, we suppose, with "Caricature in the United States." He has apparently had some difficulty in filling out this chapter, especially for the earlier periods. But for his anti-Federalist zeal, one would have expected to meet here the immortal figure of the Gerrymander, which is, however, conspicuous by its absence. Dr. Barnard's centennial paper, on the progress of the exact sciences, may be read with unalloyed satisfaction by every American. Why Mr. John Swinton's "narrative piece" should have been marked off into stanzas, and otherwise given the look of verse, we cannot for the life of us imagine. We doubt if even a reference to Walt Whitman could explain it.

—The December *Scribner's* contains a second instalment of 'Gabriel Conroy,' a novel which promises to be interesting, and to arouse anew a good deal of discussion as to its author, Mr. Bret Harte. Whether Mr. Harte has only talent or is possessed of genius, whether he is an American imitator of Dickens or an original product of American soil, whether his latest work is his best or his worst—all these questions will probably be thoroughly discussed by the pestilent tribe of critics as soon as the story makes its appearance in a complete form, and we have no desire to anticipate the public verdict, except within the safe limits of a prophecy that 'Gabriel Conroy' will be much read and much talked about. Enough of it has, however, already appeared to warrant us in noticing the fact that the author has apparently determined to work the vein in which he made his first marked success—that of extreme Western low life. Like Dickens, Mr. Harte has always shown that low life is what he understands how to describe, and that of the life of the "gilded halls of fashion" he has a very dim and inadequate idea. Ladies and gentlemen in Dickens's works are creatures of the brain, not flesh and blood, and generally are typical lay-figures illustrating some moral quality, as charity, cheerfulness, youthful manliness, meekness, gentleness, and so on; on the other hand, his stable-boys are real stable-boys, his hostlers are sure to reek of the noble animals they care for, and his cockneys could be identified as cockneys were we to meet them in far Cathay; in short, with all his characters taken from the sphere of low life, though there may be exaggeration and caricature, it is generally caricature and exaggeration within limits permitted by the reality. Mr. Harte has always shown the same peculiarity, and this is noticeable owing to the fact that it is not by any means the only link which connects him with the author of 'David Copperfield' and 'Oliver Twist.' Those who have read Mr. Harte's 'Condensed Novels' (we believe that was the title) probably remember a masterly imitation of Dickens's style in the story founded on the 'Christmas Carol'—an imitation so good that it could hardly be called a parody, and which seemed from its close resemblance to suggest a sympathy of no ordinary kind between the two authors. The same sympathy may be seen now and then in everything he writes; as, for example, in such details as the headings of some of the chapters of 'Gabriel Conroy'—*e.g.*, "Chapter VIII., The footprints grow fainter," followed of course by "Chapter IX., In which the footprints are lost for ever"—headings that we should have been quite ready to maintain came out of 'Barnaby Rudge' or 'Bleak House.' In Mr. Harte's present story he has apparently determined to show us low life at its lowest, and in the opening chapters we make the acquaintance of a party of emigrants or prospecters reduced—many of them by taste, others by circumstances, and almost all by the snow which has cooped them up and by starvation—to the level which just separates man from beast, in fact, to the level at which the stronger and hungrier man begins to eat his less powerful comrade. To say that the description can be read without a shudder would not be true, but it is skilfully done, and to shudder over the half-revealed atrocities hinted at by Mr. Harte is not to prevent us from looking forward to the next number with interest.

—A timely and forcible paper on "Medical Education in the United States" will be found in this month's *Lippincott's*. It is by Dr. H. C. Wood, jr. With no waste of words, it contrasts the European requirements for the medical practitioner with the total lack of them in this country. We say total lack because Dr. Wood declares with emphasis that the Harvard diploma "is the *only one* issued by any prominent American medical college which is a *guarantee* that its possessor has been well educated in the science and practice of medicine." He denounces the mode in which medical colleges are multiplied beyond all need; says that there are now over a hundred of them, "whilst the natural demand would call for not more than a dozen"; that they turn out 3,000 graduates a year, or nearly five times as many physicians as are licensed in Germany for a larger population; that such is the competition among them that "long ago the standard of graduation was very low—now it is approaching zero," and even in the Philadelphia schools (with which the writer is most conversant) it is no higher than it was ten years ago, "and I believe even lower." The physicians who found the multitude of new schools, and, composing themselves into faculties, become self-styled professors, "may be in truth looked upon as joint-stock companies, or copartnerships possessed of a valuable franchise." For one thing, they escape "a custom which binds the profession with the iron rigidity of a social law," viz., "that no medical man may announce himself in the daily press even by a simple card. Even one who essays to practise a special branch is ostracised in many localities if he merely puts 'aurist' or 'oculist' on his window-shutter or door-plate. But if the physician be connected with a public institution, that institution must advertise him in the course of its own necessary advertisement. Hence, in the great majority of cases, the professor's chair becomes very valuable as a road to practice." As a protection against quacks and half trained doctors, Dr. Wood proposes a State board of examiners, getting over the obstacle of "sects" in this way: "The differences involve only the treatment of disease. Let, then, the board examine only in the other branches. The man who has passed a severe examination in the fundamental sciences of medicine—chemistry, anatomy, physiology, and pathology—as well as in the natural history and diagnosis of diseases and injuries and the principles of mechanical treatment, may with some degree of safety be trusted for the rest." Or supplemental boards for therapeutics might be instituted, as in Canada. Another attractive paper in *Lippincott's* is Mrs. Kemble's "Notes on the Characters of Queen Katharine and Cardinal Wolsey in 'Henry VIII.'" The writer is led in her analysis into some expression of opinion as to the disputed Shaksperian portions of the play, and closes with this bit of criticism:

"I have read lately of comparisons between 'Henry VIII.' and Tennyson's 'Queen Mary': to me this latter production appears no more like Shakspere's writing than a suit of his clothes would be like him; they would certainly remind any one who saw them of him who had worn them. I am much mistaken if Alfred Tennyson himself would not be more apt than any one to say (if it may unprofanely be said), 'Why callest thou me Shakspere'?"

We notice, by the way, that a prize is offered to the Sophomore Class of Trinity College, Hartford, for a Greek translation of the 'Queen Mary,' Act V., Scene 4.

—The deaths of Mr. William B. Astor and Mr. Henry Wilson, happening

as they did almost at the same time, brought out into very strong contrast two widely opposed types of American life—the successful politician, working his way up to the highest positions in the public service by making politics the business of his life, and the successful accumulator of property, to whom all political questions were mere wind and fury, signifying nothing. If Mr. Wilson had been asked at any time during the last forty years to explain the whole duty of the American citizen, he would have said that it consisted in taking an active part in public life, in attending the primary meeting, in seeing that none but fit men were nominated for office; and probably if he had been asked to point out the causes of the misgovernment and anarchy in this city, he would have declared it to be the indifference of the wealthy and intelligent classes to their political duties. Speaking broadly, the whole vast accumulation of property by two generations of Astors has been accomplished in defiance of this theory of the duty of the citizen, and you would hardly at any time during Mr. W. B. Astor's long life have persuaded him that there was anything in it. The Astor property was accumulated by men whose first maxim, in practice at any rate, was that the merchant or capitalist who had anything to do with politics, except so far as to make himself secure against oppression or over-taxation, stultified himself, and directly diminished, by the amount of his political activity, his chances of success in business. The property of which the late Mr. Astor was possessed would have enabled him, had he felt inclined to make the attempt, to exercise a very large share of the political power of the city in which he lived, but his political life and ambition were confined to a quiet resolution that, whatever party or ring might be in power, it should not harm his capital or income. Within these limits, submission to the ruling powers, no matter of what stripe, was his simple plan, and was adhered to as steadily as if he had been living under a despotism instead of in a free country. The only connection between the public and Mr. Astor was the Astor Library, which cannot be said to have been kept up as it should have been, though it has received constant attention. It might easily have been made one of the finest libraries in the world. As Mr. Astor's will has not yet been published, we do not know what provision has been made for its support and continuance.

—The secresy which has hitherto surrounded the plan of the new musical college has at last been removed, and it appears that a New York millionaire is really going to give the city a fund for musical purposes hitherto undreamt of in the history of the art. It is probably not only an unheard-of gift in amount, but it is a rare instance of liberality and public spirit, too, that a whole family should solemnly agree to accumulate almost their entire substance as a fund to be given to public use by the survivor. Whether Mr. Wood's munificent endowment will really enable New York to compete with Europe in music remains to be seen; but there can be no doubt of one thing—that gifts like this do a great deal to disprove the commonplace maxim about æsthetics, to the effect that they never thrive without government patronage. It makes, of course, no difference whether the patronage be governmental or private so long as it is large enough, and the axiom rests on the supposition that private patronage will never contribute enough. The art of which it is supposed to be most clearly true is that of the stage, but it ought to be quite as true of music, and a musical endowment of from three to five millions for a city like New York seems to show that it is true of neither.

—The announcement that Tupper has composed a centennial poem called "Washington," and will try to procure its representation here next year, has brought down a great deal of criticism, or, more properly speaking, vituperation, on the head of the author of the 'Proverbial Philosophy,' which will, we fear, make but little impression upon him. He has been exposed and riddled by the wit of the English weekly press more thoroughly than any modern writer; his pretensions as a poet have been completely upset over and over again; his philosophy has been shown to be no better than his poetry, and his poetry no improvement on his philosophy. Yet the callous bard goes on after his kind producing verses unblushingly, and his readers go on in their ignorance reading them; and, having fought the good fight of mediocrity and triumphed in England, it is no wonder that he should be tempted to conquer a new world on this side of the water. Under these circumstances, he did what was a very wise thing to do—he captured the gallant Colonel Forney, General Schenck, and a few other distinguished Americans in London, and read his poem, or drama, or whatever he calls it, to them. The fox in the fable had no better reason for persuading the others of his tribe to cut off their tails than these gentlemen now have for procuring Mr. Tupper other victims, and we must protest against this transparent act of revenge.

—Dr. Wilson of Toronto, in a paper on "Hybridity and Absorption in relation to the Red-Indian Race," reprinted from the *Canadian Journal*, "adduces data," according to *Nature*, "to prove that a very considerable proportion of red blood has been absorbed into the whites of North America, and that especially in the Canadian Dominion this shows itself in the physiognomy of all classes"; also that "there is ground for believing that this influence is decidedly good, physically and intellectually." Furthermore: "The characteristic Brother-Jonathan face, which is generally attributed to influences of climate, soil, food, etc., Dr. Wilson is inclined to attribute to a decided admixture of Indian blood." That the colonial French and the Indians "hybridize" rather freely is well known, and Dr. Wilson's "data" are all probably from Canadian sources. But imagine the grim smile which will pervade the somewhat austere features of the typical Yankee when he reads that they are derived from an Indian admixture, along with an advantage to his physique and intellect which may compensate for some loss of beauty!

—At the recent (the sixteenth) annual meeting of the German Historical Commission in Munich, held early in October, it was announced that the 'History of the Sciences in Germany' is approaching completion. The fourteenth volume, Prof. Roscher's 'History of Political Economy,' was issued during the past year, and Prof. Sachs's 'History of Botany' is ready for the press. The histories of mathematics (by Prof. Gerhardt of Eisleben) and of historical science (by Prof. Wegele of Würzburg) will next appear, to be followed by the volumes on geology, classical philology, and medicine. The editorship of the volume on physics is at present undecided upon, and that on the science of war has recently been delegated to General von Troschke of Berlin. We may appropriately notice that though Prof. von Sybel, whose occasional addresses during his connection with the University at Bonn have found mention in our columns, has recently removed to Berlin to accept the directorship of the Prussian Archives, his membership in the Academy of Sciences in Berlin permits, we believe, a certain activity in connection with the Berlin University, so that historical students may hope to retain him as a personal teacher. In the conduct of the Archives he will find abundant opportunity for introducing some useful reforms.

—Those of our readers who have followed the discussion upon the new German School of Economists will be interested to know that Roscher has this year published the eighth edition of the second volume of his 'National Economy.' The complete plan of the work comprises four volumes—the first upon the general science, the second its application to agriculture, the third to manufactures and commerce, the fourth to governmental relations. Only two volumes have, however, been published. The scope of the present volume—'Nationalökonomie des Ackerbaus'—can be judged from the titles of the chapters. The first book, "Vorstufen des Ackerbaus," has chapters upon fishing, hunting, and pastoral peoples; the second book, agriculture, embraces the successive heads—general character, extensive and intensive agriculture, its several branches, large and small estates, relation of proprietor to cultivator (*Landwirth*), property in land (*Grundeigenthum*) and the communities, property in land and families, property in land and classes, burdens of the peasantry, agricultural (*landwirthschaftlicher*) credit, misuse of alienation of land (*Mobilisirung*), trade in corn, agricultural insurance, and agricultural education. The third book treats of the industries subsidiary to agriculture (*Nebenzweige*), fisheries, grazing, and forest culture. These titles give a tolerably good notion of the appropriateness of the term "Historical School of Economists."

—The police service of Vienna, as at present constituted, is of very recent growth. The ignorant and often brutal policeman of the old Kaiserstadt, recruited in great part from the Czech soldiery, survived the era of Metternich and Sedlnitzky, his all-powerful president of the police, until 1869, when he made way for his intelligent and mild-mannered successor. The native humor of the Viennese has not been slow in characterizing the change, and the Sicherheitswachmann of to-day, with his overflowing politeness, is as much a stereotyped figure in the comic newspapers as the Czech guardian of the peace, with his broken German and uncouth ways, was years ago. The new police corps is a purely civil organization, which partakes of the spirit of enlightenment now prevailing in Austria. It possesses schools of its own, both for special and general instruction. The men, on joining the force, enter a preparatory class, and, when fitted for active duty, complete their knowledge of the regulations of the service in the schools of their respective districts. In the schools for the training of inspectors, as the superior officers are called, lectures are delivered on the fundamental laws of the empire, the criminal and civil code, on geography, history, etc., while special instruction may be had in swimming and navigation, telegraphy, French and English. The linguistic

attainments of the Vienna police are probably superior to those of any similar body of men, owing, of course, mostly to the peculiar complexion of the empire. At the close of 1873—we quote from the last report of the Mayor of Vienna—the force numbered 2,708 men, of whom, in addition to German, 1,512 spoke the Slavic dialects, 284 Italian, 268 Hungarian, 65 French, 59 Roumanian, 40 Hebrew (!), 14 English, and 6 Spanish. Seven hundred and twenty men may be said to have received a liberal education, 441 having passed through *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*, and 74 having attended commercial schools. In fact, the list showed a sprinkling of almost every kind of professional education, even theology, pedagogy, surgery, and the fine arts claiming 5, 10, 11, and 5 representatives respectively. Whether there is cause for unmixed congratulation in the fact that so much valuable material should have been turned into this particular channel of usefulness, is perhaps an open question. Possibly the figures, so creditable to the intelligence of the Vienna police, may also throw some light on the unmistakable inferiority of their physique as compared with that of our metropolitan protectors. The latter will find food for reflection in the statement that, while 23 policemen were wounded in making arrests, they, in turn, made use of their weapons only in 16 cases, inflicting slight injuries.

## BOYNTON'S REVIEW OF SHERMAN.*

II.

THE next charge is of injustice to Rosecrans in the account of the battles of Iuka and Corinth, and Gen. Boynton relies chiefly upon the reports of Grant to prove that he was not dissatisfied with Rosecrans in those engagements, as Sherman asserts. We cannot think this a conclusive way of answering an assertion made by Sherman on personal knowledge. All the dissatisfactions felt by commanding generals are by no means displayed in official reports. Grant rarely, if ever, indulges in censure in such documents. They are always intended, to a certain extent, for public effect, and only extreme necessity or provocation will induce a wise commander to make a report a discouraging or a complaining one. The chief business of history is to get behind these reports, and an appeal to their generalities against details given on personal knowledge is an inversion of the proper order and mode of investigation. It has always been notorious in the army, and Gen. Boynton admits the fact (p. 53), that from the time of this campaign Gen. Grant had a great dislike of Gen. Rosecrans, so great that to it is currently attributed the abandonment of his profession by Rosecrans when Grant was elected President. The reasons for this dislike which Gen. Boynton suggests are not in themselves sufficient, and the care with which Grant in his official report (p. 46) limits the credit of the fighting at Iuka to Gen. Hamilton, while he gives no word of commendation to Rosecrans personally, is significant to those whom a knowledge of attendant circumstances enables to read between the lines. Sherman is the best authority for what Grant felt on that occasion, and, so far from censuring Rosecrans himself, he defends him, urging that the inherent difficulties of such combinations as were there attempted were enough to account for a lack of complete success (p. 45). In regard to the battle of Corinth, Sherman criticises nothing but the pursuit of the enemy, which he evidently thinks was not prompt enough, and adds that Grant was again displeased. Sherman does not express his opinion in any offensive manner, and as to his assertion of Grant's displeasure we can only repeat that the absence from the reports of an open expression of it does not disprove the fact.

We have neither time nor space for an extended examination of the next charge, which is that of blundering and reckless waste of life in Sherman's assault at Chickasaw Bayou, near Vicksburg, in the latter part of December, 1862. He was ordered to reduce Vicksburg if he could with such forces as were placed at his disposal. He reconnoitred, chose the place of attack which seemed most practicable, assaulted, was repulsed, admitted it, and assumed frankly the responsibility. Had he not assaulted, plenty of critics would have sworn that a vigorous attack would certainly have been successful. Let that pass; we are dealing chiefly at present with his veracity and fairness, or the contrary. In connection with the assault above referred to, Sherman is charged with unfairness towards Gen. Geo. W. Morgan, commandant of a division ordered to make the attack at the point chosen as the key to the situation. Sherman says Morgan was to lead his division in person, and that he had promised "in ten minutes after you give the signal I'll be on those hills." He further asserts that Morgan did not go forward with his command in person, nor cross the bayou in front of the hills, and to this he attributes the failure of the attack (p. 57). No soldier will deny that if the facts are so the failure is sufficiently accounted for, and that much stronger language than Sherman uses would be justifiable. The disproof of Sherman's assertions offered by Gen. Boynton is purely circumstantial, as follows: Sherman does not make the charge against Morgan in his official report, though he does say that Morgan promised to renew the assault in half an hour and did not do so. To this a plain answer is that the fact of Morgan's personal conduct may not have been learned by Sherman at the time of writing the report. The "record" does not "contradict" Sherman, and we hold it scarcely credible that Sherman would declare that Morgan did not cross the bayou in person and lead his division to the attack unless there was pretty good evidence of it. Morgan is still alive, and so are hundreds of men and officers who were in his command that day. A charge of unfairness cannot be made out so. A plain question of fact should either be met in some other way, or, for the sake of those whose names are involved, it should not be mooted.

In Chapter VI., Gen. Boynton charges that Sherman is again unjust to Rosecrans in stating that he was defeated by Bragg at Chickamauga and driven into Chattanooga. For present purposes, it is enough to say that Sherman holds that opinion in common with nearly everybody else, and is therefore not chargeable with malice in entertaining it. Gen. Boynton's theory, that the retiring to Chattanooga was "strategy," and that it was parallel to "Hood's driving Sherman into Atlanta," is, to say the least of it, novel, and we are forced to declare that a single reading of the "record" does not seem to sustain the theory.

As to the condition of things when Sherman joined Grant in person before the battle of Missionary Ridge, Sherman in his 'Memoirs' has given a detailed report of a conversation with Grant, quoted in the Review (pp. 70, 71). Upon this, Gen. Boynton charges Sherman with unfairness to Thomas and the Army of the Cumberland, disregarding the fact that Sherman is telling Grant's opinion, and not his own. The conversation is an important and interesting historical item; and to intimate that it is purely imaginary because, some ten days later, Grant ordered Thomas to make a preliminary movement, before Sherman's troops had come into position, does not seem to us worthy to be called criticism. Grant's opinion of the demoralization of Thomas's command may have been a mistaken one, or the near approach of large reinforcements may, and naturally would, have improved their *morale*; but to ignore all other explanations except that Sherman should have invented or imagined the conversation he narrates, is certainly a most curious method of contradicting Sherman by the "record."

The next charge, viz., of injustice to Gen. W. Sooy Smith, will be found again to turn mainly on a question of fact, viz., whether Smith failed in the cavalry movement he was ordered to make in support of Sherman's Meridian campaign, partly by reason of unnecessary delay in moving, but chiefly by allowing Forrest to beat him with an inferior force. The reviewer denies both that Forrest's force was inferior and that Smith was beaten; but as these are his own assertions, wholly unsupported by any quotation "from the files," he must be held to have failed again in the promise to contradict Sherman only by the "record." To the pretence that his assertions are proved by the fact that Sherman's congratulatory order to his troops, then at Meridian (of which Smith's command was not a part), tells them they have "fulfilled, and well, all the objects of the expedition," there is absolutely no response so appropriate as the common slang, "too thin."

Chapter VIII is devoted to the ungenerosity of Sherman to McPherson in a passage of his 'Memoirs' in which he says of McPherson's failure either to occupy Resaca or to break up the railroad in Johnston's rear: "Such an opportunity does not occur twice in a single life, but at the critical moment McPherson seems to have been a little timid. Still, he was perfectly justified by his orders," etc. If Sherman is to be permitted to hint the slightest doubt of the absolute completeness of McPherson's movement, he certainly cannot find language to do it more gently. If his well-known friendship for McPherson lays him under obligation to attribute infallibility to that good soldier, we have nothing to say except that the rule would make all honest memoirs impossible. Look a moment at the facts. Sherman, expecting to attack Johnston in front and on the east of Rocky Face Ridge, ordered McPherson, with twenty-three thousand men, to march by Snake Creek Gap "to Resaca, to destroy the railroad" behind Johnston. "*After breaking the road good*, his orders are to retire to the mouth of Snake Creek Gap, and be ready to work on Johnston's flank in case he retreats South" (p. 103). McPherson found Resaca fortified by field-works, and occupied by a brigade of the enemy; he made no serious attack on the place, nor did he break the railroad either "good" or at all.

* 'Sherman's Historical Raid. The 'Memoirs' in the Light of the Record. A Review Based upon Compilations from the Files of the War Office. By H. V. Boynton, Washington Correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*.' Cincinnati: Wilstach, Baldwin & Co.

This is the "record" which Gen. Boynton says "shows conclusively that Sherman *ordered* McPherson back to Snake Creek Gap, and that the charge of timidity is gratuitous." And this is military criticism!

In passing, we will say that Gen. Boynton produces copies of a number of interesting despatches, showing that Sherman fully expected at first to fight Johnston by a front attack near Dalton, and that the movement of the whole army by Snake Creek Gap was not determined on till two days of pretty sharp partial assaults had proved that the position was every way too strong to be carried in that manner. The assertion of Sherman's 'Memoirs,' therefore, that he "had no intention to attack the position seriously in front," must be understood to have reference to his purposes after the character of the natural and artificial defences had become apparent, namely, on the 10th of May, when his despatch to Halleck shows that he no longer expected to press a main attack upon the front. The statement of the 'Memoirs' needs this qualification. This in no way affects the question as to McPherson's action; for on either hypothesis the breaking of the railroad "good" was a most important thing to do, and if McPherson had had the audacity to carry Resaca, or put himself astride of the railroad, throw up breastworks, and take such hard knocks as might come, it is now certain that Johnston's army would have suffered all, and more than all, that is indicated by Sherman. If, then, the war maxim, "*l'audace, toujours l'audace*," has any force, McPherson *must* be held to have lost one of those opportunities which do not ordinarily occur "twice in a single life."

The chapter on the assault upon Kenesaw, which is called "an inexcusable slaughter," might be dismissed with the single remark that in war very few apologies are necessary for a bold attack upon a wooded position whose strength cannot be known till you try it. Otherwise, Grant would be culpable for such attacks as that upon Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain, where the element of boldness in his movement now rightly gives him the chief glory of it. State the case thus: Sherman, with about a hundred thousand men, found himself in front of a weaker enemy, holding a line of high wooded hills. His line of communications is a single railroad in his rear several hundred miles long, which is kept fully busy in supplying him from day to day in a country which affords nothing for the subsistence of his army. To turn the position involves the abandonment of his communications, and the taking of all the chances that his supplies would utterly fail, while the miry roads of the country were almost impassable. Shall he take the latter course without trying an attack on the position? We are sure every impartial military critic will say he must try the attack. Take another step. If he makes the attack with about eighty thousand men, and has a list of casualties of about two thousand five hundred killed and wounded as the result, is that by military rules to be regarded as "an inexcusable slaughter"? The answer must certainly be, No. Once more, considering again the attacking force and their losses, was there or was there not good ground for Sherman's saying that "one-fourth more vigor, mathematically," would have "put the head of George Thomas's whole army right through Johnston's deployed line," when Thomas reported his columns as able to hold their ground "within sixty yards of the enemy's entrenchments"? It surely cannot be regarded as extravagant. Still again, when after such a proportion of casualties to the numbers attacking, Gen. Thomas says (p. 114), "One or two more such assaults would use up this army," and can only suggest an approach of the enemy's field-works "by regular saps," does he exhibit such ideal energy that Sherman must be thought "cruelly unjust" if he intimates that solid old Thomas was sometimes a trifle slow?

Gen. Boynton, and not Sherman, is responsible for the production of the despatches which would seem to tell against Thomas's activity, but they are valuable parts of the history. Thomas's reputation is established on such a basis that it is quite unnecessary to support it in the manner of the chapter we are noticing. Were it less assured, Gen. Boynton's defence would be damaging. The attack on Kenesaw was not renewed, and Sherman, as we learn from the despatches now produced by Gen. Boynton, asked Thomas if he was willing to try the flank move on Fulton. Thomas does not answer categorically, but says that if it be made "with the greater part of the army, I think it decidedly better than butting against breastworks twelve feet thick and strongly abattised." Sherman replies, "Go where we may, we will find the breastworks and abattis, unless we move more rapidly than we have heretofore" (p. 117). To call Thomas's despatch an approval of Sherman's plan is an abuse of language. Gen. Boynton says it is "exceedingly suggestive"; yes, to the very verge of insubordination; and Sherman's sincere friendship for Thomas could not be better manifested than by his taking no other notice of its reference to the assault on Kenesaw than by his retort on the score of slowness. We are sorry Thomas wrote the despatch, but the "truth of history" justifies Gen. Boynton in publishing it.

On the subjects of Sherman's reference to Blair and Logan as "political generals," and of his controversy with Stanton and Halleck over his truce with Johnson, we see no reason to add to what we have said in our original review of the 'Memoirs.' A few words on the planning of the march to the sea must close what we have now to say. General Boynton shows clearly enough that Grant had suggested a move upon Mobile after Atlanta should be taken, and that after the fall of Mobile he suggested a move on Augusta, while troops should go by sea to operate on Savannah. But neither of these movements has any resemblance in military principle to that which Sherman actually made. To go to Mobile was only to cut off another Western slice from the Confederacy, and in doing it Sherman would remain in his own department and in communication with his own detachments and his own bases of supply. To go to Augusta implied a campaign on similar conditions, and in each case Sherman's army would operate as a whole, and Hood's army would be his enemy in the field. The conception of the Savannah campaign is *toto cœlo* different. It involved the division of Sherman's army, leaving Thomas to keep Hood busy and defeat him, whilst he with the rest of his forces cut entirely loose from his base and struck for the sea, so far eastward as to divide the Confederacy in the middle, destroying railways to such an extent as permanently to interrupt any valuable communication between the Atlantic and Gulf States of the Confederacy. It was bringing the war to a grand crisis at once. There is no strategic resemblance between this plan and either of the others, and, like Marlborough's march to Blenheim, or Napoleon's to Berlin, it was followed by magnificent results; and if, as in Napoleon's brilliant campaign, it was won more by the legs of the soldiers than their arms, so much the better. Either of the other plans might have been good, neither of them could be great. We can find nothing in the written evidence furnished by General Boynton to lead us to any other conclusion than that we have stated.

Only one point is left. Did Sherman leave Thomas to do his work with insufficient means? To this the "record" answers that the force, when concentrated, was superior to Hood's; that Schofield was able to hold Hood back till the concentration was effected, permanently crippling Hood's army at Franklin with only a fraction of Thomas's; that Schofield thought there were troops enough to "whip Hood easily" (p. 181); that Thomas himself thought so (pp. 185, 186); and, finally, that Thomas did, in fact, conquer Hood easily, completely, and gloriously. Therefore, he had troops enough to do it. Q. E. D. Would he or any of his admirers (and they are the whole nation) now wish that Sherman had not left him to do that work? Injustice was done Thomas by the authorities at Washington, though inadvertently, in not giving proper weight to the circumstances which prevented his earlier attack on Hood at Nashville, and there is room for a difference of theoretic opinions as to whether a more vigorous action in November would not have been successful. The mass of documents quoted by Gen. Boynton seem to establish the fact that Gen. Thomas's general reputation was that of being rather slow, and that the nervousness at Washington was caused by this belief. But to be rather slow was quite consistent with being a most noble man, and with adding to Sherman's campaign the "crowning mercy" of Nashville. We cannot find in the "record" anything inconsistent with this friendly view of Thomas's character and achievements, and must therefore acquit Sherman of both injustice and jealousy.

Several minor topics might be profitably discussed if our space permitted, but we must stop here. Pending the publication by Congress of all the war records, Gen. Boynton's painstaking compilation from the files will have real historic value; but we must in candor repeat, that one of the chief points of that value will be the essential aid it gives in demonstrably refuting the charges against Gen. Sherman which his book was intended to prove.

## BARCLAY'S SHIP OF FOOLS.*

ALIKE under a literary aspect and under a philological, the writings of Alexander Barclay have an importance which has hitherto been inadequately acknowledged. His principal work, that specified above, now accessible to the world in sumptuous typography, though in name a translation only, is really one of the most noticeable contributions to English verse that can be mentioned between Lydgate and Spenser. Nor is its author without valid claims on the attention of the thorough student of our mother-tongue. His chief merit, particularly in his 'Sallust,' consists in his employment of numerous Latinistic expressions, which, though of rare

* 'The Ship of Fools. Translated by Alexander Barclay. Edited by T. H. Jamieson.' Edinburgh: William Paterson; London: Henry Sotheran & Co. 1874. 2 vols. 4to.

occurrence in the literature of his predecessors and contemporaries, have long since, for their utility, been permanently naturalized. Much as has been done of late years towards investigating the English which intervened between Chaucer and Sidney, we are, in our acquaintance with it, barely better than beginners. To the period in question belongs Barclay ; and no philologist who would form a correct idea of our language, as exhibited at its best in the time of Henry VIII., can dispense with poring over his pages diligently. Our lexicographers, it is true, have to a man substantially ignored him. But who among these sciolists has evinced, as to our literature in its full compass, any knowledge of it other than the most superficial ? To Dr. Johnson, even in Shakspere's time, the English nation "was yet struggling to emerge from barbarity." As he distinctly tells us, little of the English language of an earlier date challenged his notice. That, therefore, he should have contented himself with a mere quotation from Barclay, in the "History of the English Language" prefixed to his 'Dictionary,' is all that could be expected. At the same time, in his ignorance of Barclay, he pronounces that he "wrote about 1550."

The nationality of Barclay has long been litigated ; and it is still somewhat uncertain, and is likely so to remain, whether he was born to the north of the Tweed or to the south. His patriotic editor attempts to support the position of his being a Scotchman by adducing certain words from Barclay which he assumes to have been peculiar in his time to Scotland ; alleging that they "indicate at once the clime to which they are native." Among these words, strangely enough, we notice *byde*, *gree*, and *ryve* for "abide," "agree," and "split," and we should not be surprised if it were shown that the obsoletisms which are associated with them, as, for instance, *kest*, *thekt*, and *yate*, for "cast," "thatched," and "gate," belong to the same category. But whatever the place of Barclay's birth was, its time, of which we have no nice particulars, must have been about midway in the latter half of the fifteenth century. His education, at least as regards his university, was undoubtedly English. It is, however, a question whether he was at Cambridge or at Oxford. His calling was that of an ecclesiastic. Certainly a member of the Benedictine brotherhood, he may afterwards have attached himself to the Franciscan. In his will he styles himself Doctor of Divinity. He survived the Reformation, but without turning Protestant, and died at Croydon, where he lies buried, in 1552.

The career of Barclay, as far as has been ascertained, was marked by no incidents of note. Being not only a right-minded and upright man in a most corrupt age, but choosing to lash unsparingly the vices by which he was surrounded, he could reasonably reckon on but a meagre share of what is generally counted as success. In passing, the charge brought against him by the foul-mouthed Bishop Bale, utterly unsupported as it is by corroborative evidence, may be dismissed as pure aspersion. How little Bale knew of him may be inferred from his calling him "Quene Maryes chaplayne," whereas Queen Mary did not come to the throne till more than a twelvemonth after he was laid in his grave. Having spent in his early manhood several years in Germany, Italy, and France, Barclay entered the Church. Patrons, though he was quite the reverse of a courtier, he did not indeed lack, and he was prompt in giving proofs of his unmistakable ability. Yet circumstances, which in all likelihood he himself created, conspired with his inflexible rectitude of principle to prevent his rising to eminence in his profession. Until he reached old age he attained to no preferment but the most moderate. For many years he was simply a chaplain, or else a humble parish-priest in Devonshire, Essex, and Somerset, besides being attached for a while to the Monastery of Ely. In 1552 he was presented to the rectory of All Hallows, Lombard Street, London, a living of considerable value, in the possession of which he died the very year it was bestowed on him. Long before this, in 1520, it was proposed to Wolsey by Sir Nicholas Vaux to employ his pen in the service of the state. That anything in the way of literary effort came from this proposal we are not informed. At all events, his worldly prospects do not seem to have been bettered by this momentary gleam of court favor. If he cherished the anticipation that his want of material prosperity would be compensated by the remembrance of after-days, that anticipation bids fair to be amply realized. As a remarkable instance of omission, by the bye (provided that Fuller did not take him for a Scotchman by birth), he is wholly uncommemorated in 'The Worthies of England.'

With the exception of 'The Introductory to Write and Pronounce French,' no original production of Barclay's is recorded to have come down to us. His first venture in letters was a poem from the French, 'The Castell of Laboure,' printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1506, and subsequently by Pynson. The work to which, more than to all else that he accomplished, he owes his fame soon succeeded it ; and then came his five 'Eglogs,' 'The Introductory, etc.,' 'The Myrrour of Good Manners,' and his translation of Sallust's 'Jugurthine War.' The English version of Haython's 'Cronycle' has been conjecturally ascribed to him, as have been three less extensive performances, two of which are supposed to have perished. Bale's supplement to this list enumerates several works which, likewise, are thought to be no longer extant.

'The Shyp of Folys of the Worlde,' which came out in 1509, and was reprinted by Cawood in 1570, is nominally a translation. It is founded on the 'Narrenschiff,' written in the Swabian dialect by Sebastian Brandt, professor of canon law at Basel, or, rather, on Professor James Locher's Latin version thereof, which followed the original at an interval of only three years, in 1497. The former popularity of the 'Narrenschiff' is attested by the fact that, in addition to being speedily imitated in German, French, and Latin, it was three times turned into French, and also into Dutch and Low-German. The same year that Barclay brought it out in English verse, Wynkyn de Worde presented a translation of it in English prose, rendered by Henry Watson from the French of Jehan Droyn.

It is natural that the 'Narrenschiff' enjoyed, in its divers forms, marked favor with Brandt's contemporaries and during several succeeding generations. Its incisive satire on the fatuities and their agents, while in the main so general as to suit all times indifferently, abounds in specialties which give token that Brandt was a keen-eyed observer of the follies predominant in his own day. Moreover, though level to proletarian apprehension and appreciation, the poem has a freshness about it which we can easily believe was once equally attractive to the peasant and to the scholar. The mechanics of Strassburg, Basel, and Augsburg hailed it with delight ; Erasmus and Reuchlin were loud in their commendation of it ; and Hutten went so far as to speak of its author as "the new lawgiver of German poetry." The preacher, Gailer von Kaiserberg, we are told, utilized it in substitution for the Bible as a repertory whence to draw texts. Directly, it may have contributed nothing towards the inauguration of the era which we date from Luther ; still, it has aptly been described as "a product of the piety and morality of the century which paved the way to the Reformation." After his usual fashion, Barclay, in dealing with it, did not so much translate as paraphrase and adapt ; and he executed his task with skill so felicitous that his result never once suggests that he is delivering anything but his own mind. His editor, while omitting, to no one's loss, the Latin version which intersperses the editions of 1509 and 1570, has retained Brandt's numerous pictorial illustrations. Thanks to the talent of Mr. J. F. Reid, they are reproduced with a fidelity which deserves the most emphatic recognition. These illustrations, which must have conduced immensely to the attractiveness of the original poem, even now have enthusiastic admirers. Some of them, in fact, are reckoned among the finest woodcuts of the fifteenth century. Evidently enough, they are productions of various artists, excellent and less than excellent, but never inferior. The best of them we owe, it has been suggested, to Martin Schön of Colmar.

Mr. Jamieson is well-nigh a perfect editor. His researches can have overpassed very little, if anything, touching Barclay to remunerate future explorers. His Introduction and his modestly entitled "Notice of the Life and Writings of Barclay" leave nothing to be desired ; and his "Bibliographical Catalogue of Barclay's Works" is a model in its kind. Barclay's own text he has given us, as we have satisfied ourselves by trial, with scrupulous exactness. The poet complains rather sorely of the carelessness of his printers, but, unfortunately, neglected to redress it by a table of corrigenda. The consequence is that we are, every now and then, somewhat perplexed. In Vol. II., page 258, there is the verse : "In wantonness, or in to and granyte." Here, to make either sense or metre, the *and* must be deleted. In cases like this, editorial notes would not have been unwelcome. Again, as to the Glossary, very helpful as it is, we could wish it a little fuller. For example, *tachyd*, "blemished, spotted," is entered there, but we miss *attachyd*, in the same sense, which occurs in Vol. II., page 185. It is worth remarking that *attache*, from signifying "blemish," came to signify "impute fault," "blame," "impeach." Lord Berners gives it this meaning, and so, pretty clearly, Shakspere does in his "*attachèd*, not attainted," and in the passage where modern editions put *attask'd*, modernized from the Second Quarto's *attaskt*, an error of the press for the *attasht* of some ignorant scribe who wrote the Gallic *attacht* as he heard it sounded.

The liberal spirit which penetrates the comments of Mr. Jamieson is highly praiseworthy. In a land where "prelacy and papacy" are, for the most part, held in prime abomination, it is gratifying to come upon a man who grants sterling virtue and merit to be a possibility in a son of Rome. As concerns his style, it is a pity that he should mar its excellence by the admission of such words as *locale*, *morale*, and *sordour*. His *that* for "because," and *laid past* for "laid by," are more easily condoned.

There are but few Scotchmen, just as there are but few Americans, who can so use English as not to indicate their nationality.

*Four Thousand Miles of African Travel:* A Personal Record of a Journey up the Nile, etc. By Alvan S. Southworth. (New York: Baker, Pratt & Co. 1875.)—One day, as the author of this volume was indulging in a reverie in the vestibule of the Grand Hotel in Paris, he was tapped on the shoulder by a friend and invited to stroll down the Boulevard. He assented, and the two gentlemen "met acquaintance after acquaintance, bowing and passing on." At last they were stopped by a "portly man" who had been in Egypt, and who talked about that country with such gusto that they all grew hungry. Hereupon they went to Bignon's to dine and drink Chambertin, and then Mr. Southworth, having made known to "Mr. Bennett" that he desired to see Egypt, he was "directed toward the East." At Cairo he found that "the Viceroy wished to Americanize his people." This circumstance is remarkable, inasmuch as, according to the author's ingenuous statement on the next page, the Americans "have preyed upon his fortunes, and have put upon him machines that are dead to action, guns that will not fire, and instruments which can be employed only to measure the highest altitude of swindling." Mr. Southworth has an immense admiration for the Viceroy, whose merits he sets forth in many glowing passages, and an exalted opinion of the future greatness of Egypt when the country shall have been thoroughly Americanized. He had an interview with the viceregal Minister for Foreign Affairs, of whom he gives the following description: "He was a man of about forty-two, an Armenian Christian, bold swarthy face, pleasant manners, and even handsome. He impressed me as a very competent minister, and one not apt to expand himself in a silly enterprise." Mr. Southworth's style is, it must be said, sometimes rather odd, as, to take another instance, when he speaks of Egypt as a "hermaphrodite land, half savage, half civilized." He also saw the Viceroy, the "Talleyrand of the East," whom he asked for a firman, and who, with admirable magnanimity, paid many compliments to the Americans. The author informed him that he wished to go up the Nile, "as a journalist, to ascertain Sir Samuel Baker's fate and to look at the country with liberal eyes." Mr. Southworth's admiration for Sir Samuel Baker is extreme, and is apparently only equalled by that which he feels for Lady Baker—her "beautiful little white teeth" and her "great Hungarian heart." He sailed up the Nile in a magnificent dahabeah, and at the end of 800 miles disembarked and crossed the Nubian Desert to Berber—having "accomplished the trip from Cairo in the shortest time ever made by white men." Mr. Southworth's description of his days in the Desert—days apparently of almost intolerable physical discomfort—contains the most graphic and successful pages in his book. Under the influence of some extraordinary delusion, he and his companions had determined to take no wine nor liquor with them on their journey. Mr. Southworth must have longed for that Chambertin at Bignon's. He resumed navigation, and continued on to Khartum, where he spent the last of the winter and the spring. His residence in this capacious city of 40,000 inhabitants appears to have formed the limit of his researches into the fate of Sir Samuel Baker. He seems on this and other occasions to have conceived large designs, which were defeated by circumstances over which he had no control. While at Khartum, for instance, he was firmly resolved to penetrate to the sanguinary kingdom of Darfur—"from whose bourne no traveller returns." But he thought better of it. So also, later, on the Red Sea, he met a Turkish nobleman, to whom he made a "serious proposition" that for the sum of $500 he should conduct him to Mecca in disguise. But the "nobleman" afterwards backed out, and Mr. Southworth had to content himself with visiting the "tomb of Eve" at the convenient distance of two miles. He observes after seeing this remarkable monument—it is near Yeddah, and two hundred feet long—that "to keep a 'tomb' is one of the most flourishing occupations of the East." At Khartum, wishing to investigate the mysteries of the slave-trade, he pretended to desire to purchase "a small thirteen-year-old Abyssinian." "She was covered," he says, "with a single loose garment. She was directed to denude herself of this; but I instantly interposed, not wishing to allow even a traveller's curiosity to insult the child's purity of person." He has much to say about the slave-traffic and those explorers who "have sought to *deprecate* the minds and persons of these helpless people in different parts of the African continent, and have been ostentatious in proclaiming their uselessness as human factors." At the end of his five months in Khartum the author sailed down the Nile to Berber again, and crossed the Desert to the Red Sea. In speaking of the number of wild beasts in Central Africa, he says: "As the reader, however, can best judge by figures, I will make some instead of taking them from the census-takers." And he proceeds to "make" them, and to state that for every human being of the population there are 100 monkeys, 50 lions, 50 antelopes, 1 elephant, etc. Mr. Southworth is, we regret to say, Secretary of the American Geographical Society.

*Men of the Time.* A Dictionary of Contemporaries, containing notices of Eminent Characters of both sexes. Ninth edition, revised and brought down to the present time. By Thompson Cooper. (London and New York: Geo. Routledge & Sons. 1875.)—The world will never lack for geniuses to "shine in the sudden making of splendid names," and no dictionary of contemporaries, we may suspect, will ever quite anticipate them. Between times, some one is sure to become an "eminent character" whose name has not been already embraced in the dictionary. And since to journalists at least the value of such a work as Mr. Cooper's is perhaps quite as great for the purpose of obituary as of information about the living, it is worth noting how often death itself makes eminent the retiring or obscure. We had occasion to remark this in the case of the late Prof. Cairnes, whose name does not appear in this ninth edition, though it was issued some time before his death. Of course he had been neglected in former editions, for the rule may well hold—once a "man of the time" always a "man of the time." In the British domain such shortcomings are naturally rarer than in the case of any other nation. The American biographies, too, have been entrusted to good hands, and are full, so far as we have examined them accurate, and above all impartial. They, as well as any others, may show to what date the present edition has been brought down: Gen. Sherman, it is said, is talked of as Presidential candidate for 1876; Gen. Butler, in 1871 and 1873, vainly endeavored to secure the Republican nomination for Governor of Massachusetts; Mr. Beecher had been acquitted by his church committee, but had been sued by Mr. Tilton, etc. Perhaps one might quarrel with the criterion which admits Mr. Bret Harte and omits Mr. Howells—an older soldier, if not a better, in literary service. And whether Mr. Henry Stanley is to be counted as an American or not, he has certainly earned a place among "men of the time." To be sure, neither the African explorers, Rohlfs and Bastian, nor the Asiatic traveller, Baron Richthofen, finds mention here. And generally, the German field seems rather slighted. Though we have Count Arnim, we miss his eminent counsel, Von Holtzendorff, and the eminent leader of the National party, Lasker. In literature, no mention is made of Corssen (since deceased), or of Treitschke, not to speak of a lighter intellect like Julian Schmidt; nor any, in philology, of Bergk, or, in lexicography, of Daniel Sanders, or, in science, of Haeckel. Among Italians, the weighty name of Bonghi is wanting; among Frenchmen, the late S. B. Carpeaux; among Russians, the two Tolstois and Turgenef. Some of these public characters deserve to be taken into a new edition, and unhappily, the deaths, even in the very year of publication, leave numerous gaps for those who have been for one reason or another kept without. A capital feature of this edition, by the way, is a necrological list, at the end, of the "men of the time" recorded in previous issues, giving the dates of their birth and death, and a reference to the edition in which they figured when alive. The volume, whatever its omissions, contains upwards of a thousand pages of biography, and we hope will not be the last of a very useful and almost indispensable series.

*Bibliographie Moliéresque.* Par Paul Lacroix. (Paris: Fontaine; New York: J. W. Bouton. 1875.)—M. Paul Lacroix, seeing that Shaksperian bibliographies are common, and that there is a Shaksperian library and museum at Strasford (*sic*), and believing that Molière is "at least the equal of Shakspere," has just published a second edition, entirely rewritten, of the work whose title is given above. It is a bulky octavo of over four hundred pages, with an excellent index, and a portrait of Molière etched by M. Ad. Lalauze, after the painting attributed to Lebrun, which was destroyed by fire in the Municipal Museum of Paris in May, 1871. It contains 1,753 numbers, classified under forty heads. It endeavors to describe all editions, translations, and imitations of Molière's works, including the poems and plays, separate and collected; all books about his works, his life, his wife, his theatre, and his company; all autographs; all prose and poetry written in his praise and dispraise; all plays written about him, for him, or against him; and, in short, all matter anecdotical, biographical, bibliographical, philological, and literary about him, either in print or MS. To the descriptions of the original editions and of some of the rarer reprints are appended notes giving the prices at recent sales, and showing the rapid rise in value within twenty years. Thus, a copy of the first of Molière's comedies which was printed, 'L'Estourdy, ou les Contre-temps,' in 1654

was worth ninety francs; in 1873 it was held at twelve hundred francs, unbound.

Work like this, from so ardent a lover of Molière and so accomplished a bibliographer as M. Paul Lacroix, is of necessity well-nigh perfect, but its comprehensiveness prevents the possibility of completeness. An attempt to catalogue all writings, even articles in magazines and daily newspapers, about an author as universally studied as Molière, must be hopeless, especially in regard to works in a foreign language. With great typographical variety, M. Lacroix gives the titles of translations into twenty-two languages, including Polish, Servo-croatian, Russian, Roumanian, Latin, Greek, Turkish, Persian, Armenian, and Magyar. The English translations and imitations are contained in twenty-seven numbers. Except an occasional typographical error, the faults in this list are of omission, not commission. Lowndes's 'Manual' has been carefully followed, but M. Lacroix seems not to know of the 'Biographica Dramatica,' which would have given him much valuable information. The history of the powerful influence Molière has had upon the English stage is well worth tracing. The editor of the new English translation, of which only one volume has yet been published, Mr. Van Laun, gives in it a list of over twenty English authors whom he has found either building upon the foundation or using the bricks of Molière. M. Lacroix mentions Cibber's 'Non-Juror,' but omits Bickerstaffe's 'Hypocrite,' the only one of Molière's plays in English which keeps the stage to this day, and of which an American edition, compressed into three acts by Sol Smith, comedian, forms No. CV. of the 'Modern Standard Drama.' He gives Mr. Charles Reade's translation of 'Le Malade Imaginaire,' but does not mention its performance in 1870, as the 'Robust Invalid.' Mr. Marcus Clarke, of the Melbourne Public Library, is the author of 'Peacock's Feathers,' a version of 'Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme,' which has been successful in Australia. Nor is any mention made of Dryden's 'Amphitryon,' recently revived in England, with modifications by Mr. John Oxenford. Lady Bulwer's 'School for Husbands' is also omitted. The short list of English magazine articles could be easily extended by consulting Poole's Index and the pages of the *Living Age*. Particulars of the popularity of some of Molière's plays among the frequenters of the English fairs during the early years of the last century will be found in Frost's 'Old Showmen and the Old London Fairs' (London: Tinsley Bros., 1874), at pp. 107, 111, 127, 133, 143, 163. M. Fontaine announces as in preparation for immediate publication similar bibliographies, devoted to Corneille and Racine, by M. Émile Picot.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* |
|---|---|
| Alger, jr. (H.), Jack's Ward; or, The Boy Guardian | (Loring) $1 50 |
| Barrows (Mrs. W.), Little Pilgrim Question-Book for 1876 | (Congregational Pub. Co.) |
| Binney (F. A.), California Homes for Educated Englishmen, swd | (London) |
| Bramston (M.), Ralph and Bruno | (Macmillan & Co.) 1 25 |
| Braddon (Miss M. E.), Hostages to Fortune: a Story, swd | (Harper & Bros.) 75 |
| Feuillet (O.), Un Mariage dans le Monde | (F. W. Christern) |
| Flint, jr. (Dr. A.), Text-Book of Human Physiology | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Frothingham (O. B.), Stories from the Lips of the Teacher | (G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 00 |
| Girardin (J.), Adventures of Johnny Ironsides. Illustrated | (Geo. Routledge & Sons) |
| Golden Harp Album. In Prose and Verse | (Geo. Routledge & Sons) |
| Graham (Mrs. F. T.), Reasonable Elocution | (A. S. Barnes & Co.) 1 25 |
| Headley (Rev. P. C.), Evangelists in the Church | (Henry Hoyt) |
| Hillern (Wilhelmine von), Geier-Wally: a Tale of the Tyrol | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Hamerton (P. G.), *Portfolio* for November | (J. W. Bouton) 1 00 |
| John Todd. The Story of his Life Told by Himself | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Jerrold (Alice), Cruise in the *Acorn* | (Pott, Young & Co.) 2 00 |
| Kendrick (A. C.), Our Poetical Favorites. Second Series | (Sheldon & Co.) |
| Kneeland (Prof. S.), An American in Iceland | (Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) |
| Kipp (Rev. W. I.), Historical Scenes from the Old Jesuit Missions | (A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 1 75 |
| Knatchbull-Hugessen (E. H.), Higgledy-Piggledy | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Mill (J. S.), Dissertations and Discussions. Vol. V | (Henry Holt & Co.) 2 50 |
| Mulholland (Rose), Puck and Blossom: a Fairy Tale | (Pott, Young & Co.) 2 00 |
| National Question Book for 1876 | (Congregational Pub. Co.) |
| Potter (F. S.), Melcomb Manor: a Family Chronicle | (Pott, Young & Co.) 2 00 |
| Stockton (F. R.), Tales out of School | (Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 2 50 |
| Parkman (F.), Die Pioniere Frankreichs in der neuen Welt, swd | (B. Westermann & Co.) |
| Paris (Comte de), History of the Civil War in America. Vol. I | (J. H. Coates & Co.) |
| Smyth (J. H.), Homestead and Exemptions | (Sumner, Whitney & Co.) |
| Sohncke (Dr. L.), Stürme und Sturmwarnungen, swd | (H. W. Schmidt) |
| Stretton (Hesba), Brought Home | (Dodd & Mead) |
| Taylor (B. F.), Songs of Yesterday. Illustrated | (S. C. Griggs & Co.) 2 50 |
| Skertchly (J. A.), Melinda the Caboceer | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Taine (H.), Works. Uniform edition. 12 vols | (Henry Holt & Co.) |
| Taylor (B.), Geschichte von Deutschland, swd | (B. Westermann & Co.) |
| Thébaud (Rev. A. J.), Gentilism: Religion previous to Christianity | (D. & J. Sadlier & Co.) 3 50 |
| The House that Jack Built: a New Building on the Old Foundation | (Pott, Young & Co.) 2 00 |
| Van Horne (T. B.), History of the Army of the Cumberland. Vol. I | (Robert Clarke & Co.) 8 00 |
| Van Lennep (Rev. H. J.), Bible Lands | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Ward (A. W.), English Dramatic Literature. 2 vols | (Macmillan & Co.) 15 00 |
| Wood (Mrs. H.), Cyrilla Maude's First Love, swd | (T. B. Peterson & Bros.) 25 |
| Wood (Rev. J. G.), Popular Natural History. Illustrated | (Geo. Routledge & Sons) |
| Workshop. No. 10. Swd | (E. Steiger) 50 |


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*'THE READER" CRITICISES* on page ii a reproduction of the old translation of Plutarch's Lives by Sir Thomas North, edited by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, and just published by Macmillan & Co.

# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE President, in his message, congratulates the country on the material, moral, and intellectual advance made in the last hundred years, and at the same time warns it that the preservation of free institutions depends on the education of the masses. He proposes for this purpose a constitutional amendment, making a free school system compulsory in each State, forbidding the teaching in such schools of "religious, atheistic, or pagan" doctrine, or the granting by any authority of school funds to any sect or denomination. He also discusses the question of taxation of church property; estimates the present value of such property exempt from taxation in the United States at $1,000,000,000; suggests that these vast accumulations, constantly increasing, may lead to sequestration "through blood," and that they should be taxed. With regard to foreign relations, the aspect of affairs is on all sides peaceful. The President discusses the Cuban question, and shows, in some very carefully-written passages, that the condition of the insurrection, as a matter of fact, is not such as would warrant either a recognition of the independence of the Cubans or of their belligerency; declares, however, that should the rebellion not be brought to a close by the acts of the parties themselves, and should the evils resulting from it continue, "mediation and intervention" will be the only course left open to "other nations." The good offices of the United States, already offered to Spain, not having been accepted, and the state of affairs on the island not having improved, the President thinks that something must soon be done; renews his offer of good offices; says that Spain has recently submitted to Mr. Cushing "certain proposals which, it is hoped, may be found to be the basis, if not the actual submission of terms to meet the requirements of the particular griefs of which this Government has felt itself entitled to complain"; refers to the "renewed efforts" being made to introduce reforms into the internal administration of the island; declares that the "interests of humanity" demand the cessation of strife; and promises, should the present hopes of an amicable arrangement be disappointed, to make a further communication to Congress at a period "not far remote."

With regard to the Mexican raids, he expresses the hope that the presence of an armed vessel on the Rio Grande may do some good; advises an extension of the sessions of the Alabama Claims Court; discusses the telegraphs and American citizenship and other minor matters; strongly advises the withdrawal of the legal-tender quality of the notes of the United States after a fixed date—"say not later than January 1, 1878"; the enactment of provisions for the redemption of greenbacks at a rate not in excess of $2,000,000 monthly in 3-65 bonds; and the grant of additional powers to the Treasury for the accumulation of gold, and with a view to this end the re-enactment of the tea and coffee duties. The questions which he recapitulates as of "vital importance" and needing immediate settlement, are—1st, Compulsory education; 2d, Secularization of the schools and the disfranchisement of all illiterate citizens after 1890; 3d, Separation of church and state and taxation of church property; 4th, The expulsion from the country of "licensed immorality" (*i.e.*, polygamy and women imported for improper purposes); 5th, Resumption. With regard to the telegraphs, he lays down the following principles as those on which legislation should be based: 1st, Reciprocity with regard to landing of foreign cables on the shores of this country; 2d, Prohibition of all forms of combination; 3d, Precedence of Government messages; 4th, A reservation by the governments which grant the privileges of a right to limit the charges. As to citizenship, he notices the abuse of fraudulent naturalization papers, and urges the enactment of laws providing means for the vacating of any fraudulent record, and punishment of the guilty parties, as well as measures definitely providing for the denaturalization of citizens who abandon their country permanently; and also laws for the regulation of the status of American women marrying foreigners, as well as of children of American parents born abroad; and suggests the necessity of measures for giving effect to or regulating marriages of American citizens contracted in foreign countries.

The Democratic caucus met on Saturday and nominated Mr. Kerr as Speaker, the Randall party practically giving the contest up after the first vote. We have discussed the meaning of this nomination elsewhere. The two branches of Congress were organized on Monday, and Mr. Kerr was elected Speaker of the House. A question arose as to the admission of the Louisiana members, the fifth district being represented by two claimants—the Republican, Morey, having a Kellog certificate, and the Democrat, Spencer, having one signed by McEnery. The Wheeler Compromise of the last session having ratified the election of Kellogg, by common consent of all concerned, there was no question that McEnery certificates were so much waste paper, and Mr. Blaine, who led the Republican side of the House in the debate which ensued, explained this with a great deal of force, while Fernando Wood tried to have the question referred to the Committee on elections. This would necessarily have raised the ghost of the Louisiana question, supposed to have been laid for ever by the Wheeler Compromise, and the best of the Democrats immediately began to work hard to defeat the proposition. The discussion led to the first voting of the session, in which Mr. Kerr seems to have shown his unfamiliarity with parliamentary law by ordering a division on a call for the yeas and nays, but on the whole he succeeded very well. The only other business was a motion, carried by Mr. Randall, to repeal the two rules adopted by the Republicans at the last session to prevent filibustering. This act of virtue seems to have taken the opposition by surprise, and the Republican newspapers generally are forced to admit that the Democrats have made a good beginning.

Morrissey has been in Washington taking an active part in the preparations for the election of the Speaker, and "selling pools" on that event; and we have his own word for it that "selling pools" is his regular business, while politics is the amusement of his gentlemanly leisure; that is, he bets on the election, in the ordinary pursuit of his calling, and then supports his bet by vigorous lobbying. There would be something very irritating in his appearance in the National Capitol at such a time as a wielder of great influence, or a very important personage, if it was not on the whole justified by the late election. He went to Washington with the honors and strength of a man who had his own State at his back. He has been sent to the State Senate by the votes of a very respectable portion of the inhabitants of his own city. Better endorsements no politician can well have. Nevertheless, the thing is so ludicrous and shameful that we trust it will set people thinking, and that they will ask themselves seriously whether they think boss-government, tempered by biennial vituperation, is sufficient for the needs of a community like this city, and will consider hereafter, before election, the probable indirect as well as the probable direct effects of their voting.

A large number of telegrams, of a very suspicious character, either addressed to General Babcock, the President's private secretary, or received from him, have been produced on the trial of Avery, the Chief Clerk, in the whiskey cases at St. Louis, as evidence against him. Babcock, it is to be presumed, was duly

apprised of their approaching production, and the prosecuting counsel, Mr. Henderson, said distinctly in his address to the jury that they left no doubt of Babcock's complicity. Under these circumstances, the obvious course for General Babcock, if innocent, was to hurry on to St. Louis, present himself as a witness for Avery, and explain the telegrams. Instead of this, however, he contented himself with telegraphing that he was entirely innocent, and then turned round and demanded a military court of enquiry, which has been granted him, on the ground that he is a colonel of engineers. But, then, he has been detached from the army for seven years for civil duties, and it is as a civil officer that he has mixed himself up in the whiskey frauds, if at all, so that his having himself tried as a colonel of engineers is absurd, unless he uses the word "engineer" in the sense in which the politicians use it. The court of enquiry, however, cannot interfere with the ordinary course of justice, nor can it procure the evidence on which the charge against General Babcock is based, as this is in the hands of the Grand Jury at St. Louis. The Grand Jury, it is said, have now indicted him on it.

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The remains of the late Vice-President reached their last resting-place on the 1st inst., after having passed a week on the way in a kind of prolonged "wake," during which the funeral ceremonies lost all sentiment and solemnity, and the eulogies became flat, stale, and unprofitable. A worse mode of doing honor to a man's memory could hardly be hit on within the range of decency. Mr. Wilson was hardly dead before the doctors, without the slightest necessity—for they knew he had died of apoplexy—made an "autopsy" on him, which is simply a fine name for dissecting him, and gave the reporters a disgustingly minute account of the condition of his internal organs. He was then exhibited as a curiosity in an open room to the crowds pouring in from the street, and finally carted from city to city to be made the subject of oratory and resolutions composed in the ordinary hollow obituary style, until the whole country was weary of the spectacle and was fast becoming ashamed of it. The only way of making the obsequies of distinguished men really impressive is to have them short and prompt, while the public feeling is still fresh, and then, when they are over, to bury the body without further parade. Funeral resolutions, too, greatly need reform. The drafters ought to take notice that the preamble which sets forth that God has been pleased to remove the deceased person is so very unnecessary as to have become offensive through much repetition, and that the first resolution about "bowing with resignation" has degenerated into cant, into which it is impossible to put any appearance either of reverence or affection.

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The extracts which have been published from the correspondence of the State Department show in a curious way of how little practical use a permanent foreign mission may be. Ever since the beginning of the present complications with Spain, which date at least as far back as 1868, there has been more diplomacy of one kind and another with Spain than with any other country except England, and it is theoretically carried on, so far as the United States is concerned, by the resident Minister. As a matter of fact, however, the correspondence has all along showed that the negotiations were actually directed by Mr. Fish in person. General Sickles did in one case try to assume the management, and the result was that he was at once recalled. When Mr. Cushing went over, it was popularly supposed that he would take the war-path on his arrival and show the Dons the real state of the case in a way that would make them beg for mercy. He appreciated the real nature of his mission far too well for this, and has been apparently devoting most of his time to historical studies. In these studies he confines himself by preference to the remote past, and in one of his longest and most powerful despatches, under date of April 19, he gives a complete and painstaking account of the relations between Spain and the United States during the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. "In meditating," he says, "on the aspects and chances" of our Spanish relations, his thoughts "naturally turn back to the antecedents of the subject"; and he proceeds to give an analysis of the policy of Charles III.—the "secret springs" of which he has discovered in the "works of two historical writers of authority, D. Andres Muriel and D. Antonio Ferrer del Rio"—and a touching description of his character, showing him to have had profound convictions of duty and to have been in the habit of repelling the crafty counsels of his courtiers by simply saying "that such a thing might be politic for a king to do, but not fit for Carlos." A tolerably full account of the reign of Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. is given, the general drift of Mr. Cushing's history being, of course, in the direction of the surrender of the Spanish possessions in this country; but we are sorry to say that on reaching modern times, and what he calls "the great residuary question of the Antilles," he retires from the field and declines to discuss it at all. In fact, the whole despatch might have been written in the Astor Library by any intelligent man without the trouble of going to Madrid at all.

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The Postmaster's report is not as satisfactory a document as we could have wished. It shows, as usual, a large deficit, and, though the administration of the office does not appear to have run down during the year, it is painful to have Mr. Jewell recommending the encouragement of American ship-building by "small subsidies" to American-built lines of mail steamers. We had supposed that everybody, but particularly the reform members of the Administration, recognized the fact that this is no time for squandering Government money in subsidies or railroad aid, or any other paternal way. It is not a year since the shocking revelations of the Pacific-Mail scandal showed us what subsidies in the present condition of the Government mean. The passion for improving the condition of the country by aid and grants of all kinds, however, seems to have become a monomania with a large part of the Republican party, and not even the best of its leaders escape without a slight touch of the disease.

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This subsidy scheme of Mr. Jewell's, however, is not likely to come to much, and an act of his which will come to something, and is an evidence of his honest desire to purify his department of the Government, is the removal of Mr. Burt from the Boston Post-office. The condition of this office has been for some time a public disgrace. Burt was a great politician, and believed emphatically in managing the Post-office for the benefit of the party. He did not think there was any trouble with the civil service, and so he went on putting in clerks and employés who had "worked," until suddenly the Bostonians began to find that letters containing money, though willingly received by the authorities for transmission through the mails, by some mysterious means disappeared in the process; that letters were very apt to go to the wrong address; that there were great delays and many irregularities, and not a little stealing. On examination, it turned out that this was not unnatural, as among the "workers" were a good many gentlemen known to the police as suspicious characters. Matters went so far that a notice was one morning posted up, to the effect that persons taking letters out of their boxes not addressed to them, but to some one else, must return them, so that they might be sent to the proper address—a regulation which seemed to show that reading and writing were not one of the requirements among the clerks. In fact, the Post-office from a convenience became a public nuisance, and the Department have now allowed Mr. Burt to discover pressing business elsewhere, and are going to put Mr. E. S. Tobey, who the other day declined the Indian Bureau, in his place. The appointment will be an excellent one.

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General Schenck has been caught in another scrape which looks as bad as or worse than the Emma-Mine business. Letters have been published that passed between him and Norman Wiard, the ordnance inventor, which show, if they are genuine (and no denial of their authenticity has been made), that Schenck has been "operating" as a claim-agent against the British Government for a few

years past. In July, 1871, Wiard, then partner with Schenck in the manufacture of ordnance, and holding a power-of-attorney from him, made a written agreement with one Machado, who had a claim of $350,000 against the British Government, to "use his best endeavors" to get the claim paid; and the contract expressly stipulated that if he (Wiard) succeeded in getting it settled "during the time General Schenck should be the Minister of the United States" in England, he should have one-third the award after deducting expenses, while if the settlement "should not depend upon the negotiation of General Schenck," or should not be concluded during his ministry, then Wiard should have nothing. Having made the contract, Mr. Wiard, who is evidently what is called in the play "a frank, open, straightforward, careless business man," sends a copy of it to Gen. Schenck, with a request that he will go to work at once, and the General in reply says that he will "see what can be done," but expresses much regret that his name "was put in," directs Wiard to burn his reply, and says that he will himself burn what Wiard had sent except the brief of Machado's American lawyers. Since the appearance of these documents the entire press of the country has united in demanding or urging or suggesting the expediency of General Schenck's recall. We observe that the *Tribune*, which, in connection with the Emma-Mine exposure, has been describing Mr. T. W. Park's character in strong language, has been sued by that gentleman for libel. Mr. Park puts his damages at $100,000; but the *Tribune* does not seem to be at all disheartened by this, and promises to give Mr. Park unhappiness enough before the trial of the action to make this valuation of his supposed damage fair and moderate. As it is now publishing accounts of some of Mr. Park's operations in the Street, it may be worth while to suggest that Mr. James E. Lyon should "come to the front" and tell what he knows about the Emma Mine. He was one of the original proprietors of the property, is an old mining prospector, was cognizant of many of the most important negotiations in connection with the floating of the mine, and has a long and interesting story to tell.

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In the business world there has been little during the past week out of the usual course at this season of the year. The volume of trade has been fully up to the average, and there have been no more mercantile suspensions or failures than is customary. Money has been in full supply, with demand loans costing borrowers 4 to 6 per cent. The changing of loans at the beginning of the month, on account of the heavy payments into the city treasury for taxes, and the disposition of this money afterwards by the City Chamberlain, advanced the rate for demand loans for a day or two to 6 and 7 per cent. Wall-Street speculation in every department has been tame, speculators waiting for the appearance of the President's Message and the reports from the heads of Departments to Congress. The tendency of gold was downwards, and sterling exchange advanced. A feature of the latter market was that the bills of the house whose rates usually determine the market ruled lower than the bills of other "prime" drawers. The explanation of this is that this house, since the failure of Duncan, Sherman & Co., have had forced on them a larger share of the cotton business than they formerly did, and that their bills have accordingly been much more plentiful than formerly. In London, the Bank of England has continued to lose gold, the withdrawals having been for shipments to Paris and Germany. On one day over £600,000 was withdrawn, for the purpose, it was said, of making the first payment at Paris to Egypt for the Suez Canal stock recently bought by the British Government, although it is known that the purchase of this stock by the British Government must be approved by Parliament before it can become absolute. The London money market has been little affected by the changes in the bullion account of the Bank, and discounts are still obtainable in London at three-eighths to one-half below the Bank's lowest rate. The gold price of $100 greenbacks has ranged during the week between $86 72 and $87 62.

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The motion for a "struck jury" in the Tweed case made by the prosecution was to have been argued on Monday, but Tweed, who has never shown any strong desire to have his case come to an actual trial, left the city on Saturday, after taking a drive in the Park. According to the story of his keepers, he was taken to his house in Madison Avenue after driving about, and there was allowed permission to go upstairs and see his wife. The keepers' suspicions were allayed by the fact that Tweed did not take his hat upstairs, and it was thought that he would hardly leave the city without it. This ingenious device was completely successful, and Tweed did not return. The officers in a few minutes sent for him, but he could not be found. The officers' theory of the case is that he escaped by walking out of the house, which is highly probable, if he was in it. The story of the officers, however, is not fully believed, and no one knows at what time or from what place Tweed did actually go. As he has been at large ever since he has been in confinement, the selection of the time and place for his departure was simply a matter of taste, and, instead of finding fault with him, it seems to us that we ought to be grateful to the "old man" that he has been willing to stay so long among us, giving a great deal of employment to some of our ablest lawyers and judges, and furnishing a constant topic of discussion for the press. His willingness to do so under the annoying circumstances of the past two years, shows that the place is still endeared to him by many associations, and if, instead of offering rewards for his arrest, proper inducements were held out, he would return at once. It can hardly be expected that a man will remain permanently in a city of his own accord where people are all the time denouncing him and threatening to take away his property or put him in prison.

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The Centennial Commission have made very good selections in choosing Mr. Evarts as orator, and Mr. Longfellow as poet, for next year. It was greatly to be feared that the Commissioners would not be sufficiently conscious of the immense importance to the success of their undertaking of securing for these offices men who have a reputation throughout the whole country; and to have had all the nations of the earth invited here, during what it is safe to predict will be one of the most momentous years of our history, to listen to the windy rhetoric and commonplace of some local demagogue or "speaker," would have been a misfortune that no industrial success would have compensated for. Whatever Mr. Evarts may say, there is sure to be thought in it, and, besides this, he represents a school of distinctively American oratory which is fast dying out, leaving no one to administer upon its effects. Mr. Longfellow, too, is a poet distinctively American; all his most successful poems, from "Evangeline" and "Hiawatha" to the "Psalm of Life," have either been inspired by American subjects and written for American ears, or else are simple expressions in almost perfect verse of the universal aspirations, desires, hopes, and fears of our invited guests of next year—that is, of mankind.

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The Brooklyn Scandal seems in a fair way to be revived through a dispute between Plymouth Church and two of its members over a question of discipline. Mr. West and Mrs. Moulton refuse to be dropped summarily from the list of members because of non-attendance without enquiry as to whether the non-attendance was justifiable, and it is now probable that the matter will be referred to a mutual council. Mrs. Moulton's letter to the church in her own defence contains a reiteration of her former story and an allegation that Mr. Beecher has perjured himself. It is mainly remarkable for its English, which is in a very unusual degree simple and clear, and shows, if she wrote it herself, the possession of a great gift. If she did not write it, it would be hard to guess who did, for none of the men who have taken part in the controversy have shown any rhetorical skill whatever of this sort. The literature of the Scandal has all, or nearly all, appeared in a strange jargon, which, to outsiders, is only partly comprehensible.

## THE SPEAKERSHIP.

THE contest for the Speakership at Washington has derived a great deal of interest from the fact that it was generally looked upon as likely to afford a good indication of the temper and quality of the Democratic majority in the House. The two candidates luckily represented what may be called the two opposing tendencies of American politics at this moment. Mr. Randall, an able and acute man, and perhaps the best parliamentarian on the Democratic side, but neither very high in his aims nor scrupulous in his methods, was put forward, or at all events supported, by what may be called the jobbing element in the party, both in and out of doors. Foremost and most conspicuous among his adherents was Mr. John Morrissey, who was fresh from his triumph in this city, canvassed actively for his favorite, and bet or offered to bet heavily in aid of his own predictions, and sold "pools" on the event, in order to give greater animation to the contest. He had, too, all that large class of persons who are interested in obtaining Government subsidies in aid of some sort of commercial enterprise, and notably Colonel "Tom" Scott, who seeks the Government guarantee for an enormous amount of bonds to be issued for the construction of his Texas Pacific Railroad; and, though last not least, he had the support of the high-tariff interest of Pennsylvania (for Mr. Randall himself is an ardent protectionist), headed by Mr. Simon Cameron, whose sympathies are by no means confined to the struggles of his own party. Mr. Randall, too, it ought to be mentioned, pocketed without scruple his share of the back pay—an act which, even if defensible on legal or moral grounds, was and is, under all the circumstances, the sign of a mental attitude with regard to the general political situation which is in the highest degree unfavorable to the wide and deep change, both in legislation and administration, now known to the public under the general name of reform. In fact, he represents fairly well the large and dangerous element in political life whose party differences are in name only, and who agree in considering the Government a bank on which a certain class of investors ought to be able to draw in all times of distress, who like the loose and good-natured mode of transacting its business, and who believe in the policy of using its offices to give increased zest to the political game as they play it, and who take a profoundly hopeful view of any state of things in which dexterity and astuteness and unscrupulousness give eminence and wealth. His election, therefore, would have confirmed the worst fears of those who look on the substitution of the Democratic for the Republican ascendancy in Congress as simply a perpetuation or aggravation of existing evils, or as their reproduction under a new form.

Mr. Kerr is entirely free from this class of associations. The only unfortunate point in his history is his opposition to the war, but he is by temperament and intention opposed to the whole system of jurisprudence and finance included under the term "paternal government." He is hostile to protection and to subsidies and jobs and unlawful stretches or uses of power for "fostering" purposes. His character, too, is of the austere, though somewhat slow and unready kind, which prevents a man's being a favorite with that enterprising but growing class of the community known as "the boys," whose sanguine disposition with regard to the probable yield of Government money when laid out in a patriotic spirit makes them very dangerous to the Treasury. There is probably, therefore, no man in the Democratic majority to whom a really genial man like John Morrissey or Fernando Wood, or hopeful and buoyant Republicans like Messrs. Cameron and Forney, would take less readily. As a presiding officer, Mr. Kerr will necessarily cut a poor figure coming directly after Mr. Blaine, but the same may be said in a greater or less degree of any man in the House, including Mr. Randall. Parliamentary practice is, however, something which may be learnt, and the Speaker's unreadiness, though an inconvenience, is not likely to prove anything more than an inconvenience.

All those, therefore, who are more interested in getting good government than in the name of the party under which good government comes, will rejoice heartily at the defeat of the base and corrupt element in the Democratic ranks. There is a large body of honest men in the Republican ranks to whom the result, or any result which puts the Democratic party in a more hopeful light before the country, is unwelcome, from the belief that salvation can only come from Republican hands; and this might be true if the opposition of the two parties were now based on mere difference of opinion on any great question of public policy, as it was during and before the war—if, for instance, one party promised if it got into power to enact black and the other to enact white. But the remarkable feature of the present situation is that there is really no difference of opinion between them; they utter the same cries, make the same pledges, produce the same tests and standards; so that the Republican orators and journalists are reduced, in attacking the Democrats, to throwing doubt on their professions, and to warning people that a party whose past history is so bad cannot be depended on to keep its fine promises. It does not seem to occur to those who use this argument, and who generally cultivate hopefulness as one of the first of political virtues, that the Democratic party, whatever its faults may be, comprises well-nigh half the American people; and that while it might err on the issues which at one time divided the country without impairing one's confidence in the political future, if it be now what its enemies say it is—that is, a collection of thieves and hypocrites—no efforts of rhetoric can prevent the national outlook from being exceedingly dark. A pro-slavery man might have had virtues which, slavery gone, would make him one of the most valuable of citizens; but a man who loves fraud and corruption, and is only shamming when he denounces them, cannot by any change of opinions become a useful member of a civilized state. If, therefore, the Democratic party were incurably corrupt, we might fairly consider the days of free government numbered on this continent, for the Republic lives, and must always live, not on the virtue of its best people, but on the average virtue of the whole mass. The Government could not be carried on by a population half rogues and half moralists; the average would be too low. Nor can the Republican party, however good it may be, stay good if the Democratic party be a combination of knaves. In fact, the very evils we are now deploring, and trying to remove, result from the mutual attraction of the bad element in both parties. Whether it has been more powerful on one side than on the other we do not care now to discuss; it is enough to say that the predatory organizations known as "Rings" which have now come to play so prominent a part in American politics, are composed almost invariably of men from both sides, and are only made possible by the fact that the standard of morality is much the same in both among the working politicians; and if the Republican party were to stay in power for twenty years longer, there would be no radical and permanent improvement in the tone of public life if the change for the better did not show itself in both parties.

For these reasons, we think reformers of all shades of opinion may heartily congratulate themselves on the signs which the opening of Congress has afforded that the reformatory influences are gaining strength and are likely to have the upper hand also in the Democratic ranks. The prevailing political evils strike at the very foundations of the Government; they are not questions on which statesmen are or can be divided. The situation is so pitiful, indeed, that personal honesty has become a boast, and a candidate's strongest card a promise that he will not steal, and an assurance that he has acquired his property honestly. The election of Mr. Kerr, therefore, is a formal announcement that an organization which controls nearly half the votes in the nation is, on the whole, opposed to the influences and agencies—whether subsidies, bounties, paper issues, want of discipline, bad modes of appointment, or feeble accountability—which, by making it easy for large classes to get money without honest labor at the market rate, help to maintain and diffuse the state of mind out of which corruption grows. We are by no means sure, however, that the Democratic party has become pure, or is composed principally of saints or sages; so that when we are told that the House Chaplain is an old Copper-

head, or that Mr. Fitzjohn Porter has put a barber to inspect sewers, we are not confounded. We are not of the number of those who believe that politicians, any more than other people, grow good suddenly; and we are quite certain that anybody who expects to see the work of reform now before us done quickly through a great moral awakening on the part of politicians, will be greatly disappointed. The poor fellows have to get back to the paths of righteousness, like the rest of the world, by a prolonged and bitter struggle with themselves.

## THE MORAL OF MR. SCHENCK'S CASE.

WE have no strong expectation that Mr. Schenck will be recalled by the recent exposures of his doings in London. He has himself every possible motive for remaining in office. The place has still all the attractions for him it ever had, plus the help which the appearance of continued support from his Government will give in trying to "vindicate" himself. In fact, he has, from his point of view, less reason for resigning now than he ever had, and it appears to be part of the settled policy of this Administration to let off all officers not proved guilty of downright fraud as easily as possible, and to allow them to withdraw from their posts at such time and in such manner as may cause them least disgrace. A sensitive man would have resigned after the bursting of the Emma-Mine bubble, from the feeling that even if his participation in that transaction was the result of thoughtlessness or indiscretion, his loss of reputation with the community to which he was accredited had been such as to destroy his usefulness. A man fit to be American Minister at the court of a first-class power would have felt this without having it explained to him, and would have promptly atoned for his error in the only way left him. But this view of the case probably never occurred to Mr. Schenck, owing to the very mental and moral defects which led him to accept Park's offer. Moreover, his allowing his name to be used by the stock-jobbers to put the mine on the market under any circumstances, but particularly when he himself was secretly guaranteed against all loss, was proof of a fatal want of perception of the exigencies of his position which ought to have led to his recall. Of course, the Government did not know that he was secretly guaranteed against loss, but they knew enough to tell them that he had not judgment enough for his place, and that in leaving him in it they ran the risk of fresh and perhaps worse scandals. If he had come home at first, he would have come home with the reputation of being an indiscreet man simply, and many people would have looked on him as a victim, and we should have heard no more about his transactions with Park or others. But if he now comes home he comes disgraced, because the exposure of his consenting to act as a common claim-agent in the Wiard case throws a light on his connection with the Emma Mine which makes it impossible to consider him any longer as simply a dupe. In fact, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that when he went to England he was "on the make," as the politicians say, and was ready for almost anything that would increase his private fortune.

There is the same lesson for the Administration in his case that there is in so many other cases of official misconduct. In none of them has anything been gained by delay in removing the offender. In all of them the delay, so far from preventing scandal, has made an explosion more certain, and aggravated it when it came. But this delay is the natural consequence of the system of putting the personal favorites of the President in high places. A qualification of that kind is of course very elastic. It includes a great variety of persons and resists a great number of attacks, and brings into play in the management of the civil service a class of motives which are fatal to discipline. In that management personal friendship ought of course to play no part; but under our present system it plays a most powerful part, and may convert the chief officer of the Government into the warm supporter of a man at the very moment when the rules and traditions of good administration require him to be a cold and unrelenting judge. If you give a man a post because you think him fit for it, his dismissal follows naturally on your discovery of his unfitness; but if you give it him because you like him, the revelation of his unfitness assumes the character of a misfortune which increases his claim on your affection.

If this Schenck scandal fixes the attention of the public on the evils which follow the employment of the present mode of selection and appointment in the diplomatic service of the Government, it may prove a blessing in disguise. It is useless to try to conceal from ourselves that it has seriously damaged the reputation of that service in the very place in which it has hitherto stood highest—London, and damaged it, too, in the place where its reputation is most valuable—the greatest money-market in the world. What Mr. Schenck has done differs only in degree, and that not very greatly, from that which the Ministers of Honduras and Costa Rica and Nicaragua have done, and which has caused their expulsion from decent society in England. Of course, this is a misfortune, and it suggests naturally and almost inevitably the consideration whether, under the money régime on which we are now entering, and with a toilsome struggle against corruption in various forms before us, the abolition of the permanent diplomatic service would not be a useful measure of reform. With the Atlantic Cable to be used when necessary, and with respectable consuls at the leading points in Europe, there would be absolutely no need of permanent agents like Schenck, and their disappearance would effect our deliverance from many dangers and disgraces. They now serve no purpose that cannot be otherwise served except that of representing the country socially, and we do not deny that this work, if properly done—that is to say, by men like Mr. Lincoln's earlier selections, Messrs. Adams, Motley, and Marsh—is work well worth doing, and which might bear very valuable fruit in a dozen ways. But the social representation of the country should only be attempted by what is best in it, by men whose character and attainments are likely to give a true idea of what is most respectable and most respected in American society. If it is to be handed over to the agents of the rings and speculators and promoters of companies, and to be awarded to the cronies of the high officers of the Administration as a mark of personal esteem, or even to be used as a reward of campaign service or of unsuccessful attempts to get into or stay in Congress, every one must feel that it can be nothing better than a shame; and for the obvious reason that it would operate as a transfer to foreign soil of the very unpleasant "exposures" which are so prominent a feature in our home politics. These exposures now take place in the presence of friendly critics, who know exactly what is their value as symptoms, and who know how much there is in the national life to set them off or neutralize their effects. Made in London or Paris or Vienna, they become simply evidences of deep-seated corruption and debasement, and bring lasting discredit on popular government. We shall probably here have forgotten all about Schenck in a year; in London, he will be long remembered, and his memory will probably cover one or two of his successors with suspicions of which it will take a good deal of time to get rid.

The abolition of the whole service would entail no inconvenience whatever, and would in the majority of cases simply send politicians back to scenes of industry where they would be far more useful than they can possibly be in European capitals. In fact, the notion that a Western statesman, suddenly transferred to France or Germany, in entire ignorance of the language, laws, manners, history, and traditions of those countries or of any country but his own, can possibly be of any use to anybody but himself, is one of those illusions under which it is discreditable for the American people to lie any longer. When the practice of establishing resident ministers at foreign courts began, communication was slow and difficult, and they rendered important service in procuring information and in dealing with sudden emergencies. In our time there is no difficulty in despatching a special envoy to conduct any important negotiation, and the ordinary diplomatic corrrespondence can just as well be conducted through the post-office. The persons who would complain most of the change would be travelling Americans eager to

"go to Court"; but the fact is that the present system is not satisfactory to this class. They nearly all come home denouncing their Ministers in foreign capitals either for the badness of their character or their manners, so that even our gentility would not suffer by the withdrawal of our diplomatic agents. Indeed, the real business they do now is merely consular. When grave questions have to be settled with a foreign power, we are apt either to settle them at Washington or send out a special envoy in the person of a first-class man; and even when we have first-class men as resident Ministers, the Cable makes them simply the daily mouthpieces of the Department of State.

## ENGLISH FEELING ON THE EASTERN QUESTION.

LONDON, November 22, 1875.

"WHAT is confidently predicted never happens." If it were not for my confidence in the truth of this proverb, I would venture to predict that our next Parliamentary session will be a very different sort of thing from any Parliamentary session which we have had since the Crimean War. Home politics, to borrow an expressive phrase from your side of the Atlantic, are "played out." We have had a long-continued spell of domestic legislation and parochial, rather than Parliamentary, discussion. It began in the late Lord Derby's short Administration in 1858, lasted through Lord Palmerston's protracted reign from June, 1859, till his death in 1865, was continued by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli from 1866 to 1868, had a vigorous revival under Mr. Gladstone, and has flickered out its life during the last two sessions while Mr. Disraeli has been the First Minister of the Crown. Many large questions have been settled during these eighteen years of peaceful legislation, and many reforms, some beneficial and one or two pernicious, have been carried through. There is still no lack of work to be performed at home, but the country, it appears, desires an alterative, and is making inarticulate cries for change of diet. It is weary of well-doing, even in sanitary matters, and the supporters of the present Administration are urging on their chiefs to give them a higher policy than a policy of drainage, and a more inspiriting party watchword than "sanitas sanitatis, omnia sanitas."

And the circumstances of the time seem consonant with the humor of the country. I have been watching public opinion, so far as a private person not behind the scenes can watch it, during the last few weeks, both here and in Scotland, and I cannot fail to be struck with the uneasy feeling which pervades all classes with which I have been thrown in contact. It is difficult to gauge the strength of this feeling of uneasiness, but in character it is not dissimilar to that which existed two-and-twenty years ago when we were drifting into war with Russia, and it is of this sort—that in some shape or other we shall be face to face with serious complications before many months are over. However and wherever, in clubs or railway carriages or in private houses, the conversation commences, it always creeps round to the state of affairs in the East of Europe. The attitude of the three imperial powers has not tended to remove the feeling. None of us who are not in the secrets of diplomacy can understand the meaning of the triple alliance. Is it an alliance, we keep asking ourselves; and if so, with what end? Is it directed against any of the other European states—say Holland and Belgium and ourselves; and is it to preserve the *status quo* or to reconstruct the map of Europe? Is it no real alliance, but only one of those mysterious political relationships in which two of the partners are trying to take in the third? And if this is the explanation of it, which of the three is the dupe? Is it that Austria is to be led on the ice and in the end quietly dismembered, or can it be that Russia is to be lured into an impossible policy and Austria to be strengthened in the southeast, so as to form a buffer of strange confederated states between Russia and an United Germany? Prussia, we feel certain, is not the cat's-paw to the other members of the confederacy. The aggressiveness of Russia—the asseverations of not uninfluential English politicians notwithstanding—is always present to the British imagination, especially when the future of Constantinople is on the *tapis*. We are steadfast in our belief that the acquisition of the command of the Bosphorus is still the dream of no inconsiderable section of Russian statesmen. Nothing will shake our conviction on this point; and at the present time there is mixed up with a dread of Russian aggression an impression of insecurity, owing to the weakness of Austria and the Germanizing instincts of Prussia. The completion of German unity is the ambition of Prussia's greatest minds, of that we are well aware. The dual Government of Austria is, as we understand, regarded with anything but satisfaction by many of the German-speaking subjects of the Austrian Emperor. They see the want of any homogeneousness among the various nationalities with whom their fortunes are linked. They see that by this want of homogeneousness all state action is paralyzed, and their minds accordingly are filled with the pains of insecurity. And, while they see this at home, they look abroad at the German-speaking races across their frontier, and ask themselves whether they would not be better ranged alongside of their Teutonic brethren than jumbled up with Magyars, and Poles, and Croats, and Bohemians, and all the other incongruous races which make up the miscellaneous Empire of which they are but a fraction. In these yearnings of the German subjects of Austria for amalgamation with their brethren, in the desire of the ruling minds at Berlin for the completion of German unity, and in the ambitious dream of the older school of Russian statesmen, some English politicians think that they see the key to the triple alliance. Prussian neutrality guaranteed, France powerless, and Austria paralyzed, what is to prevent the early realization of the Russian dream? Russian neutrality guaranteed, France powerless, and the German section of the Austrian people not unwilling to rid themselves of the strange bedfellows to whom the exigencies of fortune have bound them for so many generations and to throw in their lot with their Teutonic brethren, what is to interfere with the accomplishment of Prussian ambition?

Nothing in either case, assuming the paralysis of Austria to be a fact, except Hungary and the Danubian Principalities on the one hand, and England on the other. The "Sick Man" hardly enters into the calculation. The stern fact of his repudiation of his debts has taken possession of the practical intelligence of the British middle-class, and has precipitated his fall in British estimation to a degree that centuries of misrule and wasted opportunities in his own Empire never could have compassed. This is perhaps a poor thing to say of one's countrymen, but it is true. One not uninfluential journal has tried to raise a bogus cry that the Sultan has gigantic power for evil in reserve, in respect that he can set a religious war on foot which will blaze throughout the whole Eastern Hemisphere. I do not think that the remote possibility of such a catastrophe will have much weight in the cabinet councils which are held almost every day in Downing Street—an unusual activity at this period of the year which is not without significance.

We are fast coming round to the opinion that the days of the Turkish Empire, in Europe at least, are numbered. But what to put in its place? There are some among us who think that the inhabitants of those wild states on the banks of the Danube—Servia, Bulgaria, and Roumania, and the inhabitants also of Bosnia, Montenegro, and Herzegovina—have so profited by the last twenty years, since the Russian power was checked, that they are now sufficiently civilized and politically educated to establish a confederation of their own, and reclaim the Turkish Empire, or what may be left of it, from the fallow uselessness of centuries. But these, I fear, are sanguine politicians who reflect the pure illumination of their own well-cultivated and disinterested minds upon the dark barbarism of the Danubian states. The Servians may have moved some steps up the ladder of civilization during the last twenty years. But what have they in common with the other states except a shadowy similarity of race? and with Moldavia and Wallachia they have not even that. No one, I should say, who had spent a single night in Bucharest, or sojourned in the religious houses of Moldavia, or seen glimpses of the home-life of the Bulgarian peasant, could look with much confidence for any good coming out of such communities. The Hungarians are on a totally different footing. They are a fine soldierlike race, with the instincts of government and high administration implanted in them and developing through generations. In point of civilization, they stand as high as any European nation—as high as any nation in the world. But they are but a handful—seven millions at the outside. They are alien in race from both the Serb, Slavonic, and Roumanian tribes, and they are hated by all neighboring nations. It is just possible to imagine them forming the propelling power and guiding intelligence of a great Danubian confederation, which might ultimately fix upon Constantinople as its capital; and there could perhaps be no solution of the Eastern Question more generally satisfactory. But the satisfaction could not be universal, even if the contingency were more imminent. Germany and France and England might approve, but would the House of Hapsburg welcome this divergence from hereditary policy? Or would the Emperor of Russia bring himself to forego the gratification of gathering the ripened pear, or indefinitely postpone it when, after long waiting, it seems so nearly ready to fall into his mouth?

And what do they say in England to all these plots and projects and solutions? Official personages are silent, but they bear the manner of

people who are impressed with the gravity of the situation. The unofficial, though not uninfluential, personages whom I have heard discoursing on the subject, and the better class of journalists, are, it must be admitted, groping in the dark and looking anxiously for light. But on three not immaterial points they seem decided: (1) that they are prepared to abandon the old national policy of maintaining Turkey *in statu quo;* (2) that they are determined to keep firm hold upon the communication between the Mediterranean and the Indian Empire; and (3) that they are prepared, if necessary, to fight to the last man for this communication. The Crimean War was fought to save the Turk and give him another chance. In one sense that war was useless, for it merely enabled the Turk to linger on in his extremity for twenty years. But in another sense it was worth the cost of it in men and money which it entailed. By throwing Russia back upon itself, it broke the spell of absolutism under which Central Europe had been lying prostrate for nearly half a century, and rendered impossible the extension of the principle. It facilitated the emancipation first and afterwards the unity of Italy. It procured the liberty and the restoration of their rights for the Hungarians; and it indirectly aided the overthrow of despotism in France. These were results worth fighting for, even if they were remote and unforeseen at first. And with them still fresh upon us, we can afford to abandon a policy that has been productive of so much good. It is no longer essential to our comfort to maintain the tottering Turkish Empire, and that Empire has failed to profit by the respite we procured. But the security of the route to India is of vital interest to the well-being, almost to the existence, of our power. Every year this has been more and more distinctly impressed upon the British mind, and this year, since the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, which has been sedulously watched by the whole reading public, this necessity has worked itself into the British popular imagination, which nowadays will always play an important if not always a wise part in British politics. The country, I believe, has for once made up its mind, cost what it will, that if Constantinople passes out of Turkish hands, Egypt must be upheld by British force.

## SARDOU'S NEW PLAY.

PARIS, November 19, 1875.

THE theatre plays an important part in Parisian life; there are many people in Paris who never go into society, and who spend almost all their evenings at the play. It must be said, before all, that we have now the most admirable school of actors. I do not speak of the actors and actresses alone who have made their names famous not only in France but in Belgium, in England, in Russia, wherever there is a French stage. There is a school of actors, an innumerable number of men and women, who can act with a *naturel*, a good grace, an absence of bombastic extravagance, of pretension, of awkwardness, which is truly wonderful. This is the time of year when new pieces are produced on the stage: society has not yet opened its salons, the gentlemen have a little freedom, and they can give their verdict on the new dramas. Such a verdict is, of course, only necessary for pieces which have a literary character and a social object; operas and small operettas have their own public, which is quite different from the public that is able to pass judgment on a comedy or a tragedy.

Among our dramatic writers who still try to give some satisfaction to literary judges and are not quite contented with the public which the railways bring every day to Paris from the provinces and from the whole world, is M. Sardou. His name is probably not very popular in America, as he wrote that bad piece called "Oncle Sam"; his excuse lies in the fact that he had never crossed the Atlantic, and that he believed in the wild stories told by an extravagant writer called M. Assollant. Sardou writes too much, and does not take sufficient time for the choice of his materials; he belongs to the feverish school of over-production. He was determined to build up a large fortune, and wanted to show that he could do as much with his brains as the bears or bulls of the Exchange can do often without any brains at all. He was so poor in his youth that, on leaving college, he was obliged to re-enter it in the humble and despised capacity of what the French call a *pion*. The *pion* is a university serjeant, the man whom you see walking by the collegians; he sleeps in their dormitory, eats at their table, and generally acts like the shepherd or rather like the shepherd's dog about the flock. Now, Sardou owns a fine country-house, a part of the royal park of Marly. He adorns his house with the finest tapestries of the "grand siècle"; he is rich and prosperous. But he has remained an artist; he works like a slave; he is extremely eager for all possible information, for all details concerning the history of mankind. One of his last pieces, the "Merveilleuses," was a complete failure; the plot was too insignificant, but the costumes, the characters, were all drawn out of a magnificent collection made at a great expense. Sardou's friends told him, on this occasion, that the public cared less about a perfect *couleur locale* than he did himself; it did not matter if the costumes of the Directory were more or less faithful; the public wanted real passions, not clothes. Sardou is not obstinate; he changes his manner, not in the course of a few years, like the great painters—he can change it three times a year. He rather likes to change it, to jump from one thing to another, to alter his system; he is a sort of dramatic clown. Who would think that the same man wrote "Les Pattes de Mouche," a piece which might have been signed by Scribe, and "Patrie," a dark and awful drama, full of terrors and crimes? "Patrie" will probably always be the greatest work of Sardou. There was much artistic beauty in a piece of the same calibre called "La Haine," but there was too much horror in it for the Parisian palate. "La Haine" was inspired by the history of the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages, as "Patrie" was inspired by Motley's history of the Netherlands. Sardou is always looking for an inspiration, on all sides, in every direction; he has no system, he will not restrict himself to any particular set of ideas.

Yesterday he brought a new piece on the stage at the Gymnase, called "Ferréol." I had not for some time seen a first representation—what the Parisians call "une première": a word which must be pronounced with a certain emotion. To be at a "première" is the dream of many a young man, of many a lady. For many, it often remains always a dream. No tickets are sold at the office of the theatre on the mysterious day of the birth of a new piece; the author gives away a large number of tickets to his friends and admirers. What the director does with the rest is known, as far as the press is concerned: every important newspaper and review receives places for its critics. The director must also give tickets to those authors who have their *entrées* in all the theatres, and who are considered as the natural lords of the literary field. How he disposes of the remaining tickets is a deep mystery. What is known about it is simply this: there are seats to be had, not at the regular office of the theatre, but at some irregular offices—sometimes at wine-shops, bars, etc. These are sold at extravagant prices, and the result of it is that in the audience of a "première" you see always two elements of the population of Paris—the literary element, which with its various representatives fills half the room, and the element which I hardly know how to characterize—rich financiers, rich foreigners, dissolute men of the clubs, actresses, and ladies of the "demi-monde" in their finest clothes and with all their artillery of diamonds and jewels.

I have it from several authors that this odd public is extremely formidable in their eyes. From the literary element they fear jealousy, coldness, a great disposition to see the defects of every work, fastidiousness; from the other element—the vapid and corrupt element—they fear indifference. They can only act on the nervous system of such a public by finding very strong, very new, very original situations. This public of the "premières" is sometimes very cold at moments when the author expected to make his greatest effect; and sometimes a few very simple words, a soft intonation, some "cri de l'âme," some exhibition of youth and innocence, will send a thrill of genuine emotion among these tired, worn-out literary hacks and anxious Aspasias. The author never appears on such evenings; he is in the *coulisses* giving a last word of advice to one or another. The actors are uneasy; they are always more or less excited when they have to appear in a new character before the public, who will pronounce if their part is a "success" or a "failure." In his new piece it was quite clear at once that Sardou had taken his inspiration from Gaboriau. You must know Gaboriau even in America. He died two years ago, worn out with work. He had invented a kind of sensational novel, founded on the difficulties in detecting the authors of certain crimes. Justice was always on the wrong track; all the evidence went against one man, while another man was guilty. The agony of the innocent was kept up in one, two, or three volumes. So it was yesterday in five acts, only Sardou has not taken the simple Gaboriau system: he has improved it; he has added to it the dramatic element, the struggle of contending passions. The truth could be made known at any moment in his drama if one man spoke; but he could not speak without destroying the reputation of a woman. Here you have a real drama: which ought you to prefer, the honor of a woman you love, or the life of a friend? If you speak, the woman is lost; if you do not speak, the man. Out of this situation Sardou has drawn very dramatic scenes; but this is only one of the aspects of the new drama. There is another conflict or duel of passions in the heart of a judge. He must choose between the honor of his own wife and the accomplishment of his duty. He does not hesitate,

and the scenes in which the stern magistrate has to overcome the feelings of the fond husband are the most impressive of all. I don't think that a drama can well be analyzed, so I will not even give you the names of the various *dramatis personæ*. I simply wished to show that Sardou has understood that the play of contending passions was a necessary element of dramatic art. He is a wonderful master in the arrangement of the various scenes, in the development of the plot: the greatest effect is sometimes produced by one single word, by the most natural and trifling incident.

"Ferréol" met with an enthusiastic reception. It is very curious to see how sensitive, after all, the most *blasés* Parisians still remain; how, once moved and thrown out of themselves, they seem to enjoy the pleasure of new sensations. The enthusiasm of the audience was divided between Sardou and a young actor named Worms, who has just arrived from St. Petersburg, where he has been living several years. I recognized at once in him a tragedian, a man who is not born to remain in the vulgar world of the *comédie bourgeoise;* he is calm and dignified; he ought to appear as a young Roman or as Achilles. His place is marked at the Théâtre Français next to that young tragedienne called Sarah Bernhardt, who has inherited some of the magnificent qualities of Rachel—an innate nobility in every motion, a voice which has something superhuman in its harmony and its authority. It is certainly a remarkable fact that the Jewish race should have such extraordinary aptitude for the stage. Sarah Bernhardt is a Jewess, as her name well shows; this future tragedian, Worms, has an unmistakable Jewish name. There is in some representatives of that race the accumulated nobility of centuries. The nobility of Rachel was not learnt; she began life playing on the guitar in public gardens. Sarah Bernhardt was, I believe, born in a porter's lodge; she had at any rate the most humble beginnings. She is now by far the most remarkable actress in Paris, the only one, in fact, who has in her something which approaches genius. Unfortunately, her health is miserable and she seems a living skeleton, and without the artificial red she would be "jam pallida morte futurâ."

The French are very fond of making pleasantries on the old tragedy; and it must be admitted that there is an insufferable dulness in a bad tragedy in five acts, and that human patience can hardly endure the bad tragedy when it is played by inferior actors. But the Parisians run to the tragedy as soon as they perceive in it an element of dramatic beauty. They don't understand the Italian language, but they are now flocking in great numbers to see the Italian tragedian, Rossi; he has met with more success here than he ever did at Rome or at Florence. Rossi has played here *King Lear* and *Hamlet;* he certainly has fine qualities; but shall I ever forget your great actor, Booth, in *Hamlet?* He alone gave me the ideal *Hamlet* I had always dreamt of, and he even added much to the fancies of my imagination. The part of *Hamlet*, so full of imagination, is hardly fit for an actor of Latin origin. The force of race is shown in everything. Rachel was never so fine as in the religious drama, in "Athalie" and in "Polyeucte"; she belonged to a religious race, the noble race which asserted the rights of monotheism in the midst of a materialistic civilization which had deified the passions of mankind. Poor Rachel! when she said "je suis chrétienne" in "Polyeucte," it was not the Jewess who spoke; it was the representative of the oldest and noblest family of mankind. She was of course more admired, and in some respects she was more admirable, in some of the Greek and Roman dramas, in "Phèdre" and "Andromaque"; but to me she always had a wonderful charm in "Athalie," even in "Esther." She was a Jewish queen, and felt happy in that character.

Among all the troubles of the world, it is a pleasure at times to be thrown completely into the imaginative world of the drama; and the tragedy has this advantage, that it drags you further from the vulgarities of life; you forget yourself better in the company of saints and heroes than in the society of even the Tartufes and the Misanthropes. This is probably the reason why humanity feels at times refreshed by tragedy, and why the drama which merely represents the horrible incidents of everyday life, and seems made up of the reports of the police court and the courts of assize, can after all have but a transient success. We would, therefore, if we had any influence with M. Sardou, beg him to abandon such subjects as his applauded "Ferréol"; to return to the higher and nobler sphere of "Patrie" and "La Haine." Everyday life is only too dramatic and too distressing; don't show it to us in its most odious aspects. Take us rather away from it, and show us the play of human passions under other skies than ours, other costumes than our daily costumes, other faces than the faces which do not speak to our imagination, to our instinctive love for what is great and old and immortal.

# Correspondence.

## GOV. FLETCHER'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE "GLOBE-DEMOCRAT."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your paper of the 11th Nov. there appears the following statement:

"The *Tribune* made a statement that Thomas C. Fletcher, chairman [of the Red Cloud Commission], occupied a good deal of his time while the investigation was going on in writing letters, under an assumed name, to a Western paper, defending Delano from the charges against him, or, in other words, whitewashing the Interior Department and the Indian administration, and generally taking the part of counsel for the defence. . . . We find on investigation that the charge is perfectly true, and cannot be denied."

I did not see the article in the *Tribune* to which you refer, and would not have seen the above in the *Nation* if a friend had not brought it to me this evening. You say you "have investigated the charge, and find it perfectly true." Now, you will please produce the letters written by me justifying the charge. Failing to do this, I shall demand the judgment of every decent and fair-minded man in the United States against your paper, for the endorsement and propagation of a very mean and malicious slander.

I assert that I never wrote a word of or concerning Mr. Delano, or of the charges against him or the Interior Department, or in his defence, or in defence of the Interior Department or of the Indian administration, in all my life, except as is written in our report; and I defy you to produce the letters contradicting this statement.—Respectfully,

Tho. C. Fletcher.

St. Louis, Nov. 26, 1875.

[The correspondence to which we referred consisted of a series of letters published in the *Globe-Democrat* while the investigation was going on last summer, and signed "Piute Chief." These letters were in substance an attack on the promoter of the investigation, Prof. Marsh, under cover of a gross travesty of the evidence against the Indian administration, and puffs of the chairman of the Commission. Though ostensibly written for the purpose of describing the proceedings of the Commission, they were so constructed as to have no meaning except as a defence of Smith and Delano. They therefore were essentially what we said they were in the *Nation*. We publish Mr. Fletcher's letter, not because there is any foundation for his defence, but in order to give him an opportunity to deny, if he chooses to do so, the authorship of the Piute letters. When he does this, we will produce our proofs.—Ed. Nation.]

# Notes.

A. S. BARNES & CO. will publish early next year 'Memoirs of the Rev. Charles J. Finney,' written by himself, and a 'Centennial History.' The *International Review* for January will contain an article on the Herzegovinian Question, "by a high authority."—D. Appleton & Co. have published in one volume 8vo. pp. 978, 'A Text-book on Human Physiology,' designed for the use of practitioners and students of medicine. It is a condensation by Dr. Austin Flint, jr., of his *opus magnum* in five volumes on the 'Physiology of Man,' and as such cannot but prove most valuable and convenient to those for whom it is intended. Quite naturally there reaches us at the same time the sixth edition of Dr. J. C. Dalton's standard 'Treatise on Human Physiology,' revised and enlarged (Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea). The merits of both these works have been fully discussed in the *Nation*.——The first of the 'Memoirs of the American Association for the Advancement of Science' is on "Fossil Butterflies," by Samuel H. Scudder (Salem, Mass.) This field of study is, as is well known, a restricted one, and Mr. Scudder's monograph is at once exhaustive and authoritative. The funds to publish the work consisted of the gift of a thousand dollars made to the Association by Miss Elizabeth Thompson of this city. The result is a handsomely-printed volume, containing three steel plates, which—the edition being 1,000 copies—has actually been produced at the cost of one dollar. Such judicious management, both in the selection and in the manufacture of the 'Memoir,' ought to stimulate other like gifts, seeing that the Association is wholly dependent on aid of this kind in continuing the series.——Apropos of the letter from our Paris

correspondent on another page, we may mention that the Librarie des Bibliophiles announces 'Comédiens et Comédiennes,'a series of critical essays upon the leading actors and actresses of Paris, by M. Francisque Sarcey, the celebrated theatrical critic of the *Temps*. The work will be published in parts, illustrated with etchings by M. Léon Gaucherel. This work will do for the French stage of to-day what MM. Hillemacher and De Manne in their two volumes, called the 'Troupe de Voltaire' and the 'Troupe de Talma' and published a few years ago by Scheuring of Lyons, did for the stage of the last century and the first third of this.——*O Novo Mundo* states (Nov. 23) that the Brazilian Minister to Austria, F. A. de Varnhagen, is passing through the press at Vienna a work on the origin of the South-American Tupis, as deduced from comparative philology ('L'Origine des Américains Tupis,' etc.) The distinguished historian holds that this Brazilian folk migrated across the Atlantic more than a thousand years ago. To substantiate his view that the Tupi language is not polysynthetic, he has undertaken to reprint at the same time the dictionaries of Montoya, of which the two volumes of the first edition (1639–40) cost him about five hundred dollars.

—Readers and friends of the *American Naturalist*, whom the attenuation of the last few numbers has filled with painful forebodings, will be glad to learn that H. O. Houghton & Co. are to become the publishers of this useful periodical, beginning with the January number. The same house has purchased of J. B. Ford & Co. the important 'American Mechanical Dictionary' of Mr. Edward H. Knight, of the United States Patent Office, of which two volumes have already appeared (A–Pan), and 700 pages out of about 1,050 of the third volume are now in type, with a prospect of speedy completion. The embarrassments of its former publishers have therefore not affected this undertaking, the magnitude of which may be judged from the fact that it embraces some 20,000 subjects, and is illustrated by upwards of 5,000 engravings, mostly incorporated with the text, but many full-page, like that facing page 2,129, which shows 68 varieties of sewing-machine stitches. Mr. Knight, by the way, remarks that "if required to name the three subjects of invention on which the most extraordinary versatility of invention has been expended, the answer should be without hesitation : the sewing-machine, reaping-machine, and breech-loading firearm. Each of these has thousands of patents, and while each of them is the growth of the last forty years, it is only during the last twenty-five years that they have filled any notable place in the world." In confirmation of this, one has only to look at the classified list of sewing-machines and attachments patented in this country from Feb. 21, 1842, to March 9, 1875, which occupies ten and a half closely printed pages of the 'Dictionary' in triple column. One or two features of this work are new and of great practical utility. Such is the general alphabetical technical index of materials, appliances, etc. appertaining say to a process like photography, or a manufacture like paper, or implements like axes, hammers, forks, etc., etc. There are no less than one hundred and fifty such indexes scattered through the three volumes. Another convenience for a defective memory is lists of -graphs, -meters, and -types, which show at a glance all the instruments whose names thus terminate. Each name may then be referred to in its proper place in the 'Dictionary.'

—Prof. Ch. Fred. Hartt has published, at Rio de Janeiro, a pamphlet of 'Notes on the Manufacture of Pottery among Savage Races.' It is a very valuable compendium of the records of primitive pottery-making, and it justifies the author in holding that this manufacture, "being intimately connected with the labors of the kitchen, belongs, the world over, among savage tribes of a certain state of culture, to woman" :

"When, however, in the progress of the tribe in culture, the practice of the art of pottery comes to be a profession, and to interfere with household work, it passes naturally into the hands of man ; and it will be found that, in every case where men make earthenware, the tribe has advanced considerably beyond the savage state. But savage woman not only fabricates vessels of clay, she also ornaments them ; and if the fictile art has originated with her, and has grown up under her hands, it seems no less probable that the ornaments she uses should have originated with her ; and the probability is increased by the fact that to her falls the work of spinning and weaving, of making and decorating personal ornaments and clothes, and of making baskets, mats, etc. She is everywhere the primitive decorative artist."

The account of the way the common pot is made up—of a long coil of clay—will be novel to most readers. It directly reveals the origin of ornaments which consist of "strips of clay laid on in spirals and other figures." "The 'apple-pie' border, made by impressing with the extremity of the finger, or by pinching up a line of elevations between the thumb and forefinger, was also in common use among the same Indians [the Bluff-Dwellers], and is still perpetuated on the modern pottery of the Amazonas. In the use of this and other ornaments by women to-day in the making of pastry, it is curious to observe her perpetuating forms that originated in ceramic art." We commend Prof. Hartt's 'Notes' to the *Woman's Journal* for its column of selections.

—The quality of the sympathy or admiration for the late Edgar A. Poe, which has just expended itself upon a monument in Baltimore, could have been, perhaps, more fitly shown by providing suitable food, clothing, and a home for his only sister, Rosalie, who has just died in a charity house, to which she had been admitted only a few months. She was for many years a cripple and a pauper. She procured the barest needs of life by the sale of her brother's photograph and by copying some of his short stories with her own hand. Her last request was that she might be buried by his side.

—Mr. Stanley's letter (date of April 12), printed in the *Herald* of Nov. 29, is the one entrusted to Col. Bellefonds, who was, unhappily, killed by the natives on his return to Col. Gordon. It is in the main only an amplification of his former letters, and leaves undescribed, because as yet unvisited, the southwestern shores of Lake Nyanza. The importance of the southeastern feeder, the Shimiyu, which is 370 miles long and is a mile in width at its mouth, is more clearly brought out ; indeed, should the Albert Nyanza be found to have no tributary of equal importance on the south, the Shimiyu is likely to exchange its name for that of the Nile itself. Mr. Stanley met with a great reception from King Mtesa, whom he found a very attractive character, intelligent enough to have become a recent convert to Mohammedanism and to have adopted the Arab dress and, together with his court, to affect Arab customs. The explorer entertains high hopes of this chief's future beneficent influence over equatorial Africa, and regards his capital as a most promising seat of missionary labor of a sort which with religious training should unite instruction in the arts of civilization. "It is the practical Christian tutor, who can teach people how to become Christians, cure their diseases, construct their dwellings, understands agriculture, and can turn his hand to anything, like a sailor—this is the man that is wanted here." Stanley's course is to be across country to the Albert Nyanza. Some critical but friendly remarks on his topographical discoveries on the Victoria, by Capt. Burton, will be found in the *Geographical Magazine* for November.

—We are permitted to make the following extracts from a private letter written by an American major of engineers in the Khedive's service, dated El Obeid, Kordofan, Sept. 23, 1875 :

"By this time I have seen a good deal of Kordofan, and I have formed my plan as to the proper thing to do with it. One should enslave all the inhabitants and take them to the only part of Africa worth bothering about —the banks of the Lower Nile ; and Kordofan should be left as pasture-ground for ostriches and lions. And yet Kordofan is one of the best parts of Africa. . . . Shortly after we got here I received orders limiting the operations of the expedition to Kordofan. . . . We have been tranquilly laid up here the past three months, waiting for the rainy season to come and go. It has come and gone. . . . It is time. For the last month we have been a pretty forlorn party. Everybody has been sick—officers, soldiers, and servants. . . . The black soldiers in garrison here have died by ten to fifteen a day, and four companies of Egyptian troops (total 300 to 400 men) which stopped here *en route* for Dar-For lost forty men in three weeks. My soldiers have been well housed and well fed, and to that I attribute their comparative immunity. The sickness is a low fever of intermittent form, often with a typhoid type, perhaps something like what army surgeons in America know as typho-malarial fever. No one escapes but the natives. . . .

"In spite of the rain, I have contrived to get a little work done. I have sent out several short expeditions, and the exploration of Kordofan north of the parallel of Obeid is nearly completed. A less interesting country would be difficult to find. El Obeid, the capital, is in lat. 13° 10′ N. The inhabited and habitable part of Kordofan extends north of this from one to two degrees, and is limited on the east by the Nile, and on the west by a desert which begins some fifty miles from here, and separates Kordofan from Dar-For. South, I know nothing. The northern and western deserts, or more properly steppes, are roamed over by nomadic tribes of camel-breeders and robbers, who pay tribute to the province of Kordofan, but are hardly governed by it. The portion which I have mentioned as habitable is a rolling upland of very uniform altitude, 1,800 to 2,000 feet above the sea, marked by few 'accidents of terrain,' and watered only by the rains which fall in June, July, August, and September. There is not a water-course in the whole land other than a gully made by a summer shower, and I am sure no drop of water from this country ever finds its way to the Nile. It is at once absorbed by the dry soil. . . . You can hardly get out of sight of villages, but you can very easily get out of the way of water. It is not at all uncommon for the people to bring water from wells ten miles away. During the rainy season they ordinarily procure water from a reservoir near at hand. These reservoirs are utilized in all ways, for in Africa water is not wasted, and if you are forced to travel in this land it is better not to see the reservoir. . . . Praise God ! I have developed a great faculty for not seeing things, and if I could lose the sense of smell I should be almost happy. . . .

"Of course little is to be done with a waterless land. The only crop

raised in the whole of Kordofan is 'dokhu,' a sort of millet, I believe. This grain furnishes bread and beer for the people, and on bread and beer they live. At times you find herds of cattle, and oftener goats, and rarely chickens. The *dokhu* grows during the rainy season. It is put in the ground, heaven ripens it, the slaves gather and grind it, and during eight months of the year the sole occupation of the land is to eat and drink it. As I have said, I have had out parties more or less of the time since I have been here, but all accurate work I must do myself. The Arab staff officers are of wonderfully little account; they are not only ignorant and lazy, but they are what the Western editor called fountains of mendacity—rivers, floods, lakes of mendacity. Still, I hope to get up a map of the country which in accuracy and detail will 'scoop blind' all previous maps of African exploration. Modest hope! I am terribly harassed by the cabinet geographer of Cairo, who wants maps, and maps, and more maps, and d—n the accuracy. I am determined, however, to consider a little my own reputation."

—The autumnal exhibition of the Brooklyn Art Association was opened on the 29th ultimo with a large collection of paintings and drawings, some of considerable interest. Figure-painting has hardly reached a higher degree of excellence among American artists for a general balance of good qualities than in the contributions of Mr. F. A. Bridgman, "The Nubian Story-Teller" (1), and the "Kabyle Woman" (153). The first, recently shown in a Paris salon, gives a beautifully-arranged group of Eastern houris, contrasted with forms of picturesque ugliness in the persons of the improvisatrice and the African slave-girl. It is true that some of the odalisques fall into attitudes rather Parisian than Eastern; but for craftsmanlike grouping and lighting we do not know that a better picture of the kind has ever been produced by an American. The second is of life-size, and finely modelled. In landscape the honors are borne away by the large coast-scene, "Drifting Ashore in the Fog," from the easel of M. F. De Haas. Either of these important pictures would do honor to any school of painting. The only quality we would demur to is the preoccupation of the respective artists with other men's styles—a preoccupation so marked that it is evident Mr. Bridgman was thinking quite as much of Boulanger and Gérôme as of the models when he designed his groups, and that Mr. De Haas could not get Achenbach out of his head when sketching his sea-coast, even as Mr. Bricher, in another marine subject, obviously loves Mr. Richards as devotedly as he loves nature. Individuality of impression is still quite as much a desideratum among our better class of painters as it is among our better poets and essayists. Noticeable pictures on various accounts were the Oriental sketches, direct from life, of the explorer, Mr. A. L. Rawson, Mr. Blashfield's "Lady Reading" (26), Mr. McEntee's delicious "Sea from Shore" (330), Mr. E. Johnson's "Naughty Boy" (379), Mr. Guy's "Ignorance is Bliss" (375), Mr. S. Colman's sketches (352 to 355), Mr. Charles H. Miller's "High Bridge" (298), with its admirable sky, Mr. Parton's "Scotch Twilight" (266), and Mr. G. H. Boughton's "Girl I left behind me" (327). The drawings by youths of the Polytechnic and young ladies of the Packer Institutes gave an interesting educational tone to an exhibition which, though still in an inchoate state, begins to show more independence and less reliance on imported shop-window art than in former years.

—The *Portfolio* (J. W. Bouton) produces for November certainly a tame number, though the etching by Chattock of a Constable subject is at least as good as have been most of the landscapes by the French aquafortists on whom Mr. Hamerton usually depends for that kind of reproduction. We find nothing to condemn and little to signalize among the articles by Messrs. Hamerton, Wornum, Ménard, Atkinson, and Chattock, but can profess only a limited admiration for M. Gaucherel's group of trees in the first illustration, and M. Veyrassat's innocuous "Watering-place," facing page 164.—Mr. R E. Moore sends us a really artistic line-engraving of one of Mr. Eastman Johnson's most poetically-conceived pictures—that of a lady who coaxes a lamb to eat out of her hand by a process of crouching and crawling across a pasture in a way that only a very pretty woman could practise with impunity to her graces. The sense of a tantalizing slowness of motion is perfectly expressed in the long, horizontal train of the woman's dress and the drag of the animal's soft limbs and body. The style of engraving is rather dainty than powerful, and the lady's face is puffy, with but a poor understanding of the foreshortened planes of its modelling; but the plants, grass, and distance are admirable.

—As it seems to be generally admitted that we have not seen the end of the contest over the currency, it may perhaps be well to remind the advocates of "soft money" that it is by no means a modern invention or the offspring of Christian civilization, but that it was already known in remote antiquity. The great lawgiver, Lycurgus, "legalized" leather money in Sparta; but his object in doing so was the very reverse of that which Messrs. Kelley and Butler and other inflationists aim to effect by paper-money. Machiavelli, in his 'Discourses on the first Ten Books of Livy,' Book II., Chap. 3, in explaining the great difference in the relative growth of the Roman and Spartan Republics, relates that

"Lycurgus, the founder of the Spartan Republic, believing that nothing could more readily destroy his laws than the admixture of new inhabitants, did everything possible to deter strangers from flocking thither. Besides denying them intermarriage, citizenship, and all other companionships (*conversationi*) that bring men together, *he ordered that in his Republic only leather money should be used, so as to indispose all strangers to bring merchandise into Sparta or to exercise any kind of art or industry there, so that the city never could increase in population.*"

It seems impossible to have more clearly and sagaciously foreseen the real effect of "soft money"; and certainly we have proof of the correctness of the judgment of the great lawgiver of antiquity in the recent immense falling-off of immigration into the United States and in the diminution of commerce.

—By a temporary residence upon British soil at the time of publication in England, it is already possible for an American to secure an English copyright. Advantage of this is frequently taken, and it is now no unusual thing to see the words "copyright edition" appended to the English publisher's advertisements of an American book. To step across the border is no great hardship for those who live near the Canada line, although it is for the dwellers in Florida, Texas, and New Mexico. Perhaps a strict construction of the new Canadian Copyright Act of 1875 may hereafter destroy this facility. By a recent discovery, however, a new mode of obtaining literary protection in England is made possible. With logical liberality, France has not confined the protective benefits of its legislation solely to natives—they are also extended to aliens. The decree of February 5, 1810 (quoted p. 750, vol. ii. of Mr. James Appleton Morgan's 'Law of Literature'), protects 'les auteurs, soit nationaux, soit étrangers." Therefore any American can secure protection in France by complying with the provisions of its copyright enactments. By the terms of the international copyright treaty between France and England (15 and 16 Vic., c. xii.) the holder of a copyright in France may secure copyright in England by fulfilling certain specified conditions. There seems, therefore, to be nothing to prevent the American author from entering his work in France—by proxy, if more convenient—and then, on the strength of his French copyright, applying for registration at Stationers' Hall.

—All the readers of the *Philologus* know that one marked feature of that journal has been the publication from time to time of some article by a competent hand summing up the results of recent research in different directions. What the *Philologus* has done sporadically, the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Alterthumswissenschaft*, published by Calvary of Berlin and edited by Conrad Bursian of Munich, has undertaken to do systematically, and the first volume, covering the year 1873, is nearly finished. We understand that it is the intention of the publisher to bring out the review of 1874 and 1875 together, so as to keep the reader still more closely up to the time. Highly acceptable to all classical scholars, no matter what their resources, the *Jahresbericht* is simply indispensable to those who have not access to all the numerous philological journals of Germany. Among the contributors, Bursian himself, Ribbeck, Bergk, Friedländer, Lange, W. Wagner, Wecklein, Blass, and Susemihl, are household words to any man who has the least acquaintance with the philology of the day, and, to take no higher view, the American philologian may almost save the price of the *Jahresbericht* by heeding the warnings of some of the distinguished critics. Buying German books by the title is far from a safe investment.

—In No. 490 of the *Nation* we noticed Scheffer-Boichorst's 'Florentiner Studien,' in which the author, after conclusively proving the unauthenticity of Malespini's chronicle, attempted to show that one of the next oldest historians, the celebrated Dino Compagni, was equally untrustworthy, and that his history was a forgery of the sixteenth century. We expressed at the time our regret that Dino Compagni should disappear from the list of Italian historians, and hoped that the doubts cast upon him would be removed by a critical text and examination of his sources. The article by Scheffer-Boichorst aroused great interest both in Italy and Germany, and has called forth several works which may be of interest to historical students in this country. As long ago as 1857, Pietro Fanfani, one of the most celebrated of Italian scholars, attacked the authenticity of Compagni from a philological standpoint, and has lately resigned his membership of the Academia della Crusca in order to engage more freely in the discussion. He has brought together his various articles on the subject and printed them under the title: 'Dino Compagni vendicato dalla Calunnia di Scrittore della Cronaca' (Milan, 1875). His arguments are chiefly based upon the language of the chronicle, and his deductions are not complimen-

tary to the great body of Italian philologists, who have always considered Compagni a model *trecentista*. Fanfani has found a number of followers among his countrymen, one of whom hastens to demolish Compagni with the patriotic desire "that the Father of Italian history shall at least find a grave in his own land." On the other hand, a number of equally celebrated scholars in Italy have undertaken Compagni's defence, among them Capponi (see No. 524 of the *Nation*), in his 'Storia di Firenze,' and Paolo Tedeschi in the *Rivista Europea* (May to July, 1875). It is to be observed that all of Compagni's defenders acknowledge a great confusion in his historical details and unaccountable slips in his language. Capponi suggests ('Storia di Firenze,' I, p. 98, note) that his history may have been put together by some other hand from imperfect material (*sopra una copia informe*). This hint is the key-note to the latest defence of Compagni, this time quite appropriately by a German: 'Die Chronik des Dino Compagni: Versuch einer Rettung von Dr. C. Hegel' (Leipzig, 1875). We shall wait with interest for the critical edition of the chronicle now being prepared in Florence by Prof. Del Lungo, whom the Italian Government, feeling that the national honor is concerned, is liberally assisting with manuscripts, etc., from the public libraries.

—One effect of this discussion in Germany has been to direct attention to the early history of Florence, which has been so strangely neglected by native scholars, and even by Capponi. Dr. Otto Hartwig, well known by a work on Sicily, has just published 'Quellen und Forschungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Stadt Florenz' (Marburg, 1875). The oldest chronicler whose name is known is Sanzanome, whose work, cited as the 'Gesta Florentinorum,' breaks off in 1231. This chronicle, interesting as containing events of which the author was an eye-witness, is published for the first time by Hartwig, and, although a fragment, is of great importance from a literary-historical point of view. Another heretofore inedited work, also here published for the first time, is the so-called 'Chronica de Origine Civitatis,' which contains the stories of Rome, Fiesole, and the Trojans, alluded to by Dante in Par. xv. 124, and which Villani and Malespini incorporated into their works. Dr. Hartwig gives, in three parallel columns, the Latin text, an Italian *rifacciamento* of the fourteenth century, from a MS. in Lucca, and a republication of the rare *Libro Fiesolano*. The student thus has before him the various shapes the material assumed until it was appropriated by Villani and Malespini. The third section of Hartwig's work consists of an essay on Florence to the beginning of the twelfth century. He traces the city back to its foundation by the Romans about 190 B.C. It was later refounded by Augustus, and named Julia Augusta Florentia (Hartwig derives the name from Flora, like Faventia, Fidentia, Valentia, etc.) The story of the destruction of the city by Totila (*alias* Attila) and its rebuilding by Charlemagne is shown to be legendary. The decided ecclesiastical tendency of the city appears at a very early date, as well as certain political characteristics which mark the later history of the city. Dr. Hartwig has nearly ready for the press a second part to his work, which will contain "extensive commentaries on early annals of Florence, some of which are still inedited, as full a list of the consuls and podestàs as possible, an examination of the so-called 'Chronicon Brunetto Latini,' and a reconstruction of the annalistic 'Gesta Florentinorum,' from which Villani and other chroniclers derive nearly all their knowledge of the history of Florence down to 1308."

## DIGBY ON THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW.*

MR. DIGBY'S admirable book needs, as it deserves, the notice of appreciative reviewers. Its title, and we must add its appearance, do it injustice, and are likely to delay for a time its being read by persons who, when once they have looked into it, will fully appreciate its merit and interest. A little stumpy book, entitled the 'History of the Law of Real Property,' and got up in colors of that respectable dulness which seems to give notice that the contents may be useful to students but are certain to be interesting to none but the unhappy persons about to undergo examinations, is certain to be shunned by even the best specimens of the fastidious class known as intelligent readers. Yet any one to whom history is more than an idle pastime will, on inspecting Mr. Digby's work, find that it is a most important contribution to the investigation of that vast and unexplored province of research—the history of English law.

Mr. Digby deserves the credit of being the first person who, of recent years, and with the advantages of modern knowledge and modern canons of criticism, has attempted to explore, or rather to begin entering upon, what we venture to assert is the portion of the history, not so much of England as of the English race, which most needs research and will best repay the labors of an intelligent discoverer. English law is the most original creation of the English genius. It has influenced more deeply than any other power except that of religion the history and character of the race on both sides of the Atlantic. The law of England will, it is highly probable, be, like the law of Rome, the most permanent record both in East and West of the greatness of its creators. Yet no great historian, either in England or America, has made the legal institutions of which both countries have so much reason to be proud the subject of special study, and writers who, like Mr. Freeman, exult obtrusively in the blessing of being Englishmen and owing nothing to Roman civilization, show an almost studied neglect of the law which is the one intellectual creation that the English race can boast of as emphatically their own. From this censure Professor Stubbs must be markedly excepted. His works deal with the constitution rather than the law of England, but they contain as much information about legal institutions as can be brought within their scope. The admirable 'Select Charters' have obviously suggested to Mr. Digby his collection of authorities on the 'History of Real Property.' Such collections are of course not what is called light reading, but they have the great merit, when made by so competent a person as Mr. Digby, that everything they contain is worth having. An original authority constantly suggests far more than it directly states. Its worth depends upon the knowledge of the person studying it. To sheer ignorance it tells next to nothing, but exactly in proportion as a student's knowledge increases so the information increases also which original documents yield to his study. The great point is to be furnished with a guide, such as Mr. Digby or Professor Stubbs, who has knowledge enough to lead us to the most important documents, learning to explain difficulties, and intelligence enough to suggest right lines of thought.

Our quarrel with Mr. Digby is that an undue desire for compression, or a great underrating of his own powers and an overestimate of other people's knowledge, has led him to give far less than we could desire of his own comments and explanations. It is provoking that a man who can do the work so well, and has spared no labor to produce a thoroughly workmanlike article, should have been so sparing in his own remarks and elucidations. He should certainly have pity upon persons who, like ourselves, have sought in vain for friendly guidance through the intricacies of the pleadings in Taltarum's case, and, even when trying less slippery paths, have felt that the aid of a translation or note would be decidedly acceptable. A critic may pardonably dwell on deficiencies which an author can easily correct in a future edition, and we would earnestly suggest the expediency of uniformly translating all the Latin documents and of adding more copious notes and more diffuse comment. These improvements will double the use of the work to students, and enable readers who are not deficient in legal knowledge to perceive more easily than they can now do the many interesting trains of thought and speculation which his pages suggest.

Two aspects of Mr. Digby's work are to our mind specially worthy of attention. The first is what may be termed the purely historical aspect of early law. When you study the early laws either of the English or of any other people, as revealed in original documents, you are struck with the fact of the extreme formalism, so to speak, which characterizes an uncivilized society. Nothing, for instance, that the pleaders whose practice was satirized a century ago in the 'Pleader's Guide' invented or imagined, can have exceeded the subtle complexity of the pleadings in Taltarum's case. Here, indeed, it may be said that we have passed, if not into an era exactly of high civilization, at any rate long beyond what are generally called early states of society, and it is, we admit, probable that the lawyers of Edward the Fourth's age represented an era which combined to a certain extent the kind of formalism which characterizes an advanced stage of society with the somewhat different kind of formalism characteristic of what is erroneously enough called the simplicity of uncivilized life. Still, whatever the worth of the particular illustration, the fact is undoubted that simplicity is precisely the characteristic in which early law is deficient, and that this deficiency is in part, at any rate, due to the importance attributed to forms. Never was a more vigorous effort made to expand a rigid system, so as to meet the necessities of advancing civilization, than was attempted by the reformers who passed the enactment on which were grounded "actions on the case," and never was a great reform more thwarted by the conservative formalism of legal practitioners. The respect for written documents which characterized early lawyers is a sign of the same state of feeling. Educated men know in a general way that the maxims of Roman law were in some mode or other introduced at an early period into the common law of England. Readers of Mr. Digby's book, when they perceive under his guidance how completely the rules as to

* 'An Introduction to the History of the Law of Real Property, with Original Authorities. By Kenelm Edward Digby, M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law.' New York: Macmillan & Co.

*seisin* were modelled on the Roman doctrines with reference to possession, will understand how Roman law was introduced by the writers of early text-books into the texture of that "common law" which, in the age of Blackstone, was supposed to owe nothing to any foreign influence. Nor can it escape notice that one of the marked peculiarities of English law already existed at a very early period. This peculiarity is the singula deference shown by English lawyers to decided cases, and certainly existed at least as early as Glanvill. "We constantly find in Bracton judicial decisions quoted as authorities for particular propositions; traces of the same practice are found in Glanvill." This practice has moulded the whole genius of English law. It has, we may suspect, through the influence of law, told on the intellectual habits of the English people. Here, however, we touch on an enquiry which a work such as Mr. Digby's perpetually suggests: Can it be that the existence for centuries of a regular and uniform body of law, itself the growth of the ideas prevailing from age to age among the English race, has not affected the tone of mind and modes of thought prevalent among the English people? The answer is that in every department of speculation, in politics, in theology, in ethics, and in historical criticism, English modes of thought and feeling have been profoundly affected by the habits and associations produced by the English law. To indicate the grounds which support this conclusion would be the work of an essay. It is, however, impossible in noticing Mr. Digby's work not to call attention to the kind of speculations and enquiries which the philosophic study of English law is certain to suggest and in part to answer.

A second feature of Mr. Digby's book may be described as the prominence given by it to the logical or analytical aspect of legal study. Mr. Digby writes as a disciple in jurisprudence of Mr. Austin—an author whose name can never be mentioned without the profoundest respect by all who value clearness of thought and logical precision of language. Mr. Digby not only has fully seized and mastered, but (what is far more difficult) has intellectually appropriated the system of logical arrangement sketched out by his teacher. He has further done good service in showing by thorough tables, accompanied with lucid explanations, how the divisions and distinctions suggested by Austin can be practically used as a guide through the labyrinth of English law. This labor, which must have been more considerable than readers who enjoy its results will easily understand, has conferred two benefits on students. It has provided a clue to a legal maze in which beginners often lose their way. It has further given a reality or definiteness to divisions and distinctions (such, for example, as the fundamental distinction between rights available against all the world and rights available against particular persons) which, to those who read Austin for the first time, may seem unreal. In no way can a beginner be so easily convinced that the distinction between rights *in rem* and rights *in personam* is no mere subtlety invented by the overacuteness of logicians, but a distinction corresponding to the very nature of things, as by being forced to perceive its application to a system of law which, at first sight, appears absolutely to ignore the ground of division on which the whole scheme of Austin is based.

But though Mr. Digby's use of sound logical conceptions for the explanation of difficulties in English law is always interesting to persons who are used to the analysis of legal conceptions, and conveys a good deal of practical instruction to scholars who are commencing the study of jurisprudence, we must confess that the weakest point of Mr. Digby's work is the attempt to combine, within a necessarily limited space, two different methods of treatment. You may deal with law either historically or analytically; you may, that is to say, either trace the growth of legal conceptions and institutions, or else analyze logically the nature of such conceptions and show their place in a logically-arranged plan. The logical and the analytical methods are, no doubt, ultimately the complement one of the other, but they start from different points and hardly admit of being simultaneously pursued. Mr. Digby has attempted at once to give an account of the growth of a portion of the English law, and to apply to the elucidation of the difficulties of English law the logical principles of Austin. In either task he would, we doubt not, have achieved complete success; attempting both, he has set himself a task in the performance of which absolute success is unattainable. Our objection is not that an historian of law ought to forget the principles of jurisprudence. We hold, on the contrary, with Mr. Digby, that they ought never to be absent from his mind. Our objection is that it is scarcely possible to treat law at the same moment from the position of an historian and from the position of an analytical jurist. Jurisprudence holds to legal history much the same position that political economy does to historical narrative. No writer can master all the problems of history unless he bears in mind the principles of political economy. He will not, for instance, appreciate all the causes of the social changes which marked the sixteenth century unless he bears in mind the economical results of the depreciation in values of the precious metals. But no judicious historian will attempt to combine the composition of a history with the statement of economical doctrines. It is one thing to write the history of land-tenure and another to expound the theory of rent.

We have stated plainly our one grave objection to Mr. Digby's method of exposition, but we admit that much may be urged in favor of his mode of treating his subject. That subject is at any rate, in a special sense, his own. His book is (though not in our judgment free from some defects) a most valuable introduction to the study of law. It is a treatise which no lawyer or student can safely neglect, and every one who feels an interest in one of the most remarkable portions of English history must hope that the work is but the first instalment of further labors in the magnificent field wherein Mr. Digby has been the first, so to speak, to break ground.

## RECENT NOVELS.*

IT is certainly far from lavish praise of Dr. Holland's 'Sevenoaks' to say that it is an improvement upon his preceding novel, 'Arthur Bonnicastle.' There is still a rather well-filled side of Parnassus beyond this author's last and highest flight along the plain which he has yet to climb before he escapes the attention of his critics. Part of the comparative superiority of 'Sevenoaks' may be said to consist in its freedom from the offensive thrusting of a moral lesson upon the reader which more or less plainly marked its predecessor. In this novel the moral is not wanting, to be sure, but the reader is left to draw it for himself, and even the dullest will be able to do this without difficulty. In telling his story, Dr. Holland's instrument is not so much the lyre as the melodeon, as he proceeds to narrate the infamous life of just such a rich manufacturer, speculator, and "railway king" as is known to readers of the newspapers of the period. He has had plenty of models to his hand, and in certain of the incidents of the novel one recognizes familiar anecdotes concerning the misdeeds of this or that notorious man which have already appeared in print as bits of news or of scandal, so that the conjecture soon forms itself that Dr. Holland keeps a scrap-book in which he pastes anecdotes to be exhumed and put together to illustrate the character of his heroes. However this may be, Robert Belcher, the evil hero of this tale, is not a mere patchwork of different facts, and so far as he goes is a tolerably well-drawn character, but he gives this impression much more by what he does than by anything the author says of him. Dr. Holland, with great modesty, does not seem to trust to his literal transcriptions of real events, and goes to the pains of telling his readers that Mr. Robert Belcher, although the owner of "a large, white, pretentious dwelling surrounded and embellished by all the appointments of wealth," was "not a gentleman. He supposed himself to be one, but he was mistaken. Gentlemen of wealth usually built a fine house; so Mr. Belcher built one. Gentlemen kept horses, a groom, and a coachman; Mr. Belcher did the same. Gentlemen of wealth built greenhouses for themselves and kept a gardener; Mr. Belcher could do no less. He had no gentlemanly tastes, to be sure, but he could buy or hire these for money"; and then, more bitterly: "Of Mrs. Belcher and the little Belchers he saw but little. He fed and dressed them well, as he did his horses. All gentlemen feed and dress their dependents well." This delicate delineation of character reminds one of nursery-tales in words of one syllable; it is not the method of approved masters of fiction. This ungentlemanly person shows very clearly that the author's abuse of him, if inartistic, was by no means undeserved. He is rolling up wealth from the inventions of a man whom he had driven insane by persecution, and when Paul Benedict escapes from the pen in the town alms-house where he is confined, Mr. Belcher is tacitly suspected of having made away with him. Being dissatisfied with the hatred of his neighbors he betakes himself to this city, buys a costly house on Fifth Avenue, plunges into all sorts of wild speculations—as a bit of revenge on his fellow-villagers, he robs them of their earnings under pretence of enabling them to make their fortunes out of an oil-well—he owns a railroad, etc., etc.; in a word, he follows that path in which the late James Fisk, jr., made himself well known, and only comes to the end of his tether when, having forged Benedict's name to an assignment to himself of the former's lucrative inventions, he is detected in a court of law, and, to avoid punishment, flees from the country. When last seen he is engaged in the congenial occupation of keeping a bar on a St. Lawrence river-steamboat.

'Hugh Melton' is a novel of very light weight. The hero, who gives

*'Sevenoaks: A Story of To-day. By J. G. Holland, author of 'Arthur Bonnicastle.'' New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1875.
'Hugh Melton: A Story. By Katharine King, author of 'Our Detachment,' 'Off the Roll,' etc.' New York: Harper & Bros. 1875.

his name to it, is an officer of the English army. He is poor in worldly goods, but, to make up, is endowed with every honorable trait, and is, moreover, in love with an heiress. She is not insensible to his affection, but has engaged herself to marry another officer, Cameron by name—the latter being as much a fiend of darkness as Melton is an angel of light. The narrator, himself also a man of war, is a feeble character, who is deeply attached to Melton, and yet, being in love with the heiress, nearly leaves his best friend in the hands of savages in order to be secure from his rivalry. It is hard to find anything to like in this novel; there is a lukewarmness about all the characters and their perceptions and their virtues which fails to give the reader anything but a very mild enjoyment at the best, and but few readers will get even that.

A novel which is admirably adapted to serve as a warning for writers, a text-book for critics, and a rock of offence to readers, is 'Healey: a Romance.' One of the Healeys is a drunkard, for whom "the word 'ought' had no meaning till Thorgerd showed" him. In return for this piece of kindness he tried to marry her, not letting her know that he had a wife living. His sister, Katharine, was a most unpleasant person, of course totally unprepossessing, ill-natured, and of a very melancholy disposition, as this extract may show:

"Katharine that evening busied her mind with the weary problem which has so often been put: Who shall say whether this life of ours shall be called the Human Comedy or the Human Tragedy? Ought we to talk of life being a jest, or to weep over the 'Martyrdom of Man'? It is but a grim comedy, and yet it is somewhat small and ludicrous for a tragedy. . . . She was stirred to wonder vaguely what it all meant, and whether *some time* humanity will read the answer to the riddle—Life."

The love-affairs of a woman of this sort are tolerably sure to move at a very halting rate; and in fact one of her adorers is a very complicated villain with an eye to her money, and the other only an "overlooker" in her brother's mill, so that she has plenty of opportunity to ponder on the mystery of the universe and to soliloquize on the unsatisfactoriness of the world. At the end we are told that she married the poor but honest man, that they sailed to Australia, and that she was happy, but when once she had become happy there was no longer place for her in this 'Romance.'

The late M. Gaboriau, the author of a great many novels dealing with crime, the difficult detection of guilt, and its delayed but certain punishment, founded a small but busy school of writers who deal out murders to their readers as freely as do some of their brethren declarations of love. A good strip of Gaboriau's blood-stained mantle has fallen on the shoulders of one Fortune du Boisgobey, the author of 'The Golden Tress.' How many cups of green tea this writer drinks while he is at work upon one of his complicated novels it would be hard to conjecture. Certainly, only badly-shattered nerves could devise so ingenious a combination of horrors as is to be found in this short tale, which opens with a man carrying an unknown woman's head in a basket, and keeps the reader's interest alive by the singular disappearance of a young man who is kept imprisoned in the Catacombs of Paris, to which he has admission through a subterranean passage from his library; by the wiles of a Russian villain, who manages all the mischief of the book, throws the chief of police off the track, and nearly makes away with another detective, but who finally perishes in a quicksand; and by duels, poisonings, abductions, robberies, assaults, and gunpowder explosions innumerable. The great point of the book is the way the woman's head was cut off: she had just passed through the secret door mentioned above, when, hearing her lover's name called, she peeped back just as it was rudely closed, separating her head from her body.

'The Wages of Sin' is the title of Mr. Yates's last contribution to the circulating library. According to this austere moralist, typhoid fever is all that need be dreaded by a woman who has been unfaithful to her husband. The book reminds the reader of one of "Ouida's" worst novels with the "fine writing" left out.

Mrs. or Miss Steinestel, who translates from the German of A. E. Katsch a novel 'Under the Storks' Nest,' has a good theory about the task she set herself. She says in her preface: "The beauty of a translation consists in the harmony of the guise in which it appears. . . . To entertain the reader, and make him forget he is perusing a translation in the smooth flow of the language into which it has been adopted, is the first duty of a translator." Consequently, two pages further on in the body of the book we find this passage—Judge Berndal has just asked his servant for a pipe—"Here she is, Judge, loaded to the brim," the man answers. One can judge from the following of the romantic style which marks this novel: "Quick as an arrow sent from its bow, but noiseless as the wind that chases the cloud from the blue-vaulted sky, sped Mrs. Wurpel from the room and down the stairs into the apartment where lay the neglected child." Mrs. Wurpel was the monthly nurse.

The Rev. E. P. Roe takes better care of the moral tone of his novels. In this last one, 'From Jest to Earnest,' he describes the way in which a young and fashionable woman of this city attempted to break the heart of an unfashionable and awkward divinity student from Michigan, for her own amusement and that of her friends. She was not so successful, however, as was Lady Clara Vere de Vere with her young man, and it may be said by the way that her manners lacked the well-known aristocratic repose that stamped the caste of the English beauty. Lady Clara, for instance, would not have made so many bad puns as does Miss Lottie Marsden, the rescued flirt, nor, if she had, would Mr. Tennyson have deemed them worthy of printing. It would be only too easy to point out the literary defects of 'From Jest to Earnest,' but it is pleasanter, after calling attention to the great rarity of the words "shall" and "should," for which "will" and "would" are almost invariably used, to say that for the Sunday-school library this book is fairly well adapted.

A really good novel is 'Castle Daly,' which bears the sub-title of the 'Story of an Irish Home Thirty Years Ago.' To a great number of people the fact of its connecting itself with Ireland will not be an inducement to read it, for although there are many good stories about Irish life, there are more which less successfully combine the humor and pathos one expects to find in a novel about that country. Miss Keary has taken the following sentence from Fielding for the inscription on her title-page: "Whereas, for the composition of novels and romances nothing is necessary but paper, pens, and ink, with the manual capacity of using them"; but there is no one of the novel-writers whose names are in our list to-day who shows less belief in the seriousness of Fielding's statement. To begin with—she has drawn her Irish men and women and boys and girls admirably, for she evidently knows them thoroughly, and she puts their excitable, changeable, plausible, natural temperament before us with great dramatic skill; not as if she prided herself on her Irish stories, but everywhere subordinating them to the interests of her novel. Throughout, she is free from exaggeration; she manages with a very clever hand the various threads of her complicated story; and to an uncommon extent she succeeds in throwing a great many lights upon its action—that is to say, she does not narrate it from a single standpoint, either that of one of the characters or that of an outside, disinterested observer, but with a definite comprehension of each one, so that the *dramatis personæ* are all about equally well understood, and make very equal claims on the reader's sympathy. This will be clearer to those who have read the novel than to those who have not, and the former will perceive, for instance, how impartially the author holds the balance between the two Daly boys, Conner being as full of fire and flame and blarney as is his brother of caution, coolness, and reserve, and yet there is no blame for either, and each is allowed to show both his good and bad points without any appearance of the author's prepossession in favor of one or the other. Indeed, all the characters are well drawn and cleverly contrasted; take, for another example, Ellen and Lesbia. In this respect, it must be acknowledged Miss Keary is a very clever writer. The story is a long one and, we should think, a very probable one. There are half-a-dozen love-affairs running through it, and beneath all a sombre record of the sufferings of Ireland during the famine year, so that the interest does not flag in all the five hundred and seventy-six closely-printed pages. It is really a great pleasure to come across so unpretending, clever, natural, and, if the word may be used, so unmorbid a novel as 'Castle Daly.' It reminds us strongly of some of the best of Miss Edgeworth's novels with the strong bias taken out.

'Wild Hyacinth' has twin-sisters for its heroines, Christian, who is strong-minded and only on page 356 accepts her lover after he has rescued her from a burning house; and Hyacinth, who married, and was somewhat wild, having a lover who was struck dead by lightning just when she had dismissed him with some severity. She was herself made insensible by the same bolt, but she recovered and nursed her husband through the scarlet fever, taking advantage of his convalescence to get forgiveness for the innocent but somewhat stormy past. 'Wild Hyacinth' is much too long a novel; it would be better if only about half its present size.

'Healey: A Romance.' New York: Harper & Bros. 1875.
'The Golden Tress. Translated from the French of Fortune du Boisgobey, author of 'Les Collets Noirs,' etc.' Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1876.
'The Wages of Sin. By Edmund Yates.' Boston: William F. Gill & Co. 1875.
'Under the Storks' Nest: A Romance From the German of A. E. Katsch, by Emily R. Steinestel.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

'From Jest to Earnest. By Rev. E. P. Roe, author of 'Barriers Burned Away,' etc.' New York: Dodd & Mead. 1875.
'Castle Daly. The Story of an Irish Home Thirty Years Ago. By Annie Keary, author of 'Oldbury,' etc.' Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1875.
'Wild Hyacinth: A Novel. By Mrs. Randolph, author of 'Gentianella,' etc.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876.

Our old friend Robinson Crusoe, if he could come to life and be wrecked again with a band of Jules Verne's accomplished and energetic heroes, like those in 'Dropped from the Clouds,' would probably be left by them to starve as unworthy of his salt, on account of his deficient education and his persistent habit of idling and pondering over the position he was in. His fate would surely be settled in that way if he were to be found keeping another diary to console himself with. His polished descendants manufacture nitro-glycerine with scientific legerdemain, they alter the face of nature, find out their latitude and longitude, and set up brick-kilns and steel-works while poor old Crusoe would have been taming a cat and teaching a parrot, or at some such foolery. The peculiar form of scientific nonsense that M. Verne has put together may be left for the discovery of his readers; he certainly has written an amusing book, and he keeps the secret he is going to divulge later much better than do many writers of fiction.

The author of 'Rivers of Ice' also mingles instruction with the entertainment he offers youthful readers, but he lacks the French writer's ingenious imagination. His little story, however, is in no way deserving of condemnation.

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*Thackerayana.* Notes and Anecdotes. Illustrated by hundreds of sketches. By William Makepeace Thackeray, etc. (New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1875.)—This is a very frank piece of bookmaking; but it may be said that if a book was to be made, the subject might have been less happily chosen. The first effect of this bulky and handsome volume is to renew our regret that Thackeray's life should apparently be destined to remain unwritten. Why does not Miss Thackeray attempt a biography of her illustrious father? We should be more grateful for it than for the imaginary memoirs of Angelica Kauffmann. It is certain at least that a most agreeable work might be performed in collecting Mr. Thackeray's letters. These are known to have been delightful, and nobody, surely, ever received one without jealously preserving it. That they were chiefly humorous, and that the humor frequently overflowed in some comical little pen-drawing, are facts of equally general knowledge. A large part of the purpose of this anonymously-edited volume is to reproduce a number of such of Thackeray's sketches as are scattered through early and forgotten publications and over the fly-leaves and margins of old (and otherwise valueless) books, procured at the sale, after his death, of his library. The editor has been a collector of these things, and, so far as knowledge of the subject goes, he appears very competent to perform his task. But it is a question how far this task was worth performing. Thackeray is to our sense very far from being the first-rate caricaturist the editor considers him, and it seems to us a decided mistake to thrust him forward in this light. We cannot agree with the critic in the *North British Review*, whom the editor quotes so commendingly, that the drawing in Thackeray's sketches is always excellent. The drawing seems to us to have almost as little skill as might be; even for an amateur it is exceedingly amateurish. The merit is in a certain frank expressiveness of a broadly comical idea—an expressiveness obvious, but never subtle. It is curious that, while Thackeray's humor in writing was so complex and refined, his comicality as a draughtsman is always rather bald and primitive. There are few of the rapid scrawls disinterred in the present volume quite worthy of the space they occupy. This reproach would not apply to such sketches as might be incidental to his letters; they would be at one with the comparative laxity of the text.

This volume excites our curiosity for biographical detail without very largely gratifying it. It relates some interesting circumstances about Thackeray's earlier years—such as the history of the establishment of the *Constitutional* newspaper, the luckless enterprise in which he sank the greater part of his patrimony; and it recalls some passages in his career about which most people have vague impressions, such as the very large amount of time which, first and last, he spent in Paris, the very quiet manner in which at first 'Vanity Fair' came into the world, etc.; but it is not apparent that the editor has had access to any recondite sources of information. His strong point is the Thackerayan bibliography. He knows, apparently, everything that Thackeray wrote in his 'prentice years—he knows all the books that he owned, and most of those that he read. Many of these latter seem to be in his hands, and he transfers whole pages of them to the present volume. When we call this a piece of book-making extraordinary, it is to the formidable scale of these interpolations that we allude. The practice of relating a man's life by stringing together whole chapters from books found in his library, and which he may be presumed to have handled, is one which promises to give a formidable extension to the writing of biography. We have here a copious condensation of Walpole's 'Castle of Otranto,' seventeen pages of dreary extracts from Rollin's 'Ancient History,' and a long account of Fielding's 'Joseph Andrews.' The pretext is that Thackeray made some boyish sketches in satirical illustration of these works. Text, therefore, and sketches are given us at formidable length. The reproduction of all might have been spared; the latter have but the minimum of skill. Thus there is a long and minute description, plate by plate, of a certain set of lithographic drawings, entitled "Flore et Zéphire"—a caricature of the ballet of the period, published by Thackeray in his youth. The plates are described as minutely and seriously as if they were drawings by Albert Dürer or Raphael; but, even were they more valuable than is to be supposed, the description would be rather ponderous reading. In another part of the book, no less than two hundred and fifty pages are occupied with a series of extracts from Earle's 'Microsmography'; from a certain 'Defence of the Female Sex,' published under William III.; from various works on demonology and magic (including that of Alfred Maury, the familiar French writer); and from the whole collection of the little journals of Queen Anne's time—the Spectators, Tatlers, Worlds, Ramblers, etc. Thackeray wrote 'Esmond' and the 'Humorists,' and he had obviously read these publications to good purpose; hence this wholesale transfer of their contents. If its felicity seems questionable, we may at least observe that it has helped to make the volume stout. But surely never was "padding" more ingenuously accumulated. Since the editor has such a taste for extracts, it is a pity that he did not exercise it in performances upon some of Thackeray's own less-known productions—upon those initiatory scribblings, for instance, in the short-lived *National Standard*, of which he has traced out the authorship. This was a weekly exponent of youthful views upon literature and art, published from 1833 to 1834, of which Thackeray was foreign correspondent. We must thank the editor, however, for quoting from the "*Snob*" *Magazine*, conducted by our author during his residence at Trinity College, Cambridge, the admirable little burlesque poem, with notes, entitled "Timbuctoo"—a parody upon one of the prize-poems of that period:

> "Desolate Afric, thou art lovely yet!
> One heart yet beats which ne'er thee shall forget!
> What though thy maidens are a blackish brown?
> Does virtue dwell in whiter breasts alone?
> Oh no, oh no, oh no, oh no, oh no!
> It shall not, must not, cannot e'er be so!"

The editor gives also a good deal of miscellaneous gossip about Thackeray's personal and literary career, much of which is welcome, even if not of the newest. There is no writer of whom one bears better being reminded, none from whom any chance quotation, to whom any chance allusion or reference, is more unfailingly delectable. Pick out something at hazard from Thackeray, and ten to one it is a prize. This volume makes us live with him a while, and refreshes our sense of his incomparable humor, and for that we are thankful to it; but we are almost ashamed to express our thanks, lest we should seem to be praising beyond conscience a reprehensible and inartistic style of book. It really strikes us as sad that this is the best that English literature should be able to do for a genius who did so much for it.

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*Discourses on Architecture.* By M. E. Viollet-le-Duc. Translated by Henry Van Brunt. (Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1875.)—The 'Discourses on Architecture' of M. Viollet-le-Duc have been fully reviewed in the *Nation* (see Vol. II., pp. 438, 469), and the great value of the work to students has been pointed out and insisted on. There is no doubt that the best answer one can make to the question so often asked of an architect, What book can you recommend which will give the reader a general knowledge of styles, and a general notion, not too vague, of the art? would be to name the 'Entretiens sur l'Architecture.' Unluckily, it is rather hard reading. Even to those persons who read Dumas and Gustave Droz, and even to those who get a fair share of the meaning out of Balzac and the poets, the pages of the great antiquary are somewhat repellant. It is not merely because the subject requires rather close attention at times, nor yet to any great extent because of technical terms, nor wholly because of a rather wandering treatment, not very consecutive, not sure to follow up the argument and have done with it; but from all these causes together there certainly results a book hard to read. And, therefore, although our community of reading people is supposed, in general, to read French, it is probable that but few persons have really read through the most useful book there is to a beginner in the study of architecture or of artistic archæology.

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'The Mysterious Island: Dropped from the Clouds. By Jules Verne, author of 'Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea,' etc., etc. Translated from the French by W. H. G. Kingston.' New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1875.

'Rivers of Ice: A Tale Illustrative of Alpine Adventure and Glacier Action. By R. M. Ballantyne, author of 'Gascoyne,' etc., etc.' With Illustrations. New York: Pott, Young & Co. 1875.

Now, it is to be hoped that all this will be changed. The object of this notice is to tell all readers who may not have cared to enquire about Viollet-le-Duc and his lectures, so long as they were all together French and foreign, just what they will find if they take this book in its American-English dress. It is heavy in the hand; five hundred and sixteen large octavo pages. This was a fault in the original, and surely an unnecessary one there, for there is an atlas with the French edition, and a few more plates might have been taken from amid the text and put therein, and the text cut down to a much more handy size. In the Boston edition the large plates of the French atlas are set in by an edge, and folded, so that the large size is a quasi-necessity. But it is an evil still, and so is the folding of the plates, which can hardly be expected to bear much wear and tear. The type is large and the printing clear. The page is a pleasant one to look at, and an easy one to pore over and study. The plates and other illustrations are copied by some photo-mechanical process from the originals, and are satisfactory. The originals are not models of beauty, especially the large engravings; it may be that these reproductions answer just as well as they. What difference there is shows most in the woodcuts, but does not annoy even in these. The volume contains ten lectures, or the equivalent to the first volume of the 'Entretiens' (which was published in 1863), with, of course, the plates belonging to it. The remaining *Entretiens*, forming the second volume, appeared from time to time between 1863 and 1872, and those in an English dress Mr. Van Brunt does not as yet give us. They are, it is certain, of less general interest, and more the affair of curious and speculative architects than of students of the art as it has been and as it remains to us.

The chief value of the ten lectures which make up the volume before us is in the historical and critical examination of architectural styles. There is no statement to be found, at once so complete and so simple, of the essential characters of Greek as it is distinguished from earlier building; of Roman work as distinguished from Greek; of Romanesque and Gothic architecture as derived from and succeeding the Roman; and of the bringing of the classic revival from Italy; its modifications by the strong men of the time of Louis XII. and Francis I.; and the stiffening of all into the grandiosity of Louis XIV. This is in short the best critical treatise on style in building with which we have any acquaintance, and should be the hand-book of all readers of history, as opening to them the way to the more often talked-of than enjoyed study of history by means of the monuments of art. The lectures are here rather boldly paraphrased. The general tendency of the version is towards brevity and the matter of several of the French sentences is sometimes found in a single English one. The rather indirect way of putting things, with which the author is perhaps chargeable, is avoided, even to an extreme, by the translator. This shortening-up process seems to have done no harm, or but seldom to have done any harm, to the presentation of the author's meaning. "The architect of Charleval" serves as the translation of "l'architecte du château de Charleval"; "had a grandeur and dignity" does well for "avait un certain air de grandeur, un aspect majestueux." It has done no harm in general, one feels sure. Mr. Van Brunt's text, read by itself, without comparison with the original, is easy and clear, and the whole work of M. Viollet-le-Duc is to be found in it, complete and unmutilated, even if rather unusually "broken up and made over" into a new American treatise. We have found two places in which we think the author's meaning imperfectly expressed, but they are unimportant, at least to the general sense of the passages affected.

The conclusion is that this is one of the most important publications, not only in America, but in English, in the department of the fine arts. And it is to be hoped that the book will be read and used so widely and generally as to prove that there is room and a sale for a translation of the more learned, more extensive, more exhaustive, works on the Gothic art of France which have made M. Viollet-le-Duc's name the most celebrated among modern writers on the fine arts of decoration.

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*West India Pickles.* By W. P. Talboys. (New York: G. W. Carleton & Co.)—A sketch of a three-months' cruise among the West India islands in midwinter is pleasant reading at this chilly season, especially when the recording yachtsman is skilled in the gentle craft of authorship. The charm of yachting is that it produces mentally a dreamy idleness that never shades into ennui, accompanied by excellent bodily health and an ever-ready appetite. In the tropics none of the necessary conditions are wanting: "A cloudless sky; smooth sea; good breeze; exquisite landscape; pleasant companions; a certainty of superior repasts in their due seasons!" "It would appear to be always afternoon to us, only that it seems always just before dinner, as the steward perpetually seems to be laying the cloth for some repast or other." Mr. Talboys had the good sense to see that in describing the only kind of lotus-eating endurable to the men of the bustling present, all "padding" of the useful and improving statistical sort would be absurdly out of place. He has contented himself with putting down what he really saw and felt and remembered—the secret of making an entertaining book. Only once does he wander off for half a page into science. It was in Trinidad; where he watched a colony of ants, "known as parasol ants, from the fact that each individual carries a leaf in his mouth which shades his back. These luxurious insects, on being disturbed, rush into their holes and bring out a lot of very large chaps with big heads and tremendous nippers, who at once assume an attitude of self-defence, being, in fact, the bullies of the establishment, while the gentle parasol-bearer stands aside to watch the fun. This is almost as surprising as Sir John Lubbock's statement that some tribes of ants keep milch cows, and also an old beetle, whom they worship as an idol," p. 108. A cruise like this is a pleasant episode in life, and these sunny tropical hours must give the lie to one-half of the motto the author read on the old sun-dial at Aguadilla:

"Vulnerant omnes—ultima necat."

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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE report of the Secretary of the Treasury, which has drawn forth general commendation both for its clearness and soundness, estimates the receipts of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1876, at $297,456,145, and the expenditures at $268,447,543, leaving a surplus of $29,008,601. But the so-called Sinking Fund requires $32,293,692, so that the revenue will actually fall short by $3,285,091. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1877, however, he expects a surplus of $34,735,000, which will more than provide for the Sinking Fund. He announces that the funding of the $500,000,000 of the six per cent. bonds into the "New Fives" has been completed, effecting a saving to the Government in interest of $5,000,000 annually; and, as $178,548,300 of this conversion has been effected in sixteen months, while the public credit is steadily improving, he believes that the rest of the six per cent. bonds might be funded at four and a half per cent., but thinks that the term of the four and a half bonds should be made thirty instead of fifteen years. The Secretary does not anticipate any marked revival in business or restoration of confidence until there shall be a "nearer approach to specie payments and a consequent improvement in the character of the currency," and denies that we can take the rank as a business people to which we are entitled by our national advantages as long as we have fluctuating standards of value, and he points out in forcible terms the injury inflicted on both producers and consumers by our inconvertible paper, which prevents our drawing in times of distress on the world's reservoir of real money. He maintains that the legal-tender notes are an evidence of debt which, when issued, were intended to be redeemed or converted into interest-bearing bonds at the earliest practicable moment, the redemption of which in coin has been pronounced by the Supreme Court a Government obligation, and has been solemnly promised by the Congressional declaration of March 18, 1869. He therefore recommends that the legal-tender quality of the notes should be withdrawn as to all contracts made after January 1, 1877; that the Secretary should have power to fund them in a four per cent. bond at the rate, say, of $2,000,000 a month; and fears that unless some such process of contraction is now entered upon, it will be difficult or impossible to provide the amount of gold necessary for resumption in January, 1879.

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What the Report says as to the collection of the revenue is especially interesting. The import duties during the year 1874–5 showed a slight decline, which continued during the present year until October and November, during which months there has been a slight increase. Part of this decrease is due to the dulness of business, of course; part to the enlargement of the free list; but part also to smuggling and undervaluation. The success of smuggling the Secretary ascribes to the immense length of the frontier line, and the smallness of the preventive service, which, along the Canadian line, only supplies one man to every twenty-one miles, and to the height of the duty, which, when greatly out of proportion to the cost of the article, enormously increases the temptation. Undervaluation is due in part to the dishonesty of importers, in part to the fluctuation in values, in part to the defects of the appraisement system itself, and in part to the fraudulent collusion of the appraising officers with the importers. The difficulties of appraisement may be inferred from the fact that the tariff embraces 3,000 articles, either as dutiable or as free, some of which pay according to weight or quantity, and others according to value, and others, again, pay a compound of specific and *ad-valorem* duties. The Secretary recommends the substitution of specific for *ad-valorem* duties, which would almost render fraudulent undervaluation impossible, but he adds "that the only sure remedy for smuggling and collusive or other undervaluation at last lies in the selection and retention of faithful and competent officers. *Neither laws nor regulations, however stringent or minute, will accomplish the desired results without faithful officers to execute them.*" Touching on the whiskey frauds, he recommends a diminution of the enormous temptation offered by a tax amounting to three times the cost of the article taxed, but comes back once more to the old story by declaring that "the highest guarantee for the faithful collection of the revenue is the vigilance and integrity of the officials. This guarantee can be secured only by a careful selection in the first instance, by retaining in office such as have proved their efficiency and honesty, and by prompt dismissal and rigorous prosecution of such as have been found faithless." From which we conclude that he would like to celebrate the Centennial by a reform in the civil service, and is not so much troubled as his chief about "the possibly innocent plural wives" and the imported Chinese women.

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It turns out that one of the President's suggestions for increasing the balance in the Treasury contains what the newspaper correspondents have termed "an extraordinary blunder." The President, it will be remembered, says in effect that some legislation is needed to prevent the recovery of fraudulent judgments in the Court of Claims; that large sums have been recovered upon mere affidavits for property appropriated or damaged by the army during the war, more being sometimes allowed to a claimant for his crops than his plantation is worth, as any one may see by riding through the country there. On endeavoring to hunt up these fraudulent judgments, the Washington correspondent of the *Post* speedily found that none in fact existed, for the excellent reasons that the Court of Claims has never had jurisdiction of claims for war damages, and that it never renders judgments on affidavits, but only upon the examination of witnesses, at which the Attorney-General or his legal assistants are always present to cross-examine. The fact (which the President probably did not understand) is that there are several classes of claims disposed of in Washington. The litigated business, being suits against the Government on contract, etc., goes on before the Court of Claims; the war-damage claims are investigated by a Congressional commission, though it does not adjudicate them upon mere affidavits; a third class is disposed of by officers of the Treasury Department, who *do* adjudicate them entirely upon *ex-parte* affidavits. The Attorney-General probably laid a mass of such information before the President, and he condensed it until it took the shape of the very singular misstatement which occurred in his message.

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The removal of Mr. Henderson, the special counsel employed to conduct the prosecution in the St. Louis whiskey cases, has been the principal topic of the week in connection with the trans-Mississippi frauds. Mr. Henderson appears to be an able lawyer, and has been very successful thus far in procuring convictions; but in the Avery trial, having to deal with the Babcock telegrams, on which the General has since been indicted, he made observations which exceedingly incensed the President, and which, on submission to the Cabinet, were pronounced inexcusable, and proper cause for Mr. Henderson's dismissal, inasmuch as they insinuated that the President interfered to save the Whiskey Ring from measures taken by Douglas to break it up. Mr. Henderson has accordingly been dismissed, and it is difficult to see how the President could have taken any other course under the circumstances. Those who are finding fault with him are expecting a great deal more than they have a right to expect for fifty thousand dollars a year. There may be men in existence who would put up with what Mr. Henderson said, but

we doubt if they have as yet shown themselves in any civilized government. The proffer of the position to Mr. Glover, a Democratic lawyer, who refused it, and subsequently to Mr. Broadhead, another Democratic lawyer, who has accepted it, both men of eminence in their profession, is a sufficient answer to the insinuation which is freely made that Henderson's removal is due to a desire to abate the vigor of the prosecution in the Babcock case. Mr. Henderson was doubtless better fitted to conduct it than any one else, but his disqualifying himself is the misfortune, not the fault, of the Government. General Grant has often been too touchy, and has more than once seemed to sacrifice the public interest to his personal susceptibilities, but this can hardly be said of him in the present case.

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Congress has not got into working order yet, and probably little will be done till after the holidays. There have been two measures introduced looking to early retirement of the greenbacks, and Mr. Blaine has put in his anti-sectarian Constitutional Amendment. Outside of Congress there is plenty of evidence of active preparation for the winter campaign. McMillan, the Louisiana anti-Pinchback claimant, has withdrawn from the contest, and this apparently leaves it open to the Senate to "save the State" by giving Pinchback the seat. The Democratic members of the House have held a caucus, and passed resolutions for the appointment by the chairman (Mr. Lamar) of a Democratic executive committee, to consist of three senators, six representatives, and three citizens of the District of Columbia, and of another committee of eleven members to suggest to the caucus at a future meeting a line of policy on public questions. Among the appointments made during the week are two which seem to show a determination to make use of all the machinery of the Government to keep the present leaders of the Republican party in Louisiana in power. One of these is the nomination for a position in the Custom-house of the president of the Returning Board of last year—the body which made itself responsible for all the turbulence, violence, and lawlessness that marked the organization of the State legislature, by sending in returns concocted in a manner declared by a committee of Congress to be "arbitrary, unfair, and without warrant of law"; and also (to succeed Judge Durell) of Mr. E. C. Billings. Durell, it will be remembered, was the judge who issued a midnight order such as Barnard used to promulgate in this city, empowering Packard, the United States Marshal, to seize the State House, and he resigned to save himself from impeachment. The *Tribune* remarks that the evidence taken shows that Billings was one of the lawyers whom Durell consulted on the occasion of the issue of this order, and "seems to have given advice about the form of the order, if he did no more." Billings is also said to be the friend of Norton, Durell's habitual "assignee" in bankruptcy. The *Tribune* says this is like "impeaching Cardozo to make room for Gratz Nathan"—a comparison which shows how far malice may carry a licentious and venal press.

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The third-term discussion has been revived during the past two or three weeks in several curious ways. The New York *Times* has published an editorial admitting the possible danger to the party of a renomination in certain contingencies; the Chicago *Tribune* has published another, in which it has, with unusual brilliancy, suggested that General Grant might retire next year and be renominated four years later; while the climax has been capped by Bishop Haven, at a meeting of Methodist preachers in Boston, boldly recommending prayer for the renomination of the President, on account of the condition of the South. On its face, this movement appeared to have a good deal of meaning, particularly as General Grant listens to a Methodist minister in Washington, and for the additional reason that in his letter of a few months since, declining a renomination, he admitted that if it became an "imperative duty" he might be forced to stand again; and he has in his message declared the country to be in imminent need of salvation and in danger of bloodshed—a state of affairs which might fairly make him think it an "imperative duty" to remain at the head of the Government. It is only fair, however, to say that Bishop Haven is a highly erratic character, and that, according to the *Methodist*, his elevation to the dignity of Bishop has not prevented his remaining known as "Gil" Haven—a circumstance which may help a man in politics, but does not of itself prove authority in the Church.

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A letter written by John Y. Foster, editor of the Newark *Courier*, to Mr. Blaine, and not intended for the public eye, has nevertheless got into print, to the consternation of the writer. The letter first made its appearance in a Democratic newspaper, having presumably been stolen from the mails or from Mr. Foster's office-boy. In it the writer says that he told Mr. Blaine eighteen months ago that he "could have New Jersey in 1876," and that he (Mr. Foster) wished now to "emphasize this statement"; he suggests a union of New England, the Middle States, and "strong votes from the South"; declares that a "potent faction" in the next convention will be the "secret anti-Catholic order"; adds that "Grant is a member," that it "has a good deal of strength in Congress," and that Mr. Blaine "ought to go in." "Grant," he says, "no doubt relies upon it to promote his aims," and, in his (Foster's) opinion, "the order is spreading widely." Mr. Foster has written another letter explaining the first, however, in which he says the order he referred to is that of the "United American Mechanics," which, "while rigidly excluding partisan politics from its councils," has as its cardinal principles "hostility to all sectarian interference in political affairs"; and that he has been told and believes "that this order, stimulated by the insolent attempts of the Romanists in New Jersey, Ohio, and elsewhere to convert our public reformatories, established and maintained by the public moneys, into sectarian institutions, with altars, confessionals, and masses, has within the last year or two grown rapidly in membership, and is still growing in numbers and influence"; that he thinks it no shame for any man to belong to it; but that he does think it wrong for Democrats, or anybody else, to steal letters, and that the Democratic editor who published the letter "has shown himself to have a lower sense of honor than the thieves that infest the slums of New York."

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Mr. Henry Clews has written a singular letter to the morning papers, explaining his contract with Cheever and "James Van Buren" for a division of the profits of the Government Financial Agency in Europe. He says Cheever's claim against his estate is "fraudulent" and "bogus," and this is how it happened: Mr. Clews was at Washington in 1869 at a hotel, and in came Mr. Cheever, whom he had known and supposed to be a "retired merchant," and who said that he was living in Washington and was "associated with Mr. James Van Buren, from the West, a gentleman of powerful influence," and that he had agreements with several New York bankers under which he transmitted information to them, and, if they made anything by it, divided the profits with them, and Mr. Clews thereupon entered into a similar agreement with him at once. Cheever then announced that he and "Mr. Van Buren" and "large capitalists" were going to establish a bank in Washington, and asked Clews to keep their accounts and share any profits made through their agency, and again Clews closed with him. He also "suggested getting, in connection with the Clews firm, the Government Financial Agency in all the principal cities, and proposed to undertake it at once." Whether he accepted this last proposition or not Mr. Clews refrains from saying, but he denies that anything was done under it, and declares that the bank scheme also failed, and denies that the President or any member of his Administration had any interest, directly or indirectly, in the Government Financial Agency. What is remarkable in this is the extreme readiness with which Mr. Clews entered into business relations with a person he knew nothing about, and his confidence in "Mr. Van Buren, from the West, a gentleman of powerful influence," whom he had never seen or heard of before. The whole letter is one which makes one long to ask Mr. Clews questions, and

we trust Congress will see that he is questioned so as to make the whole thing clearer to his friends, and will try to secure "Mr. James Van Buren's" attendance. We regret to perceive that Mr. Clews does not deny the authenticity of the contract produced before the Registrar in Bankruptcy. He simply says that nothing was earned under it, and pronounces Cheever an untrustworthy person. Cheever has, however, appeared with a counter letter, making a conflict of veracity with Clews, and threatening him with "papers" and exposure in various matters.

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As might be expected at this season of the year, dulness has been the feature in trade and in the Wall-Street markets. The latter were little influenced by the recommendations to Congress respecting the currency. It is not yet known what Congress may do, although the impression is general that there will be no radical changes. The political advantages to be gained by legislation which will make it certain that the Treasury will pay specie January 1, 1879, are not less than would be the advantages to every department of trade, and there is, therefore, reason for thinking that Congress will legislate to this end rather than away from it. But this is not yet sufficiently clear to be accepted as the groundwork for calculations either by merchants or Wall-Street brokers. While gold has ranged within narrow limits (114 and 114½), foreign exchange has been strong, the best bankers' bills rising to 4.85½ for 60-day, and 4.89½ for demand drafts. There has been no change in the London money market, although there has been an important movement in gold from London to the Continent, particularly to Paris. The Bank of England has a large gold reserve, and evidently expects to get gold from here, possibly before the close of the year, and certainly early in the new year. This expectation is reasonable, considering the strength of the foreign exchanges here before the demand to cover January interest collections on European account has set in. Money here has been in better demand, rates advancing to 6 and 7 per cent. The New York banks are still sending currency to the South; the demand from the West has slackened, and currency has been coming in from the Middle States. Early in January, the return-flow from the West begins, and, two to three months later, that from the South. A disposition must be shown by the present Congress to enforce specie payments by the Treasury in 1879 before there will be a full employment of idle money. Capitalists are sheltering their money as they have been doing since the panic, but so soon as they are assured that they can at least get back as good as they lend, new enterprises will be encouraged, and the loan market will be healthfully quickened. The value of $100 greenbacks has ranged during the week between $87 33 and $87 71.

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The annual returns made by the Eastern Railroad Company to the Massachusetts Board of Railroad Commissioners have revealed a state of affairs in the finances of that corporation which, though not wholly unexpected, differs so widely from the returns of previous years, and from statements published in the interest of the railroad in the early part of the current year, as to afford a new and very striking example of the extent to which a corporation may become involved while its credit is still unsuspected by the public. The returns show that the debt of the company now amounts to $14,833,500, while the amount paid for interest during the year has been $892,362; the debt having been increased by $2,508,247, or 20 per cent., above the amount reported a year ago, and the interest paid having been increased by $139,031. Moreover, so much of the debt has been incurred within the year that the large interest-charge of the past year is evidently less than would have to be provided for in the coming year. On the other hand, the gross receipts have decreased from $2,971,815 in 1873-74 to $2,827,291 in 1874-75, a decrease of 5 per cent., and the net earnings for the year are returned as only $757,419; of this amount $200,916 has been absorbed by rentals, leaving only $556,503 to pay the interest of the year, or less than 63 per cent. of the amount which has been paid, and only 3¾ per cent. on the total indebtedness.

Genuine sensation has been caused in Germany by the publication of an anonymous pamphlet, under the title of 'Pro Nihilo,' the author being evidently Count Arnim, who was already dead in public opinion, and has now managed to kill himself over again. The best policy for the Government, so far as the effect on public opinion is concerned, would have been to give the pamphlet the widest possible circulation; instead of that, it has been everywhere confiscated. If there still remained a doubt that Count Arnim is a person absolutely unfit to be trusted with any office of responsibility, this pamphlet has removed it. If papers addressed by the highest public official to a diplomatic agent in his quality as ambassador may be appropriated by the latter and communicated to the whole world as documents relating to a "private conflict," then the foreign offices might as well henceforth transact their whole business by public criers on the market. The most important document is a letter from Bismarck to Count Arnim, dated June 19, 1873, in which Bismarck commences by stating that the Count, in a report of June 8, addressed directly to the Emperor, concedes "that the best government in France for us would always be one which has to devote the greatest part of its strength to overcoming its inner enemies." "Your Excellency has for eight months maintained the opposite view, and succeeded in making it prevail with his Majesty." Thereby the overthrow of M. Thiers has been, "if not directly brought about, at least facilitated, by paralyzing my efforts to maintain" him. The oft-repeated assertion of the Count that the continuance of M. Thiers at the head of the French Government "must become dangerous to the monarchical principle in Europe," has made an impression on the Emperor. "The influence exercised by your Excellency here has not allowed me to give you the positive order to throw the whole weight of our policy into the balance for the maintenance of M. Thiers." "I find myself in a position to take upon myself the responsibility for this political blunder [of not having supported M. Thiers with all possible energy] and the situation produced by it, although I cannot feel obliged to do so after the efforts I have unceasingly made in the opposite direction." The influence exercised by the Count on the Emperor has "no longer an ambassadorial, but a ministerial, character." "My strength is too much exhausted, . . . . besides attending to my regular duties in the Cabinet of his Majesty, to carry on a contest with an ambassador opposing my policy." The Chancellor will propose to the Emperor to take the steps "necessary to maintain unity and discipline in the foreign service, and to secure the interests of his Majesty and of the Empire against unconstitutional injury."

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The French Assembly has been absorbed during the week in the election of the seventy-five senators whom it has the right of choosing under the new constitution. At this writing, forty-two have been elected, of whom thirty are Republicans of one shade or another, and the others are Legitimists or Conservatives, who came in as the result of a compromise. The Republican success is the result of the greater unity of the Left than of the other sections, which are greatly broken up by personal jealousies, a large number of their members being gentlemen who have never been in political life before, and see no chance of getting into it again unless sent up to the Senate by the Assembly. The Left and Left Centre are very free from these influences, and are thus able to act with unusual concert. Several of the leading military men are chosen, but Messrs. Buffet, De Meaux, and Wallon of the Ministry have been defeated, and have withdrawn from competition. These senators sit for life, and an election of anybody "for life" in France now excites more or less merriment, there being so many men, both public and private, who have survived offices which they fondly hoped to fill until death. But it is impossible not to feel that the new senators have a better chance than any of their predecessors of serving out their term, because they are the first officers of their kind who have been put in their places by a rational process, and after full discussion.

## GENERAL GRANT AS A LEGISLATOR.

THE President is empowered or directed by the Constitution to recommend "to the consideration of Congress such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient," and General Grant is certainly using his authority freely and with remarkable confidence. He recommends in his last message an amendment to the Constitution making the maintenance of free public schools incumbent on each State, and forbidding the teaching in these schools of "religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets," or the granting of State aid to any religious sect or denomination; and advises the taxation of church property, and the exclusion from the franchise, after the year 1890, of all persons who cannot read or write, the suppression of polygamy and of the importation of women for illegitimate purposes, and the repeal of the Legal-Tender Act as regards contracts to be fulfilled after January 1, 1877. These are all subjects of the first rank in importance, about which there is a great deal to be said on both sides, and any one of which, it is safe to say, would of itself afford both Congress and the country food for as much reflection as they are equal to; but the President has so thoroughly made up his mind about them that he recommends the settlement of the whole of them next year as a sort of celebration of the Centennial. It is worth notice, too, that none of them except the last are what may be called pressing questions, and he takes them up and disposes of them somewhat in the manner of an inquisitive traveller, who, in passing through a country and noticing what he considers an abuse, says, "This is all wrong, and ought not to be allowed," without troubling his head about difficulties or details.

The truth is that in dealing with most of the problems of civil government the President is literally a traveller in a strange land, and no one has filled his chair with so little previous preparation for the place through education or social experience. He is, indeed, it may be said, the only man who has taken his seat in it without having a stock of settled opinions on the leading points of American politics, and he finds it now, at his time of life, impossible to get up a steady and persistent interest in any of them. New things strike him, therefore, nearly every year, and his mind works on them with a certain feverish or youthful activity and then turns to something else. The views he forms on them, too, though often marked by a strong common-sense, are, in the literal sense of the word, crude—that is, have evidently been formed without prolonged reflection or mature consideration of difficulties; they are, in short, the kind of views that a man forms over a cigar after dinner, and are apt to be pervaded by the same healthy morality; for when men are not cynical after dinner, they are apt to be exceedingly hostile to vice in all forms. For example, the President, in his inaugural address, propounded the plan of paying the national debt with the product of the Western gold and silver mines, which is exactly an after-dinner idea likely to take hold of a man in an indolent mood, when unwilling to ask himself why it should be easier for the Government to pay its debts with the mines of private citizens than with their potato-fields. He took up the reform of the civil service, too, evidently without having any clear idea of what he meant by it, and abandoned it as soon as he really came into contact with Mr. Curtis's rules and saw how they were going to work. The civil-service problem is still the most important problem of our politics. It includes nearly every other problem. Almost every abuse which now occupies the public mind may be traced back to it by one channel or another—the whiskey frauds, the Indian frauds, the pension frauds, the Schenck scandal. Examine any one of them thoroughly, and you will find that it originated either in the appointment of men who ought not to have been appointed or the retention of men who ought to have been dismissed. And yet of civil-service reform the President in this last message—to which he expressly gives a valedictory character, and in which he displays great solicitude about the future of the Republic—says not one word. Two years ago his mind was supposed to be full of it; now he thinks no more about it. He dreads the teaching of "religious, atheistic, or sectarian tenets" in the public schools, and is troubled about the taxation of church property, Mormon polygamy, and Chinese prostitution; but the conversion of the eighty thousand officers of the Government into electioneering agents apparently gives him no concern whatever. The reason is that the subject has passed from his mind, as San Domingo has, and he is occupied with something new; and his views on the new thing are just as superficial and as lightly held as his views on the old one, and will probably last no longer.

In saying this, we cast no imputation on his sincerity. We have no doubt that his mind is just now troubled about the schools, and the churches, and the Mormon and Chinese women, and that his recommendations about them are honestly made. But it would be a great pity if any respect for his sincerity and for his position enabled him to provide the American people at this juncture either with topics of political discussion or with issues for party contests. It has to be borne in mind that, in selecting General Grant for the Presidency in 1867, nobody thought of him for a moment as a legislator, although his reputation in that field undoubtedly stood higher than it does now. He was chosen because Mr. Johnson's aberrations had led people to fear some violent attempt to upset or neutralize the results of the war and to look for a long period of turbulence and disorder at the South, and was supported the more heartily by many—ourselves among the number—because they supposed that his military training, and the sagacity he had shown in the selection of his military subordinates, would qualify him to deal energetically and efficiently with what it was plain would prove after the war the crying evil of the day—the condition of the hastily organized administrative service. His complete failure as a civil-service reformer, however, involving, as it has done, also his failure as a pacificator of the South, is now known to everybody. The South has settled down at last into something like peace and quiet, owing to the very excesses of the rascals whom the Administration put in charge of it. They behaved with such reckless audacity that they ran their course and opened the eyes of the Northern public in less than five years; but they had a firm and tenacious supporter in the President down to the very last. His latest message on Southern matters was an incoherent proposal that Congress should overturn the State Government in Arkansas in order to give the Carpet-bag Ring another chance of ascendancy and plunder. Of the condition of the civil service the revelations at St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee are a sufficient illustration. In fact, there can scarcely be said to have been any improvement in this field during the last six years. The present pursuit of the St. Louis offenders is so thoroughly Turkish in its character that rejoicing over it would be absurd, particularly since the indictment of General Babcock. "Let no guilty man escape" is a good enough motto for Bajazet or Mahmoud, but what civilized rulers should say is, "So organize and appoint and test that the chance of guilty men getting into office shall be small." To slaughter the Janissaries or Mamelukes was perhaps a good thing, but it would be better never to have any Janissaries or Mamelukes.

In making suggestions, therefore, for legislation, except as to the immediate exigencies of the Government, the President, though perhaps discharging a constitutional duty to the best of his ability, is doing something for which he is hardly qualified, and which nobody when he was elected looked for at his hands, and for which nothing in his official career has revealed any fitness or capacity. There is, of course, little reason to suppose that any of his suggestions will be embodied in laws, however worthy of attention some of them may some time become, but they may just now prove mischievous in distracting public attention from the burning questions of the day. The country is in no such danger, either from the "possibly innocent plural wives" of the Mormons or from the Chinese harlots, or from the accumulation of untaxed property in the hands of the Church, or from the assaults of the priests on the public schools, as it is from the McDonalds, and Joyces, and Shepherds, and Caseys. It is they who are the real polygamists, and priests, and demagogues, and harlots of our time. It is they who threaten

school and church and home with desecration or destruction. They are the real sappers of the foundations of liberty. It is they and their kind who, "ever since the fall of Adam for his transgression," have been the worst enemies of popular government, the forerunners of tyranny and degradation. They are the real foes of the public schools. Their taxed property is a greater injury to the state than all the untaxed ecclesiastical property in the civilized world. The loss of faith in justice, in law, in individual honesty, in man's capacity for self-government, which is caused by their operations, is the great political danger of our time, to which the people ought to give their attention. Laws are but words on paper until they come to be executed; justice is but a name unless the law stands behind it; and whether the laws are executed or justice finds support in law, depends on the character and capacity of the men who fill the civil service of the Government. No nation ever yet perished, or even suffered seriously, because the legislation was defective. In civilized countries, as a general rule, the constitution or the acts of the legislature on the whole make for security and tranquillity; the decay, when it sets in, results from the inability of the government to get fidelity and obedience from its servants. In Turkey, to-day, the people would be happy and prosperous if the Sultan's edicts were carried out. It is because the civil service is filled with knaves and peculators and ignoramuses who pay little heed to his edicts that the Empire is going to pieces. Some of the signs of the times among ourselves bear a comic resemblance to those of the great historic declines. What, for instance, could be more striking and instructive than the handing over of the Indian service in despair by the President to the missionary societies? Does it not look absurdly like the rise of the bishops into the position of civil rulers when the Roman administration went to pieces under the blows of the barbarians? And is not such a confession of helplessness on the part of the state enough to set men thinking as well as laughing?

## THE ALARM ABOUT THE SCHOOLS.

THE apathy with which the public has received the signs of alarm exhibited by the President and some politicians about the public schools, shows pretty clearly that we are not likely to have any general agitation on the subject at present. No such agitation could be stirred up by any man's opinions or apprehensions. It will come, whenever it comes, from attacks on the common-school system by a body of voters sufficiently large to make people fear that they may eventually succeed, and no such attacks have as yet been made, nor are they likely to be made for a good while, if ever. Mr. Blaine's proposal, therefore, that the danger should be averted now by an amendment to the Federal Constitution, forbidding the States as well as the United States to establish a church or devote taxes to the support of sectarian institutions, will probably not receive the attention it merits. It would no doubt put a stop to a process which we shall probably witness hereafter with increasing frequency in all the States, and particularly the States which have a large city population—the process of making covert appropriations of public money, or granting privileges which are the equivalent of money, under one disguise or another, to Catholic societies, schools, and charities. We say Catholic, because the Catholic Church controls the largest number of voters who are willing to vote in ecclesiastical interests, and who can, therefore, be used most effectively in support of ecclesiastical bargains or enterprises. These appropriations are never very large, because the Church is prudent and bides her time. She has a sense of permanency such as belongs to no Protestant denomination, and is, therefore, always able and willing to take pay in instalments, and feels that some day or other she will have the sum she needs. This mode of accumulation, too, is helped in a remarkable degree by the secresy of her financial management. The laity are drawn on incessantly for all sorts of objects, but they never know what is done with the money. No disagreeable public discussions, therefore, ever occur over the accounts. If mistakes are made, they are not heard of outside the episcopal parlor, nor is there ever any loud public proclamation of wants. The Church works without haste, but without rest, and noiselessly, and is served by a permanent, powerful, and thoroughly-disciplined corporation. The reason why she makes so many little assaults on the treasury of this city and State is, that while she has here, as elsewhere in the Union, a sense of wrong in being forced to contribute to the support of schools she does not approve of or use, she knows she is strong enough numerically here to be worth courting in politics, and easily persuades herself that in getting little appropriations of one kind and another she is only getting back a portion of her own. If there were, therefore, a constitutional prohibition of such appropriations, it might stop a leak which bids fair to increase in size. But, after all, it is only a leak. It is only by a great stretch of imagination that we can really fancy its protecting us against a church establishment or a real division of the school funds among sects, and it would be very difficult to discover any real alarm on the subject in any part of the country. Alarm about it would doubtless be a convenience to a great many people. There is a large number of gentlemen in politics who would like amazingly to see the public mind absorbed in resisting the insidious encroachments of the Papacy, instead of concentrating itself on accounts, and vouchers, and "outrages," and telegrams, and reports—subjects which doubtless have a certain meanness and narrowness about them, but which happen at this moment to be to the American citizen the most important of all subjects. The Pope will keep. He is tough and tenacious, and can be laid low just as well twenty-five years hence as now, while the "Bosses" are daily disappearing with the money, and, once gone away, never return.

It ought to be said in all honesty, however, that those who think the public schools are not all they ought to be have a good deal to say for themselves. The Catholic clergy, who clamor for religious instruction as a necessary part of education, belong to a school which includes a good many Protestants, and which does not believe in the policy of leaving the character to be moulded by circumstances after the arts of reading and writing have been supplied. In fact, the discussion which is now raging over the school question, both here and in England, is almost as much between the friends of little and those of much training, as between those of secular, and those of religious teaching. The former do not want the state to take any responsibility about the child's moral culture, and the latter want it to take a great deal, and they know no way of securing moral culture except by the systematic teaching of religious beliefs. But it is easy to see why these should have a much harder task here than anywhere else. There is probably no country in the world in which there is at this moment less faith in the possibility or expediency of influencing character in youth by purely didactic methods than in this. The whole tone of society and the spirit of our institutions are against it. Hardly anything is believed among us, by either young or old, because somebody has said it. There are probably fewer people among us than anywhere else in the world whose theory of life is not the result of their own experience, or who are under many obligations to authority for the solution of moral problems. Indeed, the overthrow of authority has been so complete that it has worked the ruin of doctrinal preaching in the pulpits. Doctrinal preaching is necessarily authoritative. It consists in the dicta of commentators, but few persons are found willing to listen to dicta. The result is that the ministers are drawn more and more into a sort of co-operative speculation, in which the congregation can take part, and in which the nearest approach to instruction consists in the suggestion of probabilities and the drawing of analogies. There are, too, in all classes, and even in the churches, differences of opinion as to the sanctions and origin of moral rules, and as to the precise connection of morals with religion, which, however slight, would prevent any united action even in any one denomination as to the kind of moral instruction which should be given in the schools by the state. The feeling that "they didn't know everything down in Judee" is far wider and deeper than the people who are fretting themselves about the safety of the schools imagine it is. It is concealed by denominational statistics,

but only faintly concealed. The denominations which make fewest demands on members for definitions of their beliefs are growing more rapidly than any others, and those which a few years ago were most exacting on this point are silently relaxing their discipline. In fact, there is an enormous and growing amount of vagueness of belief about all the higher problems of existence concealed under both church-going and church-membership.

It would be a great mistake, too, to suppose that the Catholic Church is exempt from these influences. There is, as her history has shown, no power either in her creed or her discipline to save her from the action of the various modifying agencies of modern civilization. She may not have changed her doctrines or machinery, but her members have changed, so that she has no longer the same hold on the world. A man's going to mass and confession does not mean now what it meant even fifty years ago. No government in our day is afraid to encounter her. Bishops go to prison in Prussia without exciting much more attention than if they were defaulting clerks, and the Pope's curses in Rome die on the empty air. Catholic laymen, too, after they get above the peasant class, know well that a man is somehow in our time not so well equipped for the fierce and bitter struggle of modern society by a clerical education as by a secular one, and shrink more and more from encountering the scientific school burdened with clerical solutions of physical and moral problems. Nobody is thoroughly easy with a creed which keeps him constantly on the defensive in the society of other educated men, and Catholics are very apt in our time to find themselves in that position. So that, altogether, it is hard to see any reason for believing the school question serious, though there is no doubt it may here and there prove troublesome.

## A GENERAL REGULATION ACT.

WE observe that the Democrats in Congress have, as a measure of precaution, formed a committee to which they mean to refer all bills and resolutions emanating from their side of the House before producing them publicly. The following bill, which has been sent to us for publication, seems to us eminently worthy the consideration of this committee. We do not approve of all its features, and think it carelessly drawn in many places, but it covers more ground and contains more of the results of "advanced thinking" than any piece of legislation with which we are acquainted. We ask for it a respectful perusal, and trust it will not be made the subject of unseemly mirth. Nothing seems to us more disheartening and alarming than the tendency to jocose and flippant treatment of plans for the elevation of the masses which a portion of the press and many politicians are in the habit of exhibiting.

*BE it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That specie payments are hereby resumed. The Secretary of the Treasury shall cause to be printed a placard bearing an announcement of the fact, and shall post the same conspicuously upon all the outer doors of the Treasury building.

SECTION 2. *And be it further enacted*, That in order to remove all cause of controversy as to the meaning of the term specie payments as used in this act, it is declared that the true intent and meaning of the same is the right to discharge, in lawful money or legal-tender notes of the United States, any debt or pay any tax to the Government which is by existing law to be paid in gold coin. And the resumption of specie payments effected by this act shall not confer upon any holder of United States notes the right to call for the redemption of the same, nor upon any creditor of the United States the right to demand coin in satisfaction of any claim which is by existing law to be paid in lawful money.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the Secretary of the Treasury is charged with the duty of making the volume of the currency equal to the demands of trade, which shall be done without undue expansion of the currency and without any contraction whatever.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the Secretary of the Treasury shall issue lawful money of the United States, secured by a pledge of all the wealth of the nation, to all persons who may wish to borrow the same, taking as security for the same mortgages of real estate if the applicant is the possessor of such property, and if not, then of such personal property as the borrower owns. But there shall be no discrimination in favor of or against any person in consequence of his wealth or poverty, and all persons shall be put upon an equal footing as borrowers.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the Secretary of the Treasury shall prepare bonds of the United States, bearing interest at the rate of 3.65 per cent. per annum, payable principal and interest in lawful money, which bonds he shall issue at par, receiving therefor lawful money of the United States, and shall redeem the same on demand. All sums received for bonds shall be immediately employed in the purchase of bonds of the United States bearing interest in coin at the market rate (provided the same shall not be presented for redemption under the provisions of Section 6 of this Act), and when a demand for the redemption of such 3.65 bonds shall be made, the obligation shall be met by a new issue of legal-tender notes.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That three months after the passage of this act interest shall cease on all the bonds of the United States on which the interest is to be paid in coin, and the same shall be called in for redemption in lawful money; *provided, however*, that no bond presented after the lapse of one year from the date of such call shall be redeemed either in coin or in lawful money.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That all laws or parts of laws impairing or denying the right of any person to make and issue notes as money, or to coin any metal, are hereby repealed. It shall be lawful for all persons to make and issue money of such material and in such form as may to them seem expedient, and all money so issued shall be a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private, to and from the Government and between individuals; and no discrimination shall be made by any person in favor of or against any particular kind of money. But it shall in no case be lawful to export any of this national currency to points outside the United States of America.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That since by the provisions of this act it is placed within the power of all persons dwelling within the United States to acquire wealth without dishonesty, and since thereby the temptation to commit crimes against property has been removed, all such crimes are hereby abolished, and all laws of the United States or of any State affixing penalties to the offences heretofore known as theft, larceny, forgery, embezzlement, and similar acts, are rescinded and repealed.

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That all railroads built, or to be built, within the United States, are hereby declared to be public highways. All persons shall have equal rights upon the same with the owners thereof, and no railroad company shall pay to its stockholders dividends amounting to more than three and sixty-five hundredths per cent. in any one year, under penalty of forfeiting its charter.

SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That the uniform rate for transporting passengers on any railroad in the United States shall be one cent for each mile travelled; and any company charging or collecting more shall forfeit its charter to the person or persons who shall prove to the satisfaction of any court that the provisions of this section have been violated.

SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That no company shall make any discrimination in favor of or against any point or place on its line, in any manner whatsoever. In the transaction of passenger business all trains shall run to and stop at all stations to take or leave passengers; and any person requesting to be transported from one station to another shall be carried at such time as will best suit his convenience. Each company shall so arrange its tariff for the transportation of merchandise that no person shall be placed at a disadvantage by reason of his residing at a point more remote from his chosen market than others who have for sale articles similar to those which he offers; and no charge for the transportation of freight shall exceed the rate of one half cent for each ton of freight carried one mile.

SEC. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That whenever a memorial signed by ten citizens of the United States, setting forth that in their opinion a railroad is needed between any two points, and that for reasons stated private capital cannot be induced to engage in the enterprise, shall be presented to the Secretary of the Interior, he shall issue a charter for such railroad, and shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the fact of such charter. And the Secretary of the Treasury shall, on receiving an affidavit that the company has been duly organized, issue to such company bonds of the United States to the amount of fifty thousand dollars for each mile of the projected road, to be applied to the construction of the same, unless the directors shall determine otherwise.

SEC. 13. *And be it further enacted*, That the Government of the United States assumes control of all the telegraph lines in the United States, and will purchase all existing lines at a valuation to be fixed in each case by three disinterested directors of the company whose line is taken. And all messages shall hereafter be sent at a uniform rate of one cent a word with-

out regard to distance ; *provided, however*, that no charge shall be made on any message sent to or from any member of the Senate or House of Representatives.

Sec. 14. *And be it further enacted*, That on the petition of five residents of any city or town in the United States not enjoying telegraphic facilities, a line shall be extended to such city or town at the public expense.

Sec. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That the monopoly known as the Associated Press is hereby abolished.

Sec. 16. *And be it further enacted*, That in order to enable the manufacturers of the United States to compete successfully with the cheap labor of Europe, the importation from foreign countries of all articles in a manufactured state, articles similar to which are produced in the United States, is absolutely prohibited and forbidden.

Sec 17. *And be it further enacted*, That all laws imposing a tariff or duty on the importation of foreign goods are hereby repealed.

Sec. 18. *And be it further enacted*, That all acts imposing taxes upon domestic productions and upon dealers in the same, and requiring stamps upon any instruments, constituting the system of taxation known as internal revenue, are hereby repealed.

Sec. 19. *And be it further enacted*, That the right of suffrage is hereby extended to women and children. Votes may be cast for infants in arms by their mothers, *provided* that such infants shall give their personal attendance at the polls.

Sec. 20. *And be it further enacted*, That while we welcome to our shores the people of every nation, the immigration of persons of the Mongolian race is prohibited, and it is declared to be the duty of the Government to protect Caucasian and African labor from losing, through the advent of a swarm of Asiatics, the compensation to which it is entitled.

Sec. 21. *And be it further enacted*, That, inasmuch as there is no desire on the part of anybody to create a religious establishment for any State or for the United States, the Constitution is hereby amended by adding thereto a clause to prevent this imminent danger.

Sec. 22. *And be it further enacted*, That while the right to tax real estate or to refrain from taxing the same is wholly within the control of each State, advice is hereby given to the States that they would do well to tax church property.

Sec. 23. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be no sectarian religious teaching in any school established by any State.

Sec. 24. *And be it further enacted*, That in all public and private schools in the United States such studies shall be pursued and such text-books used as the pupils in each school may direct. No pupil shall be compelled to learn morality from any book to which he, or his parent or guardian, or the spiritual adviser of his parent or guardian or of himself, offers objection. Teachers are prohibited from inflicting corporal or other punishment upon pupils ; and they shall enforce no rule in the government of their schools until the same shall have been approved by a unanimous vote of their pupils.

Sec. 25. *And be it further enacted*, That in all courts of law in the United States, all presumptions shall continue to be, as they now are, in favor of persons accused of crime. All motions by the counsel for prisoners made with the intention of delaying trials, shall be granted. The justices of the courts of the several States and of the United States are directed to prepare (with the assistance of lawyers trained in the preparation of technical points designed to effect the release of criminals) new rules of evidence, which shall the more effectually prevent witnesses from telling all they may know of the matter under trial, in case such evidence would lead to the doing of substantial justice.

Sec. 26. *And be it further enacted*, That in case any part of this act shall be pronounced unconstitutional in any court of any State or of the United States, the President is hereby empowered to add to the number of justices from time to time, and to appoint so many as may be necessary to procure a reversal of all decisions adverse to the validity of this act.

Sec. 27. *And be it further enacted*, That all causes that seem to delay the coming of the millennium are hereby removed ; all laws that impose any restraints of any kind upon the liberty of any citizen are rescinded ; all acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed ; and this act shall take effect immediately.

## THE CENTENNIAL.

PHILADELPHIA, December 8, 1875.

THE managers of the Centennial have made, or are about to make, a demand upon Congress for an appropriation. As the times are anything but favorable for such calls upon the national purse, the readers of the *Nation* will be interested in learning the present condition of the enterprise, its prospects, and the motives which lead the managers to take the present step. Last Friday I made a thorough inspection of the grounds and buildings. Fortune favored me with the last pleasant day of the season, and I had the additional advantage of securing the kind offices of Gen. Norton, who served as guide with unwearied patience for many hours. Although aware, through previous experience at Vienna, that great things can be accomplished by well-directed energy, I was not prepared for the truly wonderful changes that have been wrought at Philadelphia within a twelvemonth. It would be but a slight exaggeration to say that the Exhibition buildings are ready now, months ahead of the time. Certain it is that they will be in readiness to receive goods early in February. Let me take up the several buildings in order.

The Machinery Hall is finished, and has been formally handed over by the contractor to the general direction. Workmen are now laying the foundations for the huge Corliss engine in the centre that is to supply the motive-power to the shafting. The tanks and reservoirs for the department of hydraulics—by the bye, omitted at Vienna—are either finished or well under way. Several of the supply-boilers are on the ground. The flooring is laid, except in places reserved for the foundations of heavy machinery. A surveyor is now engaged in marking out on the floor the spaces for different exhibits. The view from the upper gallery at the end of the hall is even now impressive. One can take in at a glance its magnitude and handsome proportions, and above all its adaptation to the purposes for which it is built. It is beyond question the finest machinery hall yet erected, and when filled and in operation will surpass London, Paris, and Vienna. The light is excellent, and the general appearance is that of neatness. It is in every respect a marked contrast to the ungainly, untidy structure in the Prater, and is worthy of the nation whose industry it is intended to display.

The Main Building is not so far forward, but the work that remains is inconsiderable in amount and of an easy kind. The building, as building, is completed, but the flooring is still to be laid in great part, and the decorative painting of the interior is not yet begun. It will be pushed vigorously as soon as the committee have decided upon the pattern and color. Several columns and panels have been ornamented as samples of the various styles from which the selection is to be made. Six or eight weeks of quiet, regular work will probably suffice for the completion. There is no danger of interruption from the weather, as the outer walls and roofing are finished.

The Memorial Hall, or art building, is about as far advanced as the main building—*i. e.*, the outer walls and roofing are done, with the exception of the cupola, where the workmen are now fitting in the few remaining panes of glass. In the interior the plastering and flooring are being pushed with as much rapidity as comports with good workmanship. The building being heated by steam, the plastering will be continued throughout the winter. Many of the black-walnut doors and panels are already finished. Inasmuch as this building is not only permanent, but fireproof throughout, the construction-materials being exclusively brick, stone, and iron, its growth is truly remarkable. Everything indicates that by the end of February or beginning of March it will be "swept and garnished" and awaiting the pictures and statues. Those who remember the agony with which the art building at Vienna was literally rushed in the spring of 1873, will be pleased to learn that there is no danger at Philadelphia of a like overhaste and tardy opening.

The Horticultural Building, also permanent, is finished, and indeed partly occupied. At least, one of the galleries is heated, and contains some fine specimens of orange-trees in fruit, cactuses, india-rubber trees, and other hot-house flora. The steam-pipes for the main hall are very nearly in order, and the workmen are arranging the soil for the beds. The visitor will probably pronounce this Horticultural Hall the prettiest and most attractive building on the grounds. Its dimensions, 383 by 193 feet, are larger than those of the palm-house at Vienna, it is better planned, and the decorations—polychrome frescoes and arabesques in the Moorish style—are charming. In its grace of contour and warmth of color it will afford a pleasing counterpart to the Renaissance lines and sober hue of the art building.

Agricultural Hall is the most backward of all. It met with a slight mishap early in the fall, the first few arches being blown down by a sudden gale before they had been fairly propped and stayed. But this accident has been promptly repaired, and the work since then has progressed at an extraordinary rate. Those who visited it only six weeks ago declare that it has grown like a mushroom. The simple nature of its structure explains the phenomenon. It consists of a nave, 820 feet in length, crossed at right angles by three transepts, each 540 feet in length. The framework of nave and transepts is a succession of slight and extremely-pointed

Gothic arches of wood. The arch is put together on the ground. When finished it is raised into position, shored, and attached to the arches already up by beams, upon which is laid the roof. About two-thirds of the arching is up, and for the most part roofed. Should the present mild weather continue, arching and roofing may be completed by the end of the year; a good deal will still remain to do. Each of the eight ends is to be flanked by towers, making a sort of façade, and the central point of the building is to be crowned by a tower. The spaces between the transepts (outside of the nave) are also to be covered over by secondary arches, parallel to the transepts but much lower. Still, the work is well in hand and need not be suspended, except in very heavy snow or rain or extreme frost. At all events, Agricultural Hall is considerably in advance of the agricultural buildings at Vienna. In general, I feel no hesitation in saying that the Philadelphia Exhibition has a start of at least three months over its predecessor. I base the assertion upon the impression that I obtained during a week's visit in Vienna at the end of January, 1873. No one of the great buildings there was at that time as far on as the corresponding building now is at Philadelphia.

What is true of the buildings is equally true of the grounds. The walks, drives, artificial water-courses and lakes, the grading, sodding, and garden work, at the Centennial are all that the friends of the enterprise can desire. And here it may be said that if not equal to the Bois de Boulogne in point of artistic development, the grounds have great natural advantages which make them much superior to the Prater enclosure. They are high, well drained, properly diversified, and decidedly picturesque. In one or two places they are intersected by ravines varying in depth, to be spanned by rustic bridges. From the eastern side one has charming views of the Schuylkill Valley here and there. George's or Reservoir Hill, on the west, overlooks the ground and buildings. Near this point has been erected a tall look-out tower, ascended by a steam elevator. From the top there is a superb panorama of river and city. The Main Building and Machinery Hall are in a line forming the southern boundary, the others are dotted somewhat irregularly over the grounds to north, east, and west, and present a very agreeable diversity of lines and angles. The central point is near the southeastern end of the United States Government Building. Here the principal walks intersect, and from here the eye can sweep over the great buildings ranged around. Unless we have an exceptionally severe and protracted winter, I see no reason why the Centennial may not be opened, according to programme, on the 10th of May, with turf and flowers and walks and the other paraphernalia of landscape gardening as far advanced as they were at Vienna by the end of June. There is not a little grading still to be done, but the two months from March 10 to May 10 should be amply sufficient. Besides, our picks and shovels and dumping-carts are much better, the railroad-tracks in the grounds are as three to one, and the visitor can scarcely help noticing every minute the difference between the American and the Austrian way of doing things. One of our laborers seems to accomplish as much as two in Austria. I may add that the building for the exhibition of the several departments of the National Government is almost finished. Some pieces of heavy artillery are already in position outside. The offices of the English and Japanese Commissions are under roof, and the same may be said of four of the five large restaurants in the grounds. The track of a narrow-gauge dummy-railroad to encircle the buildings, and carry visitors from one to the other, is partly laid.

The contemplated arrangements for conveying visitors to and from the grounds seem to me to be a near approach to perfection. I doubt whether such complete arrangements were made at any previous exhibition. The grounds, be it observed, lie in a sort of triangle between the main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Junction Railroad. Both lines—over which passes the entire Eastern, Western, and Southern traffic, through and local, of the city—are already within a few hundred feet of the gates. It is the intention of the Pennsylvania Railroad to construct sidings and a large temporary station just outside the southern gate. The Reading Railroad, with its main line and its Germantown and Norristown branches, can also use the Junction Railroad. Finally, passengers by the old Amboy and the South Jersey lines can be ferried across the Delaware to Washington-Street wharf, and thus be carried by the southern freight-track of the Pennsylvania Railroad around the city to the Junction road. It will not be necessary to go into further particulars. An inspection of the topography of the city and its remarkable railroad connections will show that visitors arriving by rail, from whatever quarter, can be landed directly at the gates without change of cars. The city railways are also in excellent order. Many of the lines running east and west already have their termini at the southern gate, and the others will terminate at this gate or the eastern gate by next spring. The capacity of both steam and horse roads has been tested with satisfactory results. To the exercises held on the grounds on July 5 of this year were conveyed 133,809 persons, in great part children from the public schools. Of this aggregate 25,309 were conveyed by train service, and 108,500 by street-cars. These last, it is true, were unable to take all who offered themselves, and many thousands were compelled to walk. But, on the other hand, it is to be noted that no one foresaw such an immense concourse. The car companies were consequently unprovided. Warned by this experience, they are now making their preparations for doubling and even trebling their capacity, and assert that by spring they will be able to move daily at least 250,000 without delay or inconvenience.

Concerning the arrangements for lodging and feeding the thousands and millions of guests that are expected, I cannot speak with like confidence. Not that I doubt in the least that all who come will find good shelter and suitable food. But personal comfort is not a thing to be measured, weighed, or counted off in figures. Those who visit the Centennial must be prepared to forego some of the comforts of home and to pay a little higher price. But there will be ample room for all, and I venture to cherish the belief that there will *not* be that wholesale system of plundering and extortion that marred the first three months of the Vienna Exhibition. The existing hotels in the city are manifestly inadequate, and although the new hotels now in course of erection and very nearly finished in the immediate neighborhood of the grounds will accommodate 4,000 to 5,000 additional, still the tourist's chief reliance must be placed upon the boarding and lodging-houses. This subject is now being thoroughly worked up by the Centennial Lodging-house Agency. The managers are the agents of the Pennsylvania, the North Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore Railroads, Mr. Jenkins, of Cook's well-known tourists' agency in London, and Mr. Allen, editor of the *Railway Guide*. The object of the agency is to enter into arrangements whereby travellers can purchase railroad coupons entitling them to board and lodging at reasonable fixed rates. Philadelphia, it is known, has more spare rooms than any other city in the country. The number might be set down at very nearly 100,000. If the agency, then, can secure one-half the number, say 40,000, or only 30,000, it will have solved the problem. The number of new houses nearing completion in West Philadelphia, in the vicinity of the Exhibition, is very considerable. These new houses alone can be made to accommodate several thousands. The Centennial has developed already so much energy and such unexpected resources that we may look forward to the solution of this problem also in the right way and at the right time. Two circumstances are of great moment. The one is that the mass of visitors will be homogeneous. The number of foreigners, however great, will be trifling in comparison with the natives, who are used to expedients and quick in helping themselves over the inequalities of life. The other is that the people of Philadelphia, rather apathetic on the point a year ago, are now awaking rapidly to a sense of its vital importance. They begin to perceive that, unless they themselves lend a helping hand, the very object of the Exhibition may be frustrated. There are evidences among the wealthier classes of a disposition to remain in the city during the summer and keep open house for their friends, while the middle and lower classes are warming up, so to speak, to an unwonted step—namely, to let rooms and take transient boarders. From what I have gathered during my stay here, I am persuaded that there are hundreds and thousands of housekeepers who are now seriously considering the question whether, as the saying goes, "it wouldn't be just as well as not to make a few dollars out of the Exhibition." The question is a novel one to them, but they will probably find only one answer to it.

The report on the finances of the Centennial has been submitted to Congress in an official document, which is within reach of every one. It will be unnecessary for me, therefore, to enter into a detailed statement of figures. But a brief explanation will serve to make the figures more intelligible. The Machinery, Memorial, and Horticultural Halls are permanent buildings, the gifts of the State and city, and paid for by State and municipal appropriations. But the Main Building, Agricultural Hall, the various annexes, the grading, bridging, gardening, the general offices and current outlay, must be provided for by other means. Stock subscriptions to the amount of $2,357,750 (of which $1,852,000 have been paid in) and concessions of privileges have been the chief source of income. The managers state that the sum of $1,537,000 will be necessary to complete their work and open it on the 10th of May free from debt. They rely upon entrance-money to pay working expenses and refund the stock subscriptions. They pray Congress, therefore, for an appropriation of this sum of $1,537,000. It must be admitted that their position is a strong one. According to a trite adage, nothing succeeds better than success. Last year the Centennial might be said to exist only on paper or in the imagination of a few zealous

advocates. Within twelve months it has put on shape and proportions; it is a definite creation, recognizable by all. Those who have it in charge have shown by unmistakable evidences of every kind that they know how to plan and work. A cursory glance at the grounds and buildings ought to convince the most sceptical that the managers have labored with great wisdom and economy, making every dollar yield its full return. Doubtless the consciousness of being thrown on their own resources has been the strong incentive. In so far, then, the former refusal of Congress to aid may be said to have been a gain; it has suppressed extravagance and sharpened the wits of the managers. But it may be well to admit that there are limits to all things, even to economy and wit-sharpening, and that nothing discourages good disposition more effectually than the failure to obtain practical recognition and sympathy. The managers approach Congress, saying: "We have done all that men in our position could do. We have accomplished something of which you and we have reason to be proud. But unless you are willing to let us begin operation under the burden of debt, you must help us. Please remember that our failure will not be our but your lasting reproach; for you have consented to enjoy the benefits of the Exhibition, you have accredited us abroad, you have invited foreign representation, you have given us a national character." Such language can scarcely be called an argument. Neither is it, on the other hand, a mere appeal to sentimentalism. It is a call upon the practical sense and good-will of the nation's representatives. I believe that the Congressional visit, which is announced for Friday, will convince Congressmen that the Centennial is, in truth, a great and noble enterprise, national and international in every sense, and deserving of aid. No one, it seems to me, can inspect the grounds and buildings and fail to be charmed with them. An experience of six months and more at Vienna warrants me in saying that the Centennial, although on a somewhat smaller scale, will be finer in many respects. It will certainly be more manageable, and hence more enjoyable. To look upon the Centennial as a purely local undertaking to the greater glory of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, would be doing it grave injustice, in the face of palpable facts. The exhibition from the country at large is adequate, and already the demands for space from some of the States, Massachusetts, for instance, are greater than the supply. The credit and profit to be reaped by Philadelphia will not be greater than the city is justly entitled to for originating and prosecuting the enterprise.

## LONDON SIGHTS.

[FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.]

LONDON, Nov. 10, 1875.

WHEN the Albert Memorial was completed and uncovered in London more than a year since, and displayed through the smoky air its treasures of florid architecture, there was much almost ribald jesting at the way the local atmosphere was destined to blight its gilding and its precious stones. The thing seemed like a sort of magnificent satire upon the London climate Some five years ago the beautiful new structure of the Royal Academy was brilliant with its carved white stone and its gleaming statues; to-day it is of a dusky, smutty gray, and to-morrow it will be as black and hoary as Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. Having seen the Albert Memorial just after its erection, I was lately curious to observe whether its splendor had as yet begun perceptibly to wane. It must be confessed that up to this moment it has made a very successful resistance. It will have the best wishes of all lovers of the picturesque for its continued success; for whatever may be thought of its artistic merit or of the moral necessity for having erected it, it at least may be valued by the London wayfarers as the sole specimen of vivid color in the metropolis. Its position of course helps to preserve its purity, with the vast open spaces of Kensington Gardens beside it and behind it in one quarter, and the mitigated contaminations of the far-spreading terraces and crescents of Prince's Gate, Queen's Gate, etc., facing it on the other. Readers interested in these matters may be reminded that the Memorial stands on the edge of Kensington Gardens, opposite the great red-and-yellow rotunda of Albert Hall—a sort of utilitarian Coliseum, which, I believe, has not been found very useful. The Memorial is a wonderful combination of British sculpture and architecture, gilding, mosaic, and the work of the lapidary. It consists of an immense gilt canopy of Gothic design, under which an image of the Prince-Consort is destined to repose. It rises colossally from a huge embankment, as it were, of steps, at each corner of which is a group in marble representing one of the four great continents. The "motive" of these groups is sufficiently picturesque, a great local beast, of heroic proportions—the bull, the bison, the camel, and the elephant—being in each case the central figure; but the sculpture, like all the sculpture, is second-rate and common. It is the work, of course, of the highest English skill—of Messrs. Macdowell, Bell, Foley, and Theed. At each angle of the upper platform where the shafts of the canopy rise is another group—"Manufactures," by Mr. Weekes; "Commerce," by Mr. Thorneycroft; "Agriculture," by Mr. Marshall; and "Engineering," by Mr. Lawlor. Round this outer base of the canopy runs an immense frieze in white marble, executed half by Mr. Philip and half by Mr. Armstead, representing, a trifle below life-size, the array of the world's great artists—poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, and architects. They have been sagaciously chosen and cleverly combined, and the most expressive and original portion of the sculpture is here, we should say, especially on Mr. Armstead's side. As for the canopy itself, with its flamboyant Gothic, its columns of porphyry, its statues and statuettes of bronze and gold (or seeming gold), its chased and chiselled jeweller's-work, its radiant mosaics, its thick-strewn gems of malachite and lapis and jasper and onyx and more rare stones than we know the names of, its gables and spires and pinnacles and crockets, its general gleaming and flashing and climbing and soaring, its great jewelled cross at the summit—all this quite beggars description. We should say in general that the workmanship throughout has been of a finer sort than the original taste, and that if the Memorial preserves in the future the memory of our present knowingness in architecture, it will also perpetuate the modern weakness of that art which once unfolded the friezes along the Parthenon and suspended the tombs in the Italian cathedrals.

The exhibition of paintings by Gustave Doré now on view in London ceased a good while since to demand notice as a novelty, but has become one of the regular sights of the great city, and it suggests some reflections that are always pertinent. The general air of the establishment is not so much that of a temple of the arts as of an enterprising place of business. The pictures seem to be placed on view chiefly with the design of securing subscribers to certain projected engravings. The agents for subscriptions are liberally diffused through the rooms, and, as they mingle "quite promiscuous" (as the London vernacular has it) with the visitors, the latter are liable to be buttonholed in the midst of such attentive contemplation as Doré's canvases may have provoked. The engravings are to be executed in England, in the finest and smoothest style of the old-fashioned "line." It may very well be that the pictures will gain on being reduced to small dimensions and to simple black and white, for they look, as a general thing, like "illustrations" hugely magnified and rather crudely colored. The exhibition is of course an interesting one, and gives an extraordinary impression of imagination, vigor, and facility. On the whole, doubtless, one ought not to be afraid of enjoying it. We may be tolerably sure that, where his pictures are wanting, M. Doré knows it, that he has deliberately chosen to do only what he conveniently could, and that he has settled it in his mind that a magnificent effect, however obtained, is its own justification. The artist's "convenience," we are at liberty to infer, has been to cover an immense quantity of canvas and make a great deal of money. As for his effects, the best of them are certainly magnificent. The only valid criticism of Gustave Doré must rest, it seems to me, on the admission that in the degree to which he possesses the temperament of the designer—in energy, and force, and consistency of talent—he ranks with the few greatest names. He has a touch of Michael Angelo about him; the fact that he is an enterprising Parisian of the nineteenth century ought not to make this inconceivable to us. In the power to compose an immense combination of figures at short notice he recalls two of his greatest predecessors—Rubens and Tintoretto. We may prefer Rubens and Tintoretto, and yet do justice to other members of the family. It is Doré's own fault if so often we find it very easy to prefer them. He has chosen to work by wholesale, and so very often did they, who, however, had the advantage that wholesale painting in their times, owing to the essential tone of men's thoughts, could not of necessity be so superficial as it may be to-day. Their merit is that, whatever they did, they always achieved something that may be called painting; and Doré's fault is that half the time his work is not painting at all. It is a rapid, superficial application of turbid and meaningless color—an imitation of painting not always particularly skilful. The two great things in London—the "Christ coming down from Judgment" and the "Tapis Vert"—are full of examples of this. The latter of these—a very cleverly imaginative representation of the gaming-table at Baden-Baden—is well known by photography, and known very favorably. The photograph flatters it, and so probably will the engraving, in giving it a charm of detail which the original lacks. The other picture—one of the largest ever painted—is full of imagination, skill, and power, and looks, as we intimated, like one of Doré's most successful drawings shown by a magic-lantern. It is a most extraordinary performance. The other pictures are full of cleverness and invention, especially

certain "Christian Martyrs in the Coliseum," a heap of corpses lying in the empty arena, with wild beasts prowling over them in the blue starlight, and cold, phantasmal angels hovering above. The landscapes are singularly bad, many of them looking for all the world like second-rate American work. The best things have a merit which the way Doré has cheapened himself has made at last to seem trivial, but which would seem quite incomparable if it had been more abruptly presented. Their great fault is that they have no agreeable passages of painting—nothing exquisite, nothing that looks not only as if the artist had lingered over it, but as if he had even paused at it.

## Notes.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. have nearly ready 'The Orphan of Pimlico,' a collection of sketches, fragments, and drawings by the late W. M. Thackeray, edited by Miss Thackeray. The drawings are reproduced by facsimile.——Stieler's Atlas, which has put off the detailed map of Africa as long as possible, is obliged to come to it in the last but one of its issues, Part 29 (New York: L. W. Schmidt). This number contains plates of Northeastern Africa and Arabia, and of Southern Africa (below the equator) and Madagascar, along with one of Spain and Portugal. In Part 26 of Stieler, by the way, a map (No. 45) showing the British Islands and adjacent waters with their soundings, indicates the fatal Kentish Knock and the neighboring shoals so lately the scene of the distressing accident to the *Deutschland*.

—An extremely valuable annual, the 'Deutsches Akademisches Jahrbuch,' has just made its first appearance in Leipzig (New York: L. W. Schmidt). It is a sort of directory, aiming at completeness, to the academies of science, the universities, and higher schools of technology in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and the German provinces of Russia, and forms a compact volume of more than 700 pages. A number of attempts of this kind have been made within the past hundred years, and some have had a fair success, but the field appears to have become open again, especially on the statistical side, which has been practically neglected since 1812. A list of these calendars; historical sketches of the rise and spread of academies and universities both in Germany and in the rest of Europe; and brief accounts of the more ancient and now extinct German universities, precede the directory proper. As a sample of this, we may take first the University of Berlin (pp. 34–75). Under this head we find given its origin, the statutes under which it was founded, the government and faculties, the entire list of instructors, the academic societies and their badges, and, finally, lists of rectors and deans, and statistics of instruction and attendance from 1810 to 1874 in the various departments of the university. Under the Prussian Academy of Sciences, we find a list of actual members and another of members deceased in 1873–74. The technological schools are somewhat more restricted in their statistics, nor is every institution treated with equal fulness except as regards *personnel*. The appendix gathers up the loose ends, adding and correcting, and indicating the latest changes among officials and professors; and the *Jahrbuch* closes with a copious index of persons. We have omitted to name the industrious compiler, Hans Adam Stoehr, lately librarian of the Dresden Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher, which dates back to the year 1652, and which has this curious distinction that to every member's real name is added an academic designation (*Beiname* or cognomen). Formerly, these cognomina were drawn from the myth of the Argonauts, to which the quest of science was likened. But nowadays the president assigns a name of some departed worthy having a more or less obvious relation to the member's favorite pursuit. Thus, to take the American membership, Prof. Henry answers to the appropriate name of Smithson; Prof. Dana is to the Academy Pliny XII.; Profs. T. Sterry Hunt and Charles A. Joy, Humphry Davy I. and II. respectively; Dr. Asa Gray is Walther II, etc., etc.

—The late Johns Hopkins, wishing to establish a home for orphan colored children, a training-school for female nurses, and a hospital for four hundred patients—the hospital to be a part of the Johns Hopkins University—placed three millions of dollars, besides adequate real estate, in the hands of trustees, and sketched his wishes with comprehension and clearness. He neither trammelled his agents with unnecessary restrictions nor set them adrift on a sea of possibilities; and he especially enjoined them to obtain the advice and assistance of those skilled in hospital construction and management. The result of carrying out these instructions is a valuable volume, of three hundred and fifty pages, entitled 'Essays upon Hospital Organization.' The contributors are Drs. Norton Folsom, of Boston; Stephen Smith, of New York; Casper Morris, of Philadelphia; John S. Billings, of the Army; and Joseph Jones, of New Orleans; and it is clear that the trustees are now suffering from an embarrassment of riches. They offer this treasure to the world as in consonance with the beneficent designs of the founder, and they solicit instructive criticism. Professor Jones's is the only paper that does not rise well above mediocrity, and the volume is probably the best exposition of the present state of this branch of knowledge; while occasional conflicting views hint at the inexactness of much of our so-called science. The intention which any hospital expresses is one of the highest forms of human benevolence, but benevolence does not always culminate in beneficence, and it sometimes strays into direct disaster. A hundred years ago, one-fourth of those admitted to the Hôtel Dieu died there. Twenty years ago, one in two died in the Koulali hospitals on the Black Sea. Such grave mortality means radical errors, and these errors sanitarians are now seeking to discover and uproot. Besides the regulation of space, fresh air, temperature, and light, which indeed is necessary for the maintenance of health among the well, the sick require protection against the evils which they themselves create, and which collectively are known as hospitalism. The worst form of hospitalism depends upon poisoning by organic germs that may effect a lodgment in the edifice or in its furniture, and serve to propagate serious disease indefinitely. The prevention or the removal and destruction of these is the sanitary problem of the day. To epitomize the varied and plausible suggestions made in these essays would lead too far into special studies. The cautious but liberal policy pursued by the trustees leads us to hope that they will not throw away the opportunity to establish such a medical college as Dr. Billings and Dr. Smith sue for; that is, one that shall look only to the quality and not at all to the number of its students and its graduates. Medicine, by the confession of its leaders, is full of "half-baked" men. Johns Hopkins, by the amount and the spirit of his benefactions, has made it possible that the graduates of one American school shall be "done through." A hospital founded for the propagation of disease would be the physical counterpart of a new college on the old plan—to turn out more classes, like ready-made clothing, in ranks of uniform insipidness and unreliability. An appendix by Mr. John R. Niernsée, architect to the Board, describes the plan adopted for the colored orphan asylum, and a second paper by the same author gives an ingenious architectural study of an octagonal ward. The index is well arranged for a book by different authors, but it is incomplete, and a slip occurs in it, as well as more than once in the body of the work, where August is written for Angus (Smith). The volume, which is illustrated by many plans, is published in good style by Wm. Wood & Co., and must become a reference-book of the first order.

—Dr. Wharton's admonition in a recent *Lippincott's* that the priests and votaries of Spiritualism might any day find themselves in court—perhaps to their disadvantage—was not premature. His article was hardly off the press when the now famous Ward will case was called in Detroit, bringing mediums and believers and "manifestations" upon the scene. The late Eber B. Ward fell dead in the streets of that city, of apoplexy, in January last. He left five grown-up children by his first wife, whom he had divorced in order to take another. His widow has two small children. Of the former, one is insane, one imbecile, and two—the brothers Milton and Charles—are at least capable of very queer conduct, and have been unsuccessful in their attempts to conduct business on their own account. These last set about contesting their father's will before his body had yet reached his home. The instrument was found to have two codicils, the second of which, added six months after the first, directed the executors, as trustees, to pay each of the five children (who were otherwise comfortably settled) not more than $200 a month for their support, unless in case of sickness. About a third of his property, including several extensive business interests, he bequeathed in fee simple to the second wife. The estate, being valued at something like four millions over and above liabilities, was a prize worth contending for, and some of the ablest counsel in the Northwest were employed on both sides. The will was attacked as being the production of a man who was either insane or under undue influence at the time. To prove Mr. Ward insane his belief in Spiritualism was alleged, but this was ruled out by the judge, on the ground that Spiritualism was a religion, like any other, and he allowed the fact to have a bearing only upon the question of undue influence. Thereupon, a number of mediums were brought forward to testify to Capt. Ward's frequent consultations with them, both for ordinary purposes and with a view to making his will. It was shown that he had a sort of familiar spirit known as "Cabbage John," a German geologist, who advised him as to the merits of all sorts of speculations; and the medium through whom this savant acted consented in open court to go into a trance, and was taken possession of by a spirit who would not answer to

questions in English, but when asked—*Wie heissen Sie?* replied, "Andrew Kurthaldrus," and would apparently have been more communicative if the audience had been more inquisitive. The original draught of a communication from departed relatives of the testator's second wife was produced, and was manifestly in accord with the final provisions of his will. On the other hand, many witnesses testified to Capt. Ward's repeated declarations that he had no implicit faith in the superior wisdom of the spirits, but held their advice always to be subject to mundane judgment. And the fact that from being a cabin-boy on the Lakes he had amassed an enormous fortune and become the leading capitalist of the Northwest, either proved his substantial independence of ghostly counsel, or else that such counsel might profitably be sought by the rest of mankind. Such was, in fact, the variety of his enterprises, that "he smelted iron at Wyandotte, Milwaukee, and Chicago; mined silver on Lake Superior, and copper in Arizona; cut timber in the Muskegon prairies, and in Ohio and Wisconsin; made plate-glass in Missouri; controlled or projected railroads in Michigan, Iowa, and Louisiana; and still found time to attend to his duties as a director of one of the national banks of Detroit, to serve that city as a member at large of its Board of Estimates, to write an occasional 'open letter' on the currency, and to make his influence felt in important political and public movements."

—After forty-five days of patient listening the jury disagreed, except that they all thought the second codicil to have been unduly executed. All but one thought Capt. Ward competent to make a will; eight thought the will and codicil had been made under undue influence. The judge's charge was at least noticeable. He warned the jury that they were not called upon to pass upon the truth or falsity of Spiritualism, adding that the Court could not if it would enlighten them about it, and that it was "just possible that a decision of this Court on that subject would not be regarded in the only tribunal in which it could be of any service to us." The fact that Captain Ward believed in the reality and importance of spiritual communications, "and even did consider them in relation to the will in question, or make the will in accordance with such communications," would not of itself tend to show unsoundness of mind. "But if such communications are received to the exclusion of the testator's own judgment, acting upon them not because he approves them but only because he believes them to be given by spirits of departed friends, giving up to them entirely his own free will, I need hardly say to you that a will made under such circumstances would not be the will of the testator." It deserves to be mentioned that no evidence was offered or suggested to connect the surviving Mrs. Ward with the communication, purporting to come from her father and cousin, by which the will was shaped; so that no charge of conspiracy could be brought against the medium (who lived away from Detroit). She earned her usual fee, we may suppose, without collusion, and without any interest in the issue of the struggle between the disembodied "Polly" and "R. Lyon."

—The controversy as to the art-frauds of American sculptors in Italy has received a temporary quietus. Mr. Pierce Connelly took Mr. S. W. Healy to court as a calumniator, and Mr. Healy's principal witness, Franchini, broke down, with unmistakable signs of having traded in his principal's credulity. The result was a sentence of the defendant to a fortnight's imprisonment and a fine of $200, and of the publisher of his organ, the *Touriste*, to half the penalty. An appeal has been taken from this decision, but with no great prospects, so far as we can see. In the nature of the case, charges like those brought by Mr. Healy can be proved only with the greatest difficulty.

—The French scholar, Georges Perrot, Member of the Institute, has recently published a collected volume of essays, entitled 'Mémoires d'archéologie, d'epigraphie et d'histoire,' which originally appeared in various periodicals and transactions; the volume is appropriately dedicated to the distinguished epigraphist Waddington. The essays are twelve in number, classified as indicated in the title, and illustrated, where necessary, with excellent lithographs. Thus it contains, in the first part, several interesting plates illustrating works of art, especially paintings found at Rome in the recent excavations on the Palatine. We are especially struck with a painting of Polyphemus and Galatea, and the view of a street in Rome. The epigraphic portion contains some hitherto unedited Greek inscriptions, coming from Asia Minor and Thrace. The historical essays also have reference to the East—Disappearance of the Gallic Language in Galatia, Campaign of Cæsar against Pharnaces, Popular Superstitions of the Modern Greeks, and Commerce in Money at Athens. This last is a very interesting sketch of the trade of money-dealers at Athens, who are shown to have anticipated in many respects the money processes of modern times; for instance, in the freedom of the rate of interest, in the use of bills of exchange, and even of checks and endorsement. The history of a leading banking-house is sketched from data furnished by the oration of Isocrates against Pasion (*Trapezitica*) and that of Demosthenes for Phormio.

## CHARLES EDWARD.*

WHAT was the true character of the last Stuart who fought for the Crown of England? Poetry and sentiment have painted him as the last of the heroes of chivalry, and the facts of history at first sight bear out the legend of romance. When a youth of twenty-five, he came with scarcely a follower to a land which he had never seen, and where he might instantly have been betrayed into the hands of his foes. He rallied round him a few clans of half-armed Highlanders. With a force which at no time amounted to 10,000 men, he overran Scotland, he occupied Edinburgh, he defeated in one battle after another the trained soldiers of Great Britain. He marched into the midst of England without meeting the slightest opposition. He retreated because the courage of his followers would not support his daring proposal to advance on London. Even in retreat he repelled the only force which dared to molest his victorious Highlanders. In Scotland, he again vanquished his foes in regular battle; and when hunger, fatigue, and want, rather than the prowess of his opponents, had worn down his army, he still rallied for a last desperate effort on the field of Culloden. After defeat, the heroic fidelity of his followers and the perils of his escape cast round him a halo of romance. The imagination of sympathetic contemporaries was touched by the dramatic incidents of the Prince's career. "For what wise end," writes the journalist of the escape, "heaven has thus disappointed and yet preserved this noble Prince, and what future scenes the history of his life may display, time only can tell, yet something very remarkable still seems awaiting him and this poor country also"; and all Paris, which, not quite fifty years later, went mad with republican hatred of kings and tyrants, greeted with enthusiastic applause the young hero who had fought and nearly conquered on behalf of the divine right of monarchs. Posterity, moreover, which is supposed to be an impartial and infallible judge of men and their deeds, has, with easy credulity, adopted the Jacobite view of the career and character of the last idol of Jacobitism.

But, however natural it be for unreflecting sentimentalists to lavish admiration on the Charles Stuart of 1745, no one who has the slightest knowledge of history can be ignorant of the fact that the "noble Prince" who led the Highlanders to victory ended his life as a debauched sot, too contemptible to excite the fears of his rival, and too vile to retain the respect or the affection of his adherents. The contrast between the Prince who, at twenty-five, landed in the Highlands, and the wretched being who, forty years later, excited the contempt and loathing of the citizens of Florence, is the most painful and, at a first glance, the strangest which history presents. Other men have fallen away in old age from the promise or the glory of their youth. What is peculiar to the life of Charles Stuart is that he fell at once from something like greatness to a condition of degradation. In 1746, he was the idol of France. In 1748, he had not lost the hearts of the French people, but the French king and his ministers knew well that the popular hero was the most worthless of a worthless family. His empty protests against the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; his inability to understand the position or needs of France; his undignified resistance to the demand that he should leave the country—all show that within three years of the expedition to Scotland the young Pretender had developed the worst faults of a royal adventurer. Those who like to trace the rapidity and the depth of this fall may read what is known of his later years in Mr. Ewald's biography. It may suffice to say that Charles Stuart quarrelled with his brother and father; wore out the patience of his protectors; estranged even the sympathy of the Pope; outraged and insulted his mistress; showed callous indifference to the interests of his followers, who were prepared to risk fortune and life for his sake; treated his wife with such brutality and meanness that her flight from him was sanctioned by the approval of the Pope and of Cardinal York; and (that no disgrace might be wanting) showed in his later years that the vices of a libertine might be combined with the parsimony of a miser and the cowardice of a bully. The more the facts of the Prince's life are examined, the more perplexing seem, on a cursory view, the contradictions of his character and career.

Yet the enigma is not, we suspect, really hard of solution. The explanation given by Mr. Ewald is simple, but more simple than satisfac-

* 'The Life and Times of Prince Charles Stuart, commonly called The Young Pretender. By A. C. Ewald.' London: Chapman & Hall.

tory. Charles Stuart was, on his view, a hero till 1748, and a blackguard ever after. The terrible transformation was, he conceives, due to dipsomania; and the generous youth of 1745 sank into degradation under the influence of drink. Now, that the Prince's passion for drink, which had developed before he left Scotland, was one of the elements of his ruin, no man of common sense can doubt; and if it were necessary to grant that the royal adventurer was a man of heroic mould when he landed in Scotland, perhaps no better explanation of the darkness which surrounds his old age could be found than that adopted by Mr. Ewald. But the necessity for this explanation is removed if it can be shown that in his time of prosperity, no less than in his days of adversity, the Prince betrayed the worst features of his character. In the heyday of youth, the spoilt favorite of the Pope and the petty princes of Italy no doubt displayed a dash and vigor of which you can find but small signs in the career of the adventurer who, in later life, fatigued kings and ministers by his undignified supplications and fruitless intrigues, and it may be conceded that the loss of physical nerve was due to drink. But except dash and the possession of those superficial graces in which few of the Stuarts were deficient, the hero of 1745 seems at no time to have possessed any of the qualities of greatness. The partial success of his movement argues considerable military talents on the part of its leader, but that leader was not Charles Stuart. Sir Walter Scott cannot be called an unfriendly witness, and he testifies to the fact that the man to whose genius the victories of 1745 were due was Lord George Murray. "Charles Edward," he writes, "had not a head or heart for great things, notwithstanding his daring adventure; and the Irish officers by whom he was guided were poor creatures. Lord George Murray was the soul of the undertaking." This is the dictum of a man inclined by every prejudice to overrate the merits and gloss over the defects of all the Stuarts. It is further borne out by contemporary evidence. "Had Prince Charles slept during the whole expedition," says the Chevalier Johnstone in a passage cited by Lockhart, "and allowed Lord George Murray to act for him according to his own judgment, there is every reason for supposing that he would have found the Crown of Great Britain on his head when he awoke." Fortunately for Great Britain, Prince Charles had the "head" of a Stuart: he could neither devise great things himself nor appreciate the greatness of others. Throughout the whole of the expedition he suspected and thwarted Lord George Murray, whilst he looked with childish trust and favor on Murray of Broughton, who ultimately betrayed his associates, as he doubtless would have betrayed his Prince, in order to preserve his own miserable life.

With Prince Charles, again, as with all the Stuarts, the faults of his head were intimately connected with the meanness of his heart. From the moment of the retreat from Derby, he showed that he had none of the strength which bears up against adversity. He sulked, he refused to consult others, he followed the suggestions either of favorites or of his own mind. Every step taken was a mistake, and for each mistake the Prince was responsible. Nor were his errors redeemed by his valor. Whether he was really wanting in courage or not must always remain open to doubt. It is certainly strange that he, like three at least of his ancestors, should have left it open to doubt whether, after throwing away the lives of others, he was not chary of risking his own. The fidelity of the Highlanders gives an impression (which is erroneous) that the Prince gained the affection of those who knew him. The men who stood nearest to him neither loved nor admired him. He had, it may be supposed, a captivating manner, but in the qualities of his heart and mind he was a true Stuart—that is, a man of cold feelings and narrow intellect. When he exhibited at once his stupidity and his brutality by refusing to dismiss a mistress whom he disliked in order to save the lives of followers to whom he owed everything, an indignant Jacobite asked a question which must rise in the mind of every one who reads the life of the last Stuart who claimed to be King of England, "What has your family done to draw down the vengeance of heaven on every branch of it through so many ages?" Nor is the answer hard to find: the family, with rare consistency, pursued an undeviating course of shortsighted selfishness. What was true of the family was true of Prince Charles. Their vices were his vices, and the ruin of the man was like the ruin of his race.

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*History of the Civil War in America.* By the Comte de Paris. Translated, with the approval of the author, by Louis F. Tasistro. Edited by Henry F. Coppée, LL.D. Vol. I. (Philadelphia: Joseph H. Coates & Co. 1875.)—This volume comprises the first two volumes of the original, and as the latter were noticed at length in the *Nation* of January 28, 1875, it will only be necessary here to speak of the merits of the translation itself. This has been done by Mr. Tasistro, formerly a translator in the State Department at Washington, and it is edited by Professor Henry Coppée, who is more or less widely known as an ex-army officer and instructor at West Point, and lately president of the Lehigh University. The editor's part in the work seems to have been very slight; he has twelve small foot-notes on matters of little or no consequence, and the few errors which crept into the original seem to have escaped him. As an example of typographical errors: on p. 164, Acquia Creek is said to be on the *left* bank of the Potomac; of small errors of fact, on p. 23, we learn that the President is entitled to dismiss an officer of the army whenever he pleases. Again, on p. 182, the author gropes rather blindly among the statistics of census and emigration to discover the percentage of foreigners and native-born citizens in the volunteer army, deducing as his result that about two-thirds of the army were natives. The editor might have helped him here by quoting the table from the Adjutant-General's report for 1865, which gives the total numbers and exact percentage of each nationality; the percentage of natives was 75.48. The translation is free and flowing; perhaps it would have been more vigorous and forcible had it been more literal; but, on the whole, it is very good. Only in pure technicalities is the translator occasionally at fault. For instance, in the original, speaking of the labors of the Commissary Department, the author says: "Il n'y a pas de non-valeurs pour le commissaire aux vivres." *Non-valeurs* is translated "dead-heads," which is hardly an improvement on its literal meaning of non-combatants. Again, on p. 307, we find this very blind sentence: "Thus . . . they *saved* this ball a degree of velocity only one-half less than the amount it would have *required* if fired from the Armstrong gun." The original is plain enough, and reads: "Ainsi . . . ils *obtenaient* pour ce boulet une vitesse qui n'était que de la moitié inférieure à celle que lui aurait *donnée* cette dernière pièce." Of the fourteen maps which accompany the original, the publishers have reproduced only six In this we think they have erred, and that they should have added at least the map of Virginia and Maryland, and that of Kentucky and Tennessee The general plan of operations is incomprehensible without them, and good maps of the States for military readers are not so easily procurable as the editor intimates. The maps which have been reproduced, however, are admirable. Of the print, paper, and binding of the book we cannot speak too highly, and its cost is less than half that of the original, including duties. This work was written principally for European readers; but we advise all Americans to read it carefully and judge for themselves if "the future historian of our war," of whom we have heard so much, be not already arrived in the Comte de Paris.

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*Money, and the Mechanism of Exchange.* By W. S. Jevons. (New York: D. Appleton & Co.)—This book is not, as might be supposed from the direction which the studies of the author have already taken, a treatise on the science of currency and exchange, but is rather a descriptive one, embodying what we might call the natural history of the subject. The largest part of the work is taken up with a description of the numerous articles which have served the purpose of money in past ages, accompanied by a commentary on their respective merits. He touches but lightly on the modern theory of the subject, because that has already been discussed by Mr. Bagehot in his volume on Lombard Street and the money market Mr. Jevons's work must, on the whole, be considered as one of great value, as giving very full information on a subject of which, considering its importance, very little is generally known. The small space which, for the reason just given, is devoted to the theory of the subject, renders extended criticism unnecessary, but we cannot help noticing the disproportionate attention bestowed on the money of the past. The cattle and leather money of ancient times is described and discussed with great detail; one section is occupied with the attempt of the Russian Government to coin platinum, which was abandoned some time ago; while the present irredeemable paper currencies of Austria, Russia, and Italy are disposed of with the simple allusion to their existence. Considering the great want in this country at the present time of exact information respecting the working of these currencies and the policies of the respective governments in regard to them, we cannot but regret this omission. Several disconnected paragraphs relate to the paper currency of this country, which the author seems to have studied with much care. We must, however, remark on his singular misapprehension of the requirement of our national banking law, that a reserve of twenty-five per cent. shall be kept up. He seems to think that this requires the banks to suspend even the redemption of their own notes when the reserve falls below this point—a *bêtise* which we fondly hope is below our national Congress. The work being limited to the subject of the "mechanism" of exchange, the reader who takes it up expecting to find anything especially suggestive in it will be disappointed. We must, however, except the chapter on a "tabular" standard of value, which, if human nature were a little more perfect than

it is, both intellectually and morally, would soon force itself into recognition whenever obligations were incurred to pay money at a very distant interval. The principle on which this proposed standard is based is this: there is no commodity whatever the absolute value of which can be considered as invariable during long intervals. Measured by its average purchasing power, the value of gold itself is subject to slow changes. Hence when one agrees to pay a hundred gold dollars fifty years hence there is some uncertainty as to what the averaging purchasing power of those dollars would be. But if, instead of taking a certain quantity of gold, the agreement should be to deliver certain specified amounts of a large number of the products of labor, such as wheat, coal, beef, bricks, cloth, etc., the uncertainty as to the absolute value of the consideration to be received would be greatly diminished. If, at the time of payment, the gold value of the sum total of the products were greater than at present, it would show that the absolute value of gold had diminished, and *vice versâ*. Although the difficulties in the way of bringing such a standard into practical use in the present condition of society are too obvious to render any mention of them necessary, yet the system is worthy of careful study, as giving a clear idea of what a standard of value should be.

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*Norse Mythology*; or, The Religion of our Forefathers. Containing all the Myths of the Eddas, systematized and interpreted, with an Introduction, Vocabulary, and Index. By R. B. Anderson, A.M. (Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1875. 12mo, pp. 473.)—It is quite the fashion nowadays to find fault with the way in which we are brought up, and with the kind of knowledge which is put into our heads in early life. From beginning to end, our education has come to be a favorite subject for criticism. We have studied the things we ought not to have studied, it is said, and have been kept in ignorance of topics with which we ought to be familiar. And so, among other things, it is not unfrequently remarked as singular that we, who are supposed to be the descendants of Teutonic heathens, should know next to nothing about the religion of our own forefathers, while the foreign phrases belonging to Greek and Roman heathendom are household words among us. Every schoolboy knows something about Herakles, and Cerberus, and the gardens of the Hesperides, and any popular orator is capable of making allusions to Achilles or Helen, while the very names of Thor and Fenris-wolf, or the apples of Idun, are known only to scholars, and the legend of Sigurd and Brynhild, even when presented on the stage with all the genius of Janauschek, was thought to be too strange and outlandish to interest the public. While the fact is undoubtedly so, there is nothing in the explanation of it so difficult as to require any special comment. However Teutonic we may be in direct ancestry (and it is an open question whether we are not quite as much Celtic as Teutonic), there is no doubt that all our higher culture, including our religion and religious traditions, has been got from our long association with the Roman Empire. The scientific, philosophic, and artistic work of Greece, and the religious and ethical work of Judæa, made an integral part of that all-comprehensive work known as Roman civilization—a work in which all Celtic and Teutonic Europe was gradually led to take part, so that what we call "Christendom" is but another name for the "Roman World" with the character of its "imperium" enlarged and modified. Whatever may be our physical pedigree, we are spiritually the descendants of the Hellenized and Hebraized Roman; and in retaining the traditional recollection of his heathen notions, and of their supplanting by Judaic Christianity, we are simply keeping up a natural and continuous historical tradition; and the shape which our classical education has taken is but one of the ways in which we have sought to preserve this historic continuity of tradition. What the followers of Hengist and Horsa may have believed about Balder and Wodan, as well as what was taught and sung by Druidic bards before the arrival of the Teuton in England, is of real interest to us; but it is naturally an interest of an antiquarian and scholarly sort, since both these groups of beliefs were long ago quite discarded by our ancestors. They did not enter into the stream of Roman culture, and ceased to have any future before them from the time when England became Christian. They have survived in a fragmentary way, in a number of interesting sporadic superstitions and customs, but for a dozen centuries have had very little influence upon our higher and more serious thought in comparison with the immense influence exerted thereon by beliefs that bear the stamp of the Roman mint.

But while our ancestral theories of the world have been thus overgrown and superseded by theories elaborated on foreign soil, they are none the less interesting in themselves or worthy of study for their own sake. Nor would it be true to say that they have not left well-marked traces on our words and customs, if not on our thinking. The mere etymological fact that the word "God" (*Guodan*), which we use to describe the Infinite and Eternal Sustainer of the universe, is but a variant pronunciation of the word "Odin" or "Wodan" (*Guodan*), by which the Norseman personified the "all-pervading" *Storm-wind*—this mere fact (see *North American Review*, October, 1869, p. 354) ought to be enough to lead us to enquire what the Norseman thought of Odin and what attributes he ascribed to him. The fact that the mistletoe-bough under which Mr. Pickwick saluted the dowager of the house of Wardle is descended from the mistletoe by which the beloved Balder (all because of Loki's mischief) was slain in the big-boy sport of the gods of Valhalla—even this fact might well make the innumerable readers of Dickens curious about Balder and Loki.

In Prof. Anderson's book, the story of Norse mythology is well rendered, albeit with a touch of commonplace moralizing and occasional "fine-writing" which is a slight drawback to the literary merit of the work, but still is not likely to injure it with the general reader. This criticism applies more especially to the introductory portion. When we once get *in medias res*, we find that Prof. Anderson gives us an admirably methodical and lucid account of Norse ideas as embodied in the elder and younger Edda, with some assistance from later sagas, the whole being so fully illustrated with translated extracts as to leave the reader nothing to desire. The work is done, too, with creditable accuracy, and there is perhaps no other book at hand to which we would so soon refer the general reader desirous of learning something about the mythology of our forefathers.

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*Gift-Books for Children.*—In returning once more to the juvenile literature of the season, our space warns us to be brief, and to dismiss with a word books which might pleasantly be characterized by extracts. The grand division of those which relate to the animal creation may worthily be introduced by Mrs. Trimmer's 'History of the Robins' (T. Nelson & Sons), well-known to the youthful readers of a generation ago as a gentle history told both from within the nest and without it. The book is beautifully made, and has seventy charming illustrations from designs by Giacomelli, whose delineations of birds, and especially the motion of birds, are notoriously skilful. The same house publish 'Half-Hours with the Animals: Narratives exhibiting Thought, Sympathy, and Affection in the Brute Creation'—an interesting collection, with an orthodox, anti-Darwinian reference to the first chapter in Genesis "as the only credible and the only intelligible account we have of the rise of 'the animal creation'"; 'The Land of the Lion,' or, in other words, Africa, with stories and pictures, drawn from various sources, of lions, falcons, deer, the ibis, crocodile, hippopotamus, elephant, etc., etc.; and, by the clever author of the 'Life of a Bear,' 'Goatland; a Story of Country Life,' which has many things to tell of besides goats. What distinguishes 'The History of My Friends; or, Home-Life with Animals' (G. P. Putnam's Sons) is the odd sort of pets not often associated with "home-life"—for example, an ostrich, a gazelle, and a puma, not to mention a monkey, a parrot, a mule from which even Josh Billings might learn something, dogs, cats, etc., etc. It was at Marseilles, convenient of access by sea to all tropical countries, that the fortunate little boy lived who made friends with all these strange creatures. The work is excellently translated from the French of Emile Achard, and is racy and mirthful in style. We may as well recommend here two books not specially intended for the young, but which would certainly interest intelligent boys and girls of ten to twelve and upwards—perhaps even some of their juniors. We mean Mr. Frank Buckland's 'Log-book of a Fisherman and Zoölogist' (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) and the Rev. J. G. Wood's 'Popular Natural History' (Geo. Routledge & Sons). Mr. Buckland's gossip covers a multitude of subjects, though he is perhaps most at home when in sight of salt-water. He discovers that Landseer "purposely introduced 'his favorite bit of red' into nearly all his pictures"; visits in a sympathizing spirit the exhibitions outside the cattle-show; gives the biography of an old man-of-war's man; describes a dinner of horseflesh and another of American game—the only chapter in which we have noticed him prefer "negroes" to "niggers"; tells of divers and their adventures, of the Brighton aquarium, of the Scotch red-deer, the wolves, the fur-seal, his monkeys, the "bore" on the Severn; and throughout is chatty and entertaining. The pictures in Mr. Wood's 'Natural History' will attract youngsters of uncertain age, and the older they are and the better they can read, the more they will dip into the text, and they will find the greater part of it not difficult to understand. The arrangement is systematic.

Of made-up books we give the first place to Mr. Stockton's 'Tales Out of School' (Scribner, Armstrong & Co.), which will be sufficiently described and commended to many of our readers when we say that it is another

'Roundabout Rambles.' It is an inexhaustible fund of amusement and instruction, and, besides its home uses, would make a capital prize-book for country schools; and a tired teacher, armed with it, might convert a dull day into a perfectly delightful occasion. Mr. Stockton has, we think, somewhat departed from his plan in combining plates borrowed from different sources to illustrate a single narrative; the overcrowded adventures of "Col. Myles" might better have been distributed among the real heroes of them—*e.g.*, Sir Samuel Baker. Is there any reason why they should not have a celebrity among children? 'The Golden Harp Album' (Geo. Routledge & Sons) contains many pretty pieces, especially the prose selections, but the collection as a whole is of mixed merit. For its morality and theology, it will compare favorably with Sunday-school literature.

Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, M.P., does not change his spots, and we need only refer to the illustration, facing p. 33, of the crone and hag in mortal combat, for an index to the spirit of his latest child's story, 'Higgledy-Piggledy' (Macmillan & Co.) In the 'Adventures of Johnny Ironsides,' from the French of J. Girardin (Routledge), we have a not altogether edifying sensational story of the late war between France and Germany, of which the hero is an English boy who takes sides with the French, and who, in the true Anglomaniac spirit, is endowed by the author with all the muscular virtues. The Prussian invader is, of course, burlesqued on every possible occasion. A very pretty fairy story is Rosa Mulholland's 'Puck and Blossom' (Pott, Young & Co.), and its six illustrations in gold and colors are very taking novelties. In the same manner are illustrated the 'Cruise of the Acorn,' by Alice Jerrold—a performance that falls below the expectations raised by the author's name—and 'Malcomb Manor,' a love-story with quite too much romance and false sentiment in it to make it wholesome for the "youths and misses" of sweet sixteen. From the same firm we have 'The House that Jack Built,' grotesquely illustrated in flat colors, a style that we should like to meet with oftener; the travesty seems to us rather strained, but, of course, it is meant for the youngest readers. Of 'Roddy's Reality,' by Helen Kendrick Johnson (G. P. Putnam's Sons), it is only necessary to say that the writer belongs to the school of Miss Alcott. Her talents, and she is undeniably clever, seem to us quite thrown away in work of this character.

A separate paragraph is due to Mr. Francis Turner Palgrave's 'Children's Treasury of English Song' (Macmillan & Co.) In this field the compiler's taste is well known to be unexceptionable. He has had in view children of nine or ten and those of fifteen or sixteen years of age, and has divided his work into two parts accordingly. The selections are mainly lyrical and of a high order, and any one will be glad to own in this dainty shape the masterpieces of the older and the modern English poets. Into their reverend company Mr. Palgrave admits Bryant and Longfellow, but no other Americans. Foot-notes explain difficult or obselete words, and at the end are notes historical and critical and a chronological list of authors.

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| Arnold (M.), God and the Bible | (Macmillan & Co.) 2 50 |
| Ballads of Home. Illustrated | (Lee & Shepard) 3 50 |
| Bombaugh (Prof. C. C.), Literature of Kissing | (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) |
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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE Senate has been occupied with the discussion of a resolution, introduced by Senator Morton a week ago yesterday, calling for a special committee to investigate the recent Mississippi election; and the re-election of Mr. Ferry as President *pro tem.* The grounds on which the special committee is demanded are fraud and intimidation, the chief evidence being the unusual majority by which the State was carried, and alleged violation of the Enforcement Act. Mr. Morton declined to discuss any constitutional question involved, but referred to the special investigating committee in the Louisiana case as a sufficient precedent. On Friday, Senator Edmunds introduced a resolution that the Senate should, on the 7th of January, proceed to the election of a President *pro tem.* The motion was referred to the Judiciary Committee, this action then reconsidered, and it was finally referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. Mr. Edmunds, in introducing it, said that in his own mind he had no doubt that Senator Ferry was already President *pro tem.* under the Constitution, but, that all doubts might be set at rest, he was in favor of action being taken. Saturday Congress passed in Philadelphia with the President and other officers of the Government, including the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, inspecting the Centennial grounds and buildings, and making up their minds whether the Centennial ought to have a million and a half as a subsidy. On Monday, the credentials of Robert H. Marr as McEnery Senator from Louisiana, vice W. L. McMillan, resigned, were presented—a fact which seems to show a very obstinate determination on the part of a few malcontents to reopen the Louisiana question. Mr. Edmunds introduced a new resolution declaring Senator Ferry President *pro tem.* until January 7, or a fresh appointment, and Senator Bayard introduced a substitute in favor of Senator Thurman. The substitute was rejected by a strict party vote (21 to 24), and Mr. Edmunds's resolution adopted.

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The House has begun its work by adopting a resolution introduced by Mr. Holman, of Indiana, against any grant of "subsidies in money, bonds, public lands, endorsements, or by pledge of the public credit, to associations or corporations engaged or proposing to engage in public or private enterprises," and expressing the sense of the House as in favor of limiting all appropriations to such amounts as shall be "imperatively demanded by the public service." The resolution was adopted by a yea-and-nay vote of 223 to 33, Mr. Holman previously explaining that the resolution did not necessarily cover the Centennial. On the same day (Wednesday week) an anti-third-term resolution was carried through by a vote of 232 to 17. Almost no other business of any kind was transacted till Monday, when the House committees were announced by Mr. Kerr. With regard to these, the Democrats are not thoroughly pleased with them, and the Republicans manage to extract some satisfaction from the Democratic soreness. It is only fair to say, however, that Mr. Kerr had a task before him which it was impossible for any man, however conscientious, with the materials at his command, to perform in a way thoroughly to satisfy himself or anybody else. The fact is that no Speaker can appoint "truly good" committees until the people elect a "truly good" Congress, and this they have never yet shown much inclination to do. In the first place, a majority of Congress is often composed of new, raw men of whom nothing is known, and the rest is made up largely of old men of whom a great deal too much is known. A curious instance of this is afforded by the case of Mr. Wood. Everybody knows that Fernando Wood not only ought not to be chairman of an important committee, but ought not to be in Congress at all; but Mr. Wood is a veteran Democrat and a veteran politician, lately one of the chief candidates for the Speakership; and it was only at a great sacrifice of party interest to principle, and the risk of a feud within the party which might cost it a Presidential election, that Mr. Kerr has been able to keep Mr. Wood from being chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means and actually leader of the House. The chairman of this committee, Mr. Morrison, has his parliamentary reputation to make, but is a hard-money man and bears a good character in other respects. Mr. Randall gets the Committee on Appropriations, Mr. Cox that on Banking and Currency, and Mr. Swann, of Maryland, that on Foreign Affairs. Most of the names on the other committees are those of obscure or unknown men, largely taken from the South, and afford no guarantee as to the sort of legislation that will be attempted by them. The general complexion of the financial and commercial ones, however, is strongly for hard-money and a tariff for revenue.

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The overwhelming majority by which, on Wednesday, the House declared against a third term of course gives another blow to that scheme, and yet we have no doubt it will be still talked of, and by many dreaded, in spite of the hostility with which it is received in every direction. It has been asked, and not without good excuse, why, if a third term is impossible, and if people are so sure to vote against it, should it be so much discussed and protested against by Republican papers? The answer is very simple. No distinct and unconditional refusal of a third term has come from General Grant himself, and the "Senatorial Group," as *Harper's Weekly* calls the knot of senators who have for the last four or five years managed the party, either keep dead silence about it or seem to be busy in creating a contingency which would make the re-election of General Grant seem necessary. Republicans, therefore, who fear above all things being forced to vote for a Democratic candidate, are uneasy about the turn things may take in the Republican Convention. They know well that the President and the Senatorial Group will have a great deal more to do with the selection of delegates than the mass of Republican voters, and they fear that on the last day of the sitting, after a "ringing speech" from some leading "worker" about "outrages" or the Pope or the currency, a sort of afflatus may seem to pass over the postmasters and collectors and inspectors and appraisers and supervisors, and they may rise in their seats as if inspired, and with one voice nominate Ulysses S. Grant for a third term, and that, at the same moment, a mighty curtain may be rolled back on the stage, as if by an invisible hand, and the portrait of the Presidential candidate be revealed to the multitude, surrounded by specie and monogamous husbands, with the Pope in the background moving away at a smart trot from a crowded school-house, followed by a herd of terror-stricken polygamists, repudiators, and secessionists. There is nothing at all improbable about such a *coup* as this; and, if it were once executed, good Republicans would find themselves in a very awkward position. They might either be compelled to vote for a third term, or to cast about at the eleventh hour for a bolters' candidate, and, if they found one, run the risk in supporting him of electing a Democrat. They are, therefore, now hammering away, not so much to convince the public as to convince the President and frighten the office-holders.

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The visit of Congress to Philadelphia and the attitude of the press both point to the appropriation of the million and a half asked for by the managers of the Centennial to carry them on to the opening. There is now as little objection to this request being granted as there could well be in an affair of this kind. When they first went before Congress there was great danger, apart from all questions of propriety, of the Centennial getting into "politics," and an appropriation by Congress at that time would have been a pretty certain means of securing this unfortunate result. The v te

would have been brought about by all sorts of secret bargains and promises, and every corrupt man in Congress who had voted for it would have thereafter counted himself as having the right to make something out of it. Even if the managers had been able to keep control, suspicion would not have been allayed, and fraud and perjury would have been charged at every turn against all concerned. The vote of the House against subsidies will now effectually prevent any unpleasantness of this sort, for there can be little or no log-rolling and wire-pulling in the matter. Besides this, the Centennial promises now to be more cosmopolitan and much more successful than it did at first, and it is important that the Government, which is at once an exhibitor and a promoter of the enterprise, should not suffer the representatives of the effete despotisms who are coming over here to feel that their monarchical shows have been better than our simple Republican exhibition.

Less than eighteen months ago, Senator Morton was engaged in a public attempt to extenuate the political demoralization of South Carolina, and to clear the Republican party of all responsibility for it. At about the same time, the Administration, beginning to feel the incubus of this pet Republican Southern State, was sending down hints to get rid of Governor F. J. Moses by impeaching him. This was after the failure to get Moses tried for grand larceny, his defence being that a governor of the State could not be indicted before he had been impeached. Shortly after that he lost a renomination, and was succeeded by Chamberlain, and the general impression was that reform had been begun, if not already achieved, "within the party." It very soon became evident, however, that the legislature had not been included in the reform, and that the greatest service the new governor could render the State was to watch all its proceedings and veto what he could of them. He had enough influence with them last winter to prevent their appointing the notorious W. J. Whipper to a vacant judgeship in the Charleston district, and his appeal to them to preserve the party from such a disgrace really seemed to have some weight with the Assembly. They have grown wiser, however, in the interval, and on Thursday, by a "strict party vote" and on strict party grounds, actually elected Whipper to the identical judgeship—the most important in the State—and ex-Governor Moses to an adjoining circuit, the third. Whipper is a black man, a politician of the lowest order of morals and intelligence, and shares with Moses the reputation of having been an embezzler of State moneys. The latter not only robbed the Treasury, but, as Governor, abused the pardoning power in a way which has never been surpassed for cool defiance of justice and unconcealed personal ends. Judges at last refused to go through the farce of giving long sentences to condemned criminals, and in his court suitors would doubtless soon learn the folly of paying counsel instead of bribing the bench. Governor Chamberlain has once more effectively thrown himself in the breach, by refusing to issue commissions to these worthies, on the ground that before their appointments take effect (next August) a general election for the Assembly will be held, and that the new legislature is the proper body to fill the judicial vacancies of 1876.

The Mayoralty election in the city of Boston last week was attended by several unusual circumstances. Mr. Boardman, the defeated candidate, is President of the Common Council, and is so popular a politician that he managed to secure the nomination of both the Republican and the Democratic party, of the Labor Reform organization, and of several minor bodies. Mayor Cobb, on the other hand, was unable to secure the formal nomination of any regular party, and was nominated only by a self-constituted committee of Silver-Tops and Swallow-Tails. Moreover, he had alienated the affections of the workingmen by refusing to use his influence to keep up the wages of city laborers when the market price of labor had declined; he was deserted by all the engineers of party machinery because, throughout his term of office, he has persistently refused to enquire into a man's political beliefs when determining qualifications for official appointment; he has also urged the adoption of the proposed new city charter, which would take a great deal of executive power from Aldermanic Committees and place it in the hands of commissioners appointed by the Mayor. In spite of all these adverse circumstances, his election, by a decided majority of the largest vote ever cast at a Boston city election, is an encouraging sign of healthy political action. It is a significant fact in this connection that the Board of Registrars of Voters removed no less than 17,000 names of voters which were upon the lists last year, leaving about 40,000 names of *qualified* voters. According to Massachusetts law every voter must be able to read and write, and is obliged to produce a receipted tax-bill, before his name can be registered. Whether Mr. Cobb, whose majority was 2,600, would have been defeated or not if the above 17,000 names had been left upon the voting-lists, is a problem which may deserve to attract some attention from those interested in the question of municipal politics. Mr. Boardman, it is proper to add, although supported by all the regular parties, was opposed by the entire press of the city.

We observe that the Bar Association of this city is going to become a State organization—a proceeding in which its members of course are chiefly interested. The success of the Bar Association throughout the State as a reformatory agency—a matter in which all have some interest—will depend upon the vigor with which it goes to work, and we wish we could say that the parent society had latterly shown a zeal sufficient to make us expect great things from the branches in the rural districts. Why does not the Bar Association, for instance, in this city, investigate such proceedings as those in Dolan's case? Dolan has been sentenced to be hung by one judge after a trial, whereupon another judge who knows nothing about the case intervenes, and on the simple statement "on honor" of a lawyer who had no connection with the case grants a writ of error, and no notice required by statute is even sent to the District-Attorney by the lawyer. These are the things that Barnard and Cardozo used to do. Judge Donohue, who granted this application without hearing the other side or enquiring whether notice had been given, is the same Judge Donohue who ordered a "bill of particulars" to be given in Tweed's case, it being impossible for the plaintiffs to give a bill of particulars owing to the destruction of the records on which the action was based.

Mr. Trenor W. Park does not seem to be satisfied with his suit against the *Tribune*. He has brought one against the *Nation* also, and again lays his damages at $100,000. What it is for we do not as yet know, as he has not filed his declaration, and we can think of nothing which has recently appeared in our columns likely to give him offence, except our call on James E. Lyon to "come to the front." It is not unreasonable to suppose that when General Schenck comes home he will sue us also, and he cannot, as a man who has filled a first-class mission, decently lay his damages at less than $200,000. This will make $300,000 in all, which, with $25,000 to Mr. Silas Williams, we shall have to pay to the promoters of the Emma Mine without ever having made a cent out of it ourselves. We would ask respectfully whether this is fair or just? We will take leave to add, however, that we think Mr. Park's allegation that we have damaged him to such an extent the most shocking illustration of the effect of inflation in prices we have yet witnessed. We feel confident that, were things now on a specie basis, a reputation like his could be repaired and made as good as new for $50 in gold. If anything we have said of it has injured it to the extent of $100,000 in paper, it shows how much contraction is needed before we "touch bottom." There is no doubt that after January 1, 1879, if the Government carries out its promises, Emma-Mine operators may be freely libelled for $25 a head, without costs. As Mr. Park's suit with the *Tribune* will come on before ours, we fear ours will prove uninteresting and short.

The changes most deserving of notice in Wall Street during the week were the decline in gold, the advance in foreign exchange, and the advance in the rates for money. The expectation of the early beginning of the prepayment, without rebate, of the January interest on the public debt, which was backed up by speculative

influences in the Gold-Room, was the immediate cause of the decline in the gold market; the remote cause was the appointment of committees in the House of Representatives in favor of a sound currency. Foreign exchange was strong, because of a demand to cover not only the collections of January interest due to Europe but to pay for United States bonds imported from there, the New York market for these securities having ruled above the English and German markets. Besides this, the supply of exchange was almost restricted to bills made against the shipment of cotton. The cotton movement continues active, and both receipts at the ports and shipments are unusually large; but with this as the only source for bills, the supply has fallen behind the demand. Grain cannot be exported, because there are several speculative combinations which are interested in keeping the price up, the result being that this market is higher than the foreign markets. It is estimated that fully 10,000,000 bushels of wheat are held at this port by the combination or clique which has undertaken to control the supply of No. 1 wheat, on the calculation that the proportion of No. 1 wheat to the remainder of the crop is so small that in time there must be a very high price for it. Thus far this calculation has been at fault, and the exchanges as between here and Europe have been deranged. The money market is now fully 7 per cent. for demand loans, and it promises to continue so into the new year. The New York banks hold $7,000,000 surplus reserve, and any change until the second or third week in January, when currency will begin to come back from the West, will be a reduction. At the Stock Exchange speculation has been dormant. The best class of railroad investments, like the first mortgages of old roads, were never higher—New York Central currency 7s, a type of this class, having reached 125. If the United States Supreme Court decides in favor of the railroads in the Granger cases, on which decision will be rendered in January, railroad property will, without doubt, be held in higher estimation by investors than it has been since it was first attacked by the Grangers. The gold price of $100 greenbacks has ranged during the week between $87 33½ and $88 30.

General Webb's case has come up in the United States District Court, but the important facts have not yet come out. In 1867, when Minister to Brazil, he received £14,252 from the Brazilian Government on account of a claim made by the United States for the illegal seizure and condemnation of the schooner *Caroline*. Of this sum £5,000 was turned into the Treasury by General Webb, the balance, £9,252, having, he maintains, been paid to "influential Brazilians" for services rendered in the settlement of the claim. General Webb says now that payment was made in ninety-day bills on London, and that he has "no doubt" that they were for £5,000, £5,900, and £3,352 respectively; that the £5,000 bill was transmitted by him to Mr. Seward; that he paid over to "certain Brazilians," whose names he is "not at liberty to mention," but who were designated by the claimant, Lemuel Wells, the other two bills, and enclosed a statement of the facts with the names erased to Mr. Seward. Further than this he declines to answer any questions. He received a reply, however, from Mr. Seward, complimenting him on the settlement.

The purchase of the shares in the Suez Canal by England seems to excite more interest in France than in any other country out of England, and forms the most prominent topic of discussion in all the Paris papers. The first feeling excited by the news was one of intense chagrin, and some of the extreme Radical papers have called on the Ministers to acknowledge their miscarriage by resigning. The publication of the diplomatic correspondence on the subject, however, in the new Yellow Book has done much to soothe popular discontent, for it shows that while the British Government has been long made uneasy by the fact that the ownership of the Canal was chiefly French, it is now, speaking through Lord Derby, perfectly willing that the Canal should pass under the joint management of a Commission of the maritime powers, if such could be created. M. Lesseps has issued a circular to the stockholders assuring them that what has happened has only brought about the state of things for which he vainly labored in the beginning, namely, a fair representation of British capital in the proprietorship of the Canal, and he evidently regards the transfer of the Khedive's shares as adding to the value of the others. There is already an increased market demand for them, mainly, it is said, from British investors. The essay-writers in the Paris papers treat the purchase as possessing a profound political significance. It indicates, they think, an abandonment of the policy of non-intervention, and preparation for a more aggressive attitude in Continental politics.

In England, the general satisfaction over the purchase of the Suez Canal shares is considerably dampened by the multiplying evidences of the unsatisfactory condition of the navy. The *Iron Duke*, which sunk the *Vanguard*, has herself come near sinking, just outside the harbor, from derangement of the valves, which was only discovered and comprehended at the last moment, and the *Monarch* has been running into a merchant vessel in broad daylight. The public has begun to enquire savagely whether the officers of the fleet are fit to manage the new iron-clads, and, nervously, whether it is well to build so many of these delicate monsters. The Admiralty has, since its conduct in the *Vanguard* affair and its failure to bring Prince Leiningen and Captain Welch of the Queen's yacht before a court-martial, and its issue of the ridiculous fugitive-slave proclamation, to bear a double share of the blame of everything that goes wrong, and it is lucky for them that Parliament is not sitting. The Prince of Wales's visit to India has thus far proved a great success. There has been a very respectable amount of enthusiasm and good weather, and the native princes have, on the whole, behaved very well.

The Turkish troubles are still the main question of European politics, but there is little that is new about them. The probability of Austrian interference, of which we have spoken in an article elsewhere, grows steadily. The number of Montenegrins who are reinforcing the insurgents increases, and the Prince excuses himself for letting them go by pleading the inability of his territory to support both the refugees from Herzegovina and his own fighting men. If he has to feed the wives and children of the insurgents he can only do it by letting his own able-bodied subjects cross the line. The Austrian Government, in the meantime, finding that dealing out rations to the insurgents on her soil was enormously increasing their numbers, has proclaimed a commutation for a round sum in money. At Berlin the talk in the higher circles is that the difficulty will be settled peaceably, and the same story is told at St. Petersburg; but the general belief is that it is based on the hypothesis that when the moment comes to intervene, the Porte will not resist. All signs, in short, point to an Austrian occupation of Herzegovina in the spring.

The horrible story which came from Bremen that Thomas, the owner of the infernal machine which exploded on the wharf, was going to ship it, and that it was to blow up by clockwork when the vessel had been a certain number of days at sea, so as to secure him a heavy amount of insurance, has not been confirmed in any way. No trace of any such insurance has been discovered, and it is time to ask whether the unfortunate wretch was not a lunatic, and the story of his motive an invention. It is, of course, very likely he was going to ship the explosive material, but this a lunatic might do, or plan doing, while the arrangement of the insurance would have required a persistence and foresight of which an unsound mind would hardly be capable. In fact, no sign of adequate motive has been discovered. The suicide, too, remains to be accounted for. Anybody capable of entering on the diabolical enterprise of blowing up a passenger vessel at sea would hardly suffer much remorse from seeing his machine go off prematurely on a crowded wharf, or be so chagrined by the commercial miscarriage as to kill himself if sane. The examination of his accomplices, or of the persons he employed, ought, however, to throw full light on the matter. Travellers, at least, will be greatly relieved if it should prove a case of insane self-accusation.

## "HARD WINTERS" IN POLITICS.

BOSTON has just had an experience in municipal government by no means unlike that with which New York is now so familiar. We shall not go into its details here, and have given the main facts of it in another column. It is enough to say that, after two or three years' trial of honest government under just the kind of Mayor that municipal reformers are constantly sighing for, the politicians got tired of the experiment, and the Republicans, as they have more than once done in New York, combined with a portion of the Democrats to prevent his re-election, to do away with the commissions by which a portion of the administration is honestly and efficiently executed, and to introduce a régime in which the city funds would be liberally expended in all ways, but above all in the employment of labor for the mere purpose of charitable relief, and without regard either to the needs of the city or the capacity of the taxpayers. Some of the manifestoes issued by the coalition were declarations of communism, of the right of the poor to live on the rich and well-to-do, as pure as ever issued from Belleville. The movement was defeated by a small majority of about 2,600 in a vote of 27,000, and after tremendous exertions on the part of the more intelligent and honest classes. The appeals made to them by the press to "uprise" and "strike for their homes and altars" were as solemn and pathetic as were ever addressed to men about to fight a decisive battle in actual warfare, though not accompanied by the gross vituperation which forms so marked and so amusing a feature of municipal contests in New York; and the excitement in the city was greater than has been witnessed since the war. It was probably saved from capture and ransom by the enforcement of the constitutional requirement that the voter shall produce a receipted bill for his poll-tax, and be able to read and write in order to secure registry. This shut out 17,000 able-bodied citizens from the exercise of the franchise, and in all probability saved "the property-holders and substantial men."

The result is of course gratifying. All modes of escape from imminent danger are welcome, and there is no question that the safety of our great cities from legalized sack in the form of high wages and profuse charity, lies and must always lie in the presence of a majority opposed to schemes of spoliation. No arrangement of municipal government which now seems practical will deliver any American community from the necessity of being able to beat the Short-Hairs at the polls in a mere count of noses. But then, to procure real and permanent security, the majority of the taxpayers over the non-taxpayers would have to be large enough to allow for divisions in the ranks of the former over extra-municipal questions, and nothing but extraordinary care and foresight will ever make or keep it so. This care and foresight it is not a whit too soon for all the great cities to begin to display. In spite of all that one reads in the newspapers about the evils of municipal government in our day being due to the inattention of the rich to their political duties, the editors and all other intelligent men know in their hearts that it is not true. Nobody who has any real acquaintance with these evils ever pretends in a private room to believe that if the Swallow-Tails went diligently to primary meetings all would go well. The current talk on these subjects is part of the political cant of our day, and perhaps the most mischievous and saddest part of it. It is part of the melancholy effort which has been so often made in various parts of the world to form governments not with reference to the actual society to be governed, but to an ideal society, which neither those who talk about it nor anybody else has ever seen or will ever see. The persons who expect to save American cities by driving the rich men to the primary meetings, have their heads filled with the notion that the modern city is simply a New England town with a large number of people in it; that the growth of population, and the consequent changes in the mental, moral, social, and industrial condition of the population, have brought no change in the nature of the political problems with which such a community has to deal, and they keep singing with almost touching pertinacity the old psalm in which the merchants and traders are assured that they are going to be ruined if they do not "work" in the caucuses.

The late election in Boston shows, however, the direction in which the path of safety lies. In this case, nearly all the corrupt elements in both parties had the grace to unite with the men who wanted high wages for little work, and to issue manifestoes proclaiming their aims and desires with perfect simplicity and sincerity, so that the matter in controversy was presented to the honest and industrious taxpayers in the clearest and most definite shape, without disguise or concealment. With this before their eyes, the latter were able to unite, though they had not a single party organization at their back, and to defeat the spoliators, if not signally, sufficiently. The main object to be kept in view in all charters ought, therefore, plainly to be the presentation of municipal issues in the most distinct shape; the diminution, in other words, of the number of facts, whether they be laws or ordinances or men, on which the voter has to form an opinion before voting. If anybody will give himself the trouble to examine into the working of what is called "practical politics" to-day, either in city, State, or nation, he will find all the efforts of those who live by politics directed to preventing this state of things—that is, to producing the multiplication of the subjects which the voter must understand before he can vote; the multiplication of the elections he must prepare for, of candidates he must know about, of the "charges" he must examine, and of the "records" he must study. They have been so far successful, too, that they have literally made politics an impossible pursuit, or even object of close attention, to the great body of the industrious classes of the community, who are thus forced into hiring professionals to extricate them from the more serious political perils, as the burghers often did in the Middle Ages. The general result is that we have in the States most largely engaged in commerce and manufactures a political system which may be fairly said to be suited only to communities of idle slaveholders, and absolutely unsuited to the wants of a busy people.

Another mode in which the Short-Hair forces are now being largely increased in all the large cities is worthy of the serious attention of taxpayers, both for its efficiency and its ingenuity. "The drift of population into the large cities" has now for a good many years been attracting the notice both of economists and politicians. It includes of course a great many industrious and honest people, but it also includes a large number of the shiftless, the fickle, the irresolute, and the characterless, both among those who have regular callings and those who have none. The result is that the helpless and half-criminal element in our city population is increasing steadily from year to year in cities like this. It has, therefore, now become the regular thing in New York to announce every November that we are going to have a "hard winter," and judged by the test usually applied—the number of the unemployed—every winter is "hard," and the winters grow "harder," no matter what may be the state of the currency or of trade, for the number of people who have "got no work" increases, and it is unhappily difficult or impossible to distinguish those who are really glad to be without work from those who are sorry. The provision made by charity for taking care of them—by well-directed as well as misdirected charity—also grows, and the news of it spreads all over the State and all over the Union, and operates as a steady draft on the idleness and the improvidence and dishonesty of the country districts. As all these new-comers are armed after a brief stay with the power of voting away the property of the industrious, the common councils of the great cities are becoming every year more and more appalled by the sufferings of the poor, and impressed with the necessity of providing them with sham labor, by levies on the property of the taxpayer, until, if things go on as they are going, we shall have in nearly all of them before long the germ of "national workshops," in which pauper voters will be maintained in half-idleness, to the permanent detriment of their bodies and souls, by the honest and industrious workingmen. The evil to which we are drawing attention exists already in nearly every city, and is but the narrow end of a very large wedge. Now is the time to check it peremptorily and permanently, and now is the time, too, for charitable persons who are occupying themselves with the wholesale relief of

the able-bodied poor to call to mind the monstrous social and political evils which, as has been proved by much experience, lie hidden under this form of benevolence. There is no work of charity which requires more care or courage, and there is none into which so many rash and ignorant people rush.

## THE FUTURE OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

THE correspondent of the London *Times* has had an interview with Gen. Ignatieff, the Russian Minister at Constantinople, in which the latter conversed on the Turkish question with all the frankness which Prince Bismarck has made fashionable among diplomatists, and related among other things what he said to the Sultan in the now celebrated conversation which, about two months ago, seemed to give such a serious turn to the crisis in Herzegovina. The substance of it was that his Majesty's case was hopeless; that the only thing to be done was to reform, but reform was impossible, because it could only be carried out through equality, and equality would involve the ruin of the Ottoman Empire. In Europe there are say 4,000,000 of Mussulmans, from among whom all the Government officials are taken, and who exercise over the Christians a most oppressive and insulting social superiority. The Empire cannot be saved without the removal of this inequality, but it cannot be removed by legislation. This has been tried, and failed. The contempt of the Mussulman for the Christian and the hatred of the Christian for the Mussulman have got into the manners and traditions and even into the religion of the population, and nothing now can get them out. The Christians are naturally prevented from seeking or considering any solution of the problem, except the expulsion of the Turks, by the example of Servia, and by the sympathy of Dalmatia and Croatia and Montenegro. The Servians, they say, were at the beginning of this century worse off than they are now; they rose and expelled the Turks, and have ever since been free and happy. The Dalmatians, Croatians, and Montenegrins, too, with whom they are in daily intercourse—men of the same race, language, and religion—are living under their very eyes secure, free, and prosperous, and equal before the law. Why should a Bosnian or Bulgarian be any worse off? Everybody, therefore, is giving up in despair all consideration of a *modus vivendi*, and yet nobody has anything to say about the future, except that the Turkish rule in Europe is near its close—how near nobody ventures to guess; and nobody likes to meddle actively in the crisis, because of the terrible responsibility that would follow. Russia might, as Gen. Ignatieff points out, by merely giving the signal to the Montenegrins to take part in the fray, ensure such a revival of the insurrection as would cause its spread into Bulgaria and Roumelia, or, in other words, as would set the whole of European Turkey in a blaze, and cover that vast and fertile region with blood and fire, and possibly compel occupation by Austria or Russia, or both, in the interest of humanity. But what then? The overthrow of the Sultan's authority and the organization of some sort of Christian rule would follow as a matter of course; but no real and permanent pacification could take place without the removal of the 4,000,000 of Mussulmans now resident in Europe, and owners of large amounts of property. In all the other provinces which have thrown off the Turkish yoke—Hungary, Moldavia, Wallachia, Bessarabia, and Servia—the withdrawal of the Mussulman residents has followed as a matter of course. In Servia they emigrated because, as was acknowledged on all hands, it was morally certain they would be massacred if they stayed, and they sold their property because they knew they could not collect their rents. But then each of these cases occurred at a considerable interval from the others, and the displacement of the population in each was comparatively small. Nothing like the dislodgment of 4,000,000 of persons of all ages and sexes from their homes, followed by a forced sale of their immovables, has ever occurred in modern times, or anything approaching to it, except the expulsion of the Moors from Spain; and no such process as that would be tolerated by public opinion in our time.

To these difficulties, which are of no ordinary character, must be added the difficulty of settling who is to have Constantinople; and, taken altogether, they constitute a full and sufficient reason for the reluctance of all the Great Powers to undertake the task of reorganizing Turkey, and for the general disposition to wait and see what will turn up. The knowledge that the Powers are waiting, and that a crisis of the first magnitude in the history of the Empire has really supervened, of course gives the insurgents extraordinary encouragement, and enables them to keep the field in one way or another. They are now standing tolerably well on the defensive—that is, the troops are unable to disperse the bands, which assail small bodies with more or less success, and now and then get the best of a conflict which may fairly be called a battle. The probability is that in the spring matters will not look any better than they do now. The rebels will not have expelled the troops, and the troops will not have suppressed the rebellion, and an Austrian corps will cross the frontier and occupy Herzegovina and Bosnia, as it occupied Wallachia and Moldavia in 1854, in trust "for whom it may concern," and the Turkish forces will retire, protesting loudly; Germany and Russia will pretend to be greatly alarmed, and will call for a conference. It would be very dangerous to attempt to predict what will happen then, but it is safe to say that nothing will happen which has not been already arranged. The problem which a conference will have to solve has undoubtedly been much simplified by the action of England with regard to the Suez Canal, as it is taken abroad as well as in England as a clear indication that she has got what she wants, and that the ownership of Constantinople is now a matter of secondary importance to her. The Russian and German semi-official papers both treat the acquisition of the shares as a bold, wise, and natural step, as we ventured some weeks ago to predict they would. To Russia it is pure gain, as it is an abandonment of the position which led to the Crimean war. The unknown element in the affair is what Germany really looks forward to. The acquiescence in British ascendancy in Egypt does not by any means indicate her acquiescence in the Russian acquisition of Constantinople.

There can be little question that it is the uncertainty, and it may be said the anxiety, arising out of this highly interesting but perplexing situation which is producing the extraordinary financial depression which prevails throughout Europe. The cloud which has been hanging over the diplomatic world ever since the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, when the Russians passed the Balkan, is apparently about to break; and when it breaks, it will bring about a greater change, both industrial and political, than has taken place in the Old World since the fall of the Greek Empire. The enormous and fertile region which that event withdrew from the current of European commerce and civilization, containing even now, when not peopled over one-fourth of its capacity, a population of over 15,000,000, could hardly be reunited to Christendom, and placed under the rule of law, without producing marked effects on the trade and politics of the whole Western world, and, combined with the passage of Egypt under English sway, without making the Mediterranean once more the centre of extraordinary social and commercial activity. The retreat of the Mussulmans from its shores on all sides could hardly be long delayed. The power that held the Bosphorus would inevitably push the Turks far into the interior of Asia Minor, and Tunis and Morocco could not long survive, even in nominal independence, the overthrow of the Sultan. In fact, the amount of materials for political speculation offered by the present condition of the Turkish Empire is so great that it is almost presumption to attempt the slightest handling of them in a newspaper article.

## THE *BOUFFE* IN POLITICS.

WITHIN the past few years the lyric stage of America has been enriched by the importation of a novel and interesting form of art known as *opéra bouffe*. Into the origin of this modern branch of the opera we have no intention of enquiring; it is, so far as we know it, a French importation, brought over here shortly after the close of the war, and, after a

brief struggle with the Puritan traditions of American society, triumphantly domesticated as a legitimate kind of entertainment. When the "Grande Duchesse" first made her improper appearance on the stage, a shudder, it is true, went through the press and the municipal governments of several cities; and in one or two cases, if we remember right, the local mayor intervened for the protection of public morals, and "viewed" in person the antics of *Prince Paul*, *General Boum*, *Fritz*, and the Sovereign of the Duchy of Gerolstein, for the purpose of discovering the exact nature of the immoralities which the law must be called upon to suppress. This virtuous attempt at a censorship of the *bouffe*, however, failed, and after a short struggle the operas of Offenbach, Lecocq, and Hervé carried the day; they now form a recognized feature of the winter's amusement; and even the dramatic critics, who a few years ago always referred to representations of these authors' works in terms of stern displeasure, as being immoral, low, vulgar, subversive of our finer sentiments, now speak of the "merry notes of Offenbach," the "familiar strains of Lecocq," the "drolleries" of the composer of the "Petit Faust," of the "laughable oddities" in the situations of the "Jolie Parfumeuse." We understand now that, to crown the work of the Centennial next year, Offenbach himself, the founder and master of this latter-day opera, is to cross the Atlantic and illustrate in some one or more representations the manner of the French school.

Moralists and mayors having municipal responsibilities may quarrel with all this, but it must be admitted that the spread of the Offenbachian opera, not merely among the French and other loose people of the Continent, but among our own simple-minded, virtuous race, is a fact which to the philosopher is interesting and worthy of explanation, and will one of these days become a matter of some historical interest to such of our descendants as may devote their time to analyzing the puzzling peculiarities of the nineteenth century, in the same way that the dialogues and choruses of the Aristophanic comedy of Attica have become valuable materials for study by us. A highly popular form of art must have some basis in the society in which it flourishes; even burlesque does not make people laugh unless they recognize the thing travestied, and we may be sure that we should never be amused by *bouffe* if there was not a *bouffe* echo within us.

In the modern French comic opera that which is perhaps its most important feature, and has probably contributed more than anything else to its success, is the plot and dialogue. There are of course the music and the lights and the dresses, but these are subordinated generally to the central idea of a *bouffe* comedy. And when we analyze this central idea, whether in the "Grande Duchesse," "Madame l'Archiduc," "Girofle-Girofla," or any of the others, we find that amid all the diversities of the plots and situations there is a link which unites and harmonizes them. They are all founded upon a complete inversion of the moral world and the social institutions as they have been handed down to us from the past. They are not strict satires any more than the adventures of Harlequin and Columbine are satires. The world they represent is a world apart, or rather it is our own world upside down. In the *bouffe* world the metaphysical prophecy of one of the 'Bon Gaultier Ballads,'

> "Cause and Effect shall from their throne be hurled,
> And end their strife in suicidal yells,"

seems to have been fulfilled, and there is no longer any causal connection between moral antecedent and consequent. It is a world in which a fat boor is suddenly made generalissimo because the head of the government has fallen in love with him, and on being asked what service he has seen and what wounds he has received, and replying *aucune campagne, aucune blessure*, is promoted on the spot; in which generals announce their plans of campaign in a *pas seul*, and intimate to their audience their extreme desire to be found somewhere else than at the front should the enemy make his appearance; in which the marks of service that distinguish the veteran from the raw recruit are scratches which he has received in getting over walls; in which a conspiracy is rewarded with high official station, and a crime is the first step in promotion; in which judges inform suitors with gravity that their decision will depend on the amount of the bribe, the sheriff is in the pay of the thief, and acts of successful vice are rewarded with the applause of the good and wise. Ladies of undoubtful reputation rewarded with prizes for their virtue; kings, queens, emperors, dukes, who govern their dominions by putting the incompetent and wicked in the chief offices, and making ability, dignity, and honor public laughing-stocks; geniuses not distinguishable from fools; generals who run off at sight of the enemy, and as they get under shelter sing battle-songs describing their triumphs—these are the *dramatis personæ* of a world in which the ordinary relations of life, the common rules of morality, the instincts and emotions which keep us in the social ranks, are completely inverted, and we find ourselves remitted to what would be a moral chaos were it not bound into a new and pleasant system by the kind of humor we have been discussing.

But is there nothing in the real world of which all this is a travesty? If Offenbach is coming over here next year, it is important that we should consider this question; for if there is no *bouffe* in our politics or society, it will be a mistake for him to attempt to make us laugh. Of course we have no grand-dukes or grand-duchesses, but we may without them have *bouffe*. As a mere suggestion, we will throw out for the benefit of the serious-minded a hint or two on this subject, derived from our recent history.

If we were ourselves going to compose a *bouffe* opera for an American audience, some of the characters and incidents should be the following: In the first place, we would introduce an "Old Man" who has got possession of a rich city by stealing from the city treasury and bribing his way up, and who, as soon as his crimes are discovered, is offered as a reward a statue to be erected by public subscription, and is obliged to decline on the ground that it would be more fitting to put it up after his death. An excellent scene would be one in which he should receive from one messenger a telegram announcing that he has been elected to the State Senate and another that he has just been indicted by the Grand Jury; and a capital point might be made of his being asked, when he is finally convicted and sent to jail, to state his occupation, and his replying that he is a "statesman." We would have him imprisoned, too, and "escape" in a carriage furnished him by the sheriff on the day before he is to be tried; and we would have the concluding scene a serenade—a politico-operatic serenade—of the "Old Man" by "the Boys." There should be another thief, too, an old "pal" of the first, who should rise to high position in the financial administration of the city by the same simple means used by the first; and when the two have together emptied the city treasury, and they are at the end of their rope, we would have them call in three or four elderly and highly respectable citizens and taxpayers to investigate their accounts by the examination of such documents as they chose to exhibit, the examination ending with a certificate that the city finances were being so well administered that within a few years the entire debt would be extinguished—the whole winding up with a taxpayers' congratulatory chorus. We would have a "railroad man" in control of one of the most important highways of the country, the revenues of which he should use to support an opera-house, a private militia regiment, a line of steamboats, and to "make it right with the Old Man." We would have him a colonel on land and an admiral on the high seas, and he should go robbing and swindling his way upward until, having bankrupted his road, and done what he could to make his city uninhabitable, and been assassinated by one of his many victims, we would have his fellow-citizens turn out in crowds to decorate his grave with flowers, a leading clergyman pronounce an eulogy over his grave, and, finally, we would have a monument erected commemorating the efforts of the deceased in the cause of cheap transportation and the development of commerce. There should be parts, moreover, for a bench of elective judges, one of whom should "expose" the character of a brother judge in court for the benefit of the bar, while another should sign orders of court "at chambers" in the house of a noted courtesan; and there should be a scene to illustrate the nature of the elective system, which might be called "Counted In," in which the Old Man and two or three of the Boys should be discovered rearranging the votes cast by their fellow-citizens. Among the *dramatis personæ* there should be a Mayor, a lawyer by profession, engaged in "auditing" bills by voting that they should be audited in all cases by the persons presenting them, and after having in this way enabled the Old Man and the Boys to enrich themselves, he should be indicted by the grand jury and escape through a disagreement of the petit jury, after which we would have him abandon his profession and take to the stage, appearing in the part of a bank-clerk unjustly suspected of robbing his employer. A chorus of one political party explaining that all these little peculiarities of society and politics were the result of "centralization"; a chorus of the other party explaining that it was all due to the fact that the Old Man and the Boys were members of the first party; a chorus of Reformers, led by a professional "pool-seller" and ex-prizefighter, explaining that the difficulty was that the good and wise men had ceased to take an interest in politics and had left them to the corrupt and bad—these might be introduced too. What with "auditors," "plasterers," "safe-makers," "laborers" (these might be discovered playing a game of seven-up during the hours of toil in a corner-lot), and "bummers," there would be no lack of what Mr. Daly calls "contemporaneous human interest."

But it would not be necessary to confine the scene to municipal life. *Bouffe* may be national as well as local. A Chief Magistrate, a Secretary of the Treasury, an Internal Revenue [illegible], Supervisors, Distillers,

Rectifiers, and Whiskey-Thieves, might make some of the *dramatis personæ* in this case. A silent, cold, sagacious man, deeply interested in the education of the young and engaged in a stern warfare on all forms of corruption, should be introduced as our *bouffe* chief-magistrate. A discovery should be made that an organized band of robbers had formed a conspiracy with the Government revenue officials, and that it could not be broken up unless the latter were removed from their posts and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue should issue an order to that effect; on which the silent, cold, and sagacious man should immediately issue an order countermanding the removal; this might be followed by a solo with whiskey-thief chorus, "Let no guilty man escape." If it were not considered too extravagant, the Secretary of the Treasury might delegate to the chief of the Ring the duty of detecting the frauds which he was perpetrating, first carefully investigating his claims to the office, and issuing the commission as soon as he was satisfied that he was an unfit man. Accusations of fraud and corruption, instead of leading, as of old, to hard feeling, should endear the accused to the head of the Government, defeat at the polls should pave the way to a foreign mission, and nothing short of incarceration in the penitentiary should keep a criminal out of office. The chief-magistrate should bring the country back to specie payment by directing his finance minister to issue currency whenever the market was "tight" and contract whenever it was "easy;" he should reform the branch of administration relating to dependent tribes of savages by allowing the head of that branch of the Government against which charges have been brought to appoint his own court of enquiry, define the nature of the investigation, and name the witnesses; and this court, having found the principal charges sustained, should give him a warm letter of eulogy, thanking him for the able and honorable service he has rendered the Government, and a chorus of Christian ministers should invoke the blessing of heaven upon the result.

To support the leading Reformers, there should be a Boss reappointed to office as soon as he had been removed on charges of fraud; a collector of customs performing the duties of his office by cruising about in an armed vessel to prevent the assembling of a local legislature; an ambassadorial claim-agent; and a private secretary of the Chief Reformer under indictment for fraud. There might be an investigation, too, into the foreign financial agency of the Government in the interest of reform, and, on its being ascertained that it was in the hands of eminently skilful foreigners, it should be taken out of their charge on the ground of want of "patriotism," and put into that of a firm of unknown and irresponsible speculators, who should employ a lobbyist at the centre of government to send them news as to the intentions of the Government with regard to the currency and finance; and as "counsel" to this firm it would not be a bad idea to suggest the father-in-law of the stern Reformer himself. The Government should be founded on universal suffrage, and the funds necessary to keep the elective machinery in motion in any great crisis should be chiefly provided out of the proceeds of frauds on the revenue. With music, lights, and dresses, and a lively dialogue, a very attractive little American opera might be made of these simple materials.

## THE YALE AND HARVARD CATALOGUES.

CAMBRIDGE, December 7.

THE Harvard Catalogue is out at last—a long time after its rival, as is, indeed, only natural. The Harvard term begins two weeks later, and the catalogue contains about half its bulk of examination-papers, while the Yale catalogue contains none at all. In one matter, then, we have no data for comparison between the two colleges; he who would institute one must consult the files of examination-papers no doubt preserved in the library at New Haven.

The number of teachers is as follows:

| | Yale. | Harvard. |
|---|---|---|
| Professors | 48 | 49 |
| Assistant Professors | 3 | 2 |
| Lecturers | 9 | 2 |
| Tutors | 19 | 11 |
| Instructors | 7 | 27 |
| Demonstrators and Assistants | 9 | 9 |
| Total | 85 | 119 |

At Harvard, it will be seen, there is a very large force of assistant professors, holding their appointments, we believe, for the term of five years. Appointments are made, too, at Harvard, in certain cases, for a single year. Of the instructors, 12 belong to this class; of the assistants, 6; of the lecturers, 1. This latter arrangement exists at Yale also, but only, it would seem, in the Scientific School.

At Yale, 19 teachers are graduates of the past six years; at Harvard, 31. At each college, 10 of these hold one-year appointments

There are at Yale no officers corresponding to the Dean and Registrar at Harvard, through whom the decisions of the Faculty on disciplinary matters are communicated to the students, and through whose hands petitions pass; nor to the Secretary, who keeps the record of discipline and scholarship; nor, finally, to the Proctors, who keep order at examinations, and have charge of some of the entries where students lodge.

The number of students is:

| | At Yale. | At Harvard. |
|---|---|---|
| In the Theological Department | 99 | 19 |
| In the Law Department | 76 | 161 |
| In the Medical Department | 42 | 192 |
| | 217 | 372 |
| In the Department of Philosophy and the Arts: | | |
| Graduate Students | 61 | Candidates for higher degrees. 35 |
| Special Students | 3 | — |
| Undergraduates | 582 | 776 |
| Scientific School | 224 | 24 |
| Dental Students | — | 33 |
| Bussey (Agricultural) Institution | — | 5 |
| Holders of Fellowships | 2 | 6 |
| Other Resident Graduates | — | 13 |
| Episcopal Theological Students | — | 15 |
| Total | 1088 | 1289 |
| Deduct for names inserted twice | 37 | 11 |
| | 1051 | 1278 |

The number of students to an instructor is, in Yale, 12.2; in Harvard, 10.7.

The number of students in the college proper, added to those in the Scientific School, is about the same in the two colleges: at Yale, 806; at Harvard, 810. No doubt the Institute of Technology in Boston takes many students who would otherwise go to the Lawrence Scientific School; while the Sheffield Scientific School in New Haven receives many who would be in the Academic Department if the latter allowed a free choice of studies. The only choice whatever allowed is between French and German, and between the classics and the calculus, both Junior year. Of course, experience must have shown, and shown as long ago as 1860—for the same regulation stood on the catalogue of that year—that these are the only studies students are competent to choose or reject for themselves. Here are twenty-five subjects,* counting French and German as two, although in reality no one man is allowed to take both in the Yale curriculum; and we may assume that just so much of each is taught as, added to a fit portion of each of the other twenty-five, will cause the average subject to make the greatest progress towards becoming a cultivated man. However, unless I am quite sure my son is in reality an average subject, in no single respect differing from the typical American youth, it is beyond a doubt that some other course than the one long experience has prescribed will best suit his case; some course, namely, which he chooses for himself, or else his instructors or I choose for him.

The following subjects studied at Yale are not studied at Harvard: Natural Theology, Constitutional History, General Philology, the History of English Literature, and Hygiene; and the following, studied at Harvard, are wanting at Yale: Hebrew, Sanskrit, the History of Latin Literature, Roman Law, Italian, Spanish, the Theory of Music, the Fine Arts, Botany, Comparative Anatomy, and Zoölogy. Of course, in each case our list applies only to the college proper, to what is now known at Yale as the Undergraduate Academical Department.

Every student at Harvard must take during the whole of his Freshman year (unless, indeed, he shows on examination that he knows enough of certain subjects to be exempted from pursuing them) Greek, Latin, German or French—depending upon which modern language he presented at his examination for admission—Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry. The prescribed studies of Sophomore year are Rhetoric, French—unless a French examination was passed on admission or at some subsequent time during Freshman year—Political Economy, the Constitution of the United States, and History. In Junior year, Rhetoric, Logic, Locke's 'Essay on the Human Understanding,' and Physics (lectures) are required. Prescribed studies take up the whole of the Freshman year, and about one-third of the time of the two succeeding ones. A Freshman has sixteen or seventeen hours a week of required attendance, a Sophomore thirteen, a Junior fifteen, and a Senior twelve, besides in the last three classes written exercises. These exercises are all that is prescribed for a Senior; the rest of his work is in electives. The Yale Catalogue gives no information as to the hours of weekly attendance; in 1860, they were for most students sixteen.

* Namely: Greek, Latin, Mathematics, History, Rhetoric, Composition, Physics, Logic, Astronomy, French or German, Metaphysics, Political Economy, Chemistry, Natural Theology, Moral Philosophy, Geology, Anatomy, International Law, Constitutional History, the Constitution of the United States, Philology, the History of English Literature, the History of Greek Literature, and Hygiene.

Although any student at Harvard who chooses to do so may pursue a course similar to that prescribed at Yale, it will be seen that classics, mathematics, modern languages, and chemistry are not insisted upon after Freshman year. Just how many students at Harvard keep on with their classics and mathematics one year or two years longer it would be interesting to know; the catalogue, however, furnishes no data of precisely this character. We can only say that in the present Sophomore class, containing 182 members, enough men take one or more courses in Greek (there are twelve different elective courses in all) to give 126 men a course apiece, and enough take Latin (ten elective courses) to give 139 men a course apiece; the number in mathematics (ten electives) is only 45. The statistics for the Junior class, which numbers 194, are: Greek, 77; Latin, 100; mathematics, 22. Counting each man as having taken only a single course in each study, and those who take Greek as taking Latin also, then 73 per cent. have chosen to continue their classics, and 25 their mathematics, during Sophomore year; while 91 Juniors in a hundred continue or, it may be, resume, after having abandoned for a year, their Latin and Greek, and 11 their mathematics.

In this connection, although it has in reality no bearing on the question how far the free choice of American students would coincide with the course usually marked out for them by the Faculty, it may be worth while to compare the numbers who choose each of the modern languages. Harvard offers this year, in English, Spanish, and Italian, three courses each, and in French and German four. The number representing the popularity of Spanish is 31; English, 45; Italian, 63; French, 193; and German, 220; the most difficult modern language is the favorite choice. These numbers are for all four classes, Seniors and Freshmen as well as Sophomores and Juniors. Freshmen are allowed to recite in the elective which their proficiency in any particular study would enable them to join. This year, in a class of 252, there were taken 74 electives, modern language or other, in place of one or the other prescribed course of Freshman year.

The requirements for admission to Harvard are more difficult than at Yale; the Harvard Catalogue adds to the Yale list a knowledge of Greek Composition, of Ancient History and Geography, and of Physical Geography, besides the elements of some physical science. At Exeter, it takes a year longer to prepare for Harvard than for Yale. The difference between the requirements of the two colleges is seen to be still greater if we take into account the more advanced courses in Mathematics and in Classics upon which some candidates for admission to Harvard come prepared. Separate sections for the better scholars are formed in some of the studies of Freshman year, and sometimes in subsequent years. At Yale, we notice that Freshmen still seem to review during the first term some of the mathematics a knowledge of which is requisite for admission.

There are many other points on which a comparison between our two foremost universities, if one had time to make it, would prove of the highest interest, just as there are of course many things about which an old graduate would gladly be informed, but which it does not belong to a catalogue to set forth: the kind of intercourse in the recitation-room between the teacher and the individuals of his class, the town and gown spirit, the footing on which members of different classes meet, the life in college societies, etc., etc. From the two catalogues, the impression one gains is that Harvard is a complex organization, constantly engaging in new forms of activity, while at Yale a system the reverse of complex, in which the experience of the college authorities has for many years been able to detect scarcely a flaw, is clung to with an affectionate pertinacity which excludes the supposition that it has not, in their opinion, perfectly stood the test of time. The generous rivalry of Yale and Harvard—a rivalry from which so much good to the cause of higher education in America should flow—would cease if the one college should ever gain too great a start upon the other. It is only by comparing from time to time the stand each takes that such a misfortune can be averted.

A Yale Graduate.

# Correspondence.

## A LETTER FROM "PI-UTE CHIEF."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Referring to your reply to my note of the 26th ultimo contained in the *Nation* of the 9th instant, I beg to suggest that every fair-minded and decent man who reads it will not fail to mark the great distinction between your statement quoted in my note and your reply. You first charged me with writing certain letters "defending Delano and whitewashing the Interior Department and the Indian Administration, and of generally taking the part of counsel for the defence." Now you say the letters "were in substance an attack on Prof. Marsh, and were so constructed as to have no meaning except as a defence of Delano and Smith." Your first statement was false in everything intended to be conveyed by it, and is so admitted to be by your second one. Your second statement is not only equally false in every particular, but is also a very weak and contemptible effort to dodge the responsibility of the first one.

You say that when I "deny the authorship of the 'Pi-ute' letters, you will produce the proof." But I do not deny their authorship. I did write them, and, as they are the proof you threaten to produce, I shall be sure of the verdict of every man who read them that your second charge is equally false with the first one, and doubly as mean. Now, publish the letters fairly, and let us have the verdict of your readers, as we shall certainly have of the readers of the *Globe-Democrat*.

I insist upon holding you to the charges as originally made, and am not to be led off upon side-issues in reference to "puffing the chairman" or "attacking Prof. Marsh." Both these charges are also false, but we will discuss them when they are reached in their order. I have no newspaper, and am therefore greatly at a disadvantage in such a contest as this; but when I obtain the verdict of the public against you upon the original charges so wantonly and maliciously made against me, I will then be ready to take up the other issues of fact between the *Nation* and myself, and such other slanders of the *Tribune* as the *Nation* may be willing to endorse and become responsible for, and will abide the decision of an intelligent and honest public upon all of them.

If Prof. Marsh thinks I have attacked him, he is very able to defend himself; and if he, like myself, is not an editor of a newspaper, we can try the matter upon an equal footing. Indeed, if he has any cause of complaint against me, he may cite me before the Faculty of Yale College, and I will be tried by them and submit to their verdict, when I am fully heard.

Respectfully,

Tho. C. Fletcher.

St. Louis, Dec. 11, 1875.

[We print the above now as a matter of justice to the writer, but are unable, for want of space, to reply to it till next week. It will be observed that Governor Fletcher does not deny that he is "Pi-ute Chief," and the only question now at issue is as to the nature of the correspondence. To ask us to republish all these letters, which filled some dozen or so columns of a daily paper, in the *Nation*, is one of those requests which we should think more natural from a real, naked, red Pi-ute than from a white brave, accustomed to the ways of civilized life and journalism, but is, no doubt, to be explained as a stroke of aboriginal humor, in which, as the readers of the "Pi-ute" letters know, the ex-Governor is an expert. We will, however, do all we can next week, short of republishing the entire series, by reproducing as many extracts from the correspondence as possible, showing its general drift. We believe that Mr. Fletcher has already published this second letter to the *Nation* in the St. Louis *Republican*; why, we are not informed, but we suppose because he has "no newspaper" in which to reply to attacks.—Ed. Nation.]

## PROFESSOR TYNDALL AND AMERICAN SCIENCE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have been favored with a copy of the *Nation* of October 28, and would ask permission to make a few remarks on the critique of my work on 'Sound' therein contained.

With regard to Professor Henry, I hope I am not presumptuous in venturing the opinion, and expressing the belief, that his earlier scientific labors were marked by rare power and originality, and that his later years have been usefully and honorably employed in the service of his country. Such, if I dare say so, are the sentiments which I have ever expressed regarding Professor Henry here and elsewhere.

When I first learned that he was in danger of falling into what I considered to be grave scientific error, I went as far as friendliness dared go to avert it. I addressed to him a private letter, in which I tried to impress upon him the completeness and conclusiveness of the evidence which he seemed disposed to call in question. He did not honor that letter with any notice, preferring to discuss the subject publicly in the 'Report of the Washington Lighthouse Board.' He was clearly within his right in doing

so ; but I submit that I only exercised my right when I met him on ground thus chosen by himself.

No English gentleman that I have consulted can discern in what I have written any violation of the dignity of scientific debate ; but your article would lead to the inference that I had both violated common honesty and taken leave of common sense. I will not quote your words, because I cherish the hope that when you have reflected on them you will regret them. When I say "you," I mean the Editor of the *Nation*, whose acquaintance I had the honor to make, and whose kindness I had the privilege to experience, in New York : I do *not* mean the writer of the article. Let me respectfully assure you, then, that when I spoke of being "deflected by authority," "Professor Henry's solution of Ocean Echoes" was not at all in my mind, nor his "ruin," partial or total, in my calculations. Consider, I pray you, how impossible it is that this could have been the case. The "deflection" spoken of is expressly described as occurring at the outset of an investigation begun in May, 1873, *whereas the Washington Report containing "Professor Henry's Solution of Ocean Echoes" is the Report for* 1874, *which did not reach Europe until the spring of* 1875. This, then, is the crumbling foundation on which your critic builds his odious charge. In verity, the remark on which he pours his peroratory invective was not meant for "laudation" of any kind, but merely to show the "polar" character of authority—its good side and its bad.

It is easy, as you know, Mr. Editor, to sneer and to assail, but less easy to show, without going into details not worth the labor, that the sneer is unmeaning, and the assault unfair. Nevertheless, the broad lines on which, in the present instance, I would meet my anonymous assailant may, I think, be made clear. He industriously mixes together things which ought to be kept apart—experiments on fog-signals, and enquiries into "the causes which affect the transmission of sound through the atmosphere." The "blank" which I proposed to fill is stated, with unmistakable clearness, to have reference solely to such "causes." Neither Herschel nor Robinson, as far as I know, ever made an experiment on fog-signals ; still I quote them. Why ? Because they are the most eminent and authoritative exponents of the theories of acoustic opacity which up to last year were entertained by the highest scientific minds. Theirs, moreover, and Arago's (not Professor Henry's), was the "authority" which "deflected" me at first. Apart from the wind, the "causes" of acoustic opacity endorsed by these eminent men were rain, hail, snow, haze, and fog - everything, in short, that affected the optical clearness of the atmosphere. Prior to the South Foreland investigation, where, I would ask, is a "systematic enquiry" into these causes to be found ? Surely, if such an enquiry has been published, it can be courteously pointed out and calmly discussed. If you can prove its existence, you will have a right to demand from me the very fullest apology and reparation for stating that "no such systematic enquiry had to my knowledge been made." Even then I could not charge myself with untruth, for my "knowledge" was, and is, arithmetically what I have affirmed it to be ; but I can confess ignorance and express regret.

Give me your patience while I endeavor still further to make this matter clear. As regards the invention of instruments and their practical establishment as fog-signals, so far was my knowledge behind "the science of the United States," that I had never seen or heard one of those great steam-whistles until I met them at the South Foreland. The common "Syren" is well known to have been a familiar instrument with me, but the fog-syren I first saw and heard upon its native soil in America—not, however, as your critic puts it, but at the request, twice repeated, of Professor Henry. Further, to the best of my recollection, prior to the month of May, 1873, I had only heard one or two experimental blasts from a fog-trumpet. In such work, then, I had neither part nor lot ; and, if you will permit me to say so, though it is of the utmost practical value, I should hardly label such work with the name of "science." Quite apart from those practical achievements lies the enquiry into "the causes which affect the transmission of sound through the atmosphere." And, if I except the sagacious remark of General Duané which has been so curtly brushed aside, not a scintilla of light has been cast upon these causes by any researches ever published by the Lighthouse Board of Washington.

Will you allow me to say, in passing, that Major Elliot, the able and conscientious officer whose excellent report on the lighthouses of Europe was so displeasing to the Board, *did* accept the invitation to Dover, and that to the present hour I feel indebted to him for the information and advice given to me at the time ?

Upon my "conduct," and the knowledge which "influenced" it, your critic rings the changes of his wit. It is, after all, a very simple and straightforward matter. The "conduct" consisted in my emphatic advice to the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House not to confine themselves to home-made apparatus, but to include American ones in their enquiry. The subsequent trial led to the abandonment of the English instruments and the adoption of others from Canada and the United States. The *Syren*, for example—which your critic erroneously says was lent "gratuitously" to *me**—was paid for in February, 1874, and two others are at this moment on their way from New York to England. Both by word and deed have we acknowledged our real obligations to the United States ; but what we did not and could not acknowledge (for it was non-existent) was any solution of the conflicting and anomalous results obtained with these fog-signals—results so conflicting and so anomalous as to cause reflecting minds to entertain doubts as to the capacity of the observers. Apart from the friendship shown to me at the time, all that I remember of the meeting at Washington to which your critic refers is the utter perplexity of everybody present, myself included, in regard to the matter in hand. I had my guess—others had theirs ; but we were quite at sea in our guesses, without a signal to guide us through the intellectual fog.

Knowing, indeed, the difficulty of the subject, when its investigation was first proposed to me by the Elder Brethren, I shrank (as Faraday had done before me) from a work of such obvious labor and such uncertain scientific promise. Doggedly, however, we attacked it, determined to go through the mechanical processes already followed by others, even if they led, as regards science, to an equally barren result. Out of the darkness at length came the dawn. We prolonged our investigations until they embraced every agent save one to which influence had been previously ascribed. The exception was snow. This, however, was directly met by observations made upon the *Mer de Glace* in the bitter winter of 1859, and which have been entirely confirmed by the later observations of General Duane. Having negatived antecedent theories, we wrought our way positively to the basis of the whole question. This we found in a cloud-world, invisible to the eye of sense, but as visible and certain to the mental eye as the ordinary cloud-world of our atmosphere. The lights and shadows of these "acoustic clouds"—the action of which must, at one time or another, have been noticed by every peasant within range of a peal of bells—sufficed to account for the most astounding variations of intensity. This, I say, has been established, not only by patient and long-continued observations afloat, but by laboratory experiments as indubitable as any within the range of physical science.

And, let me add, it was neither whistles nor trumpets, nor yet the Syren, which pointed out the way to this solution, but experiments with *guns* ably served by artillerymen from Dover Castle.

I will not make any further draft upon your generosity, though, were it worth while to do so, other fallacies of fact and logic in your critic's article might be exposed. He says, or intimates, for example, that I became "adviser" to the Trinity House after my "lecturing tour in the United States in 1873." I relieved Michael Faraday of this duty in May, 1866. My friends in New York have already had to disperse other delusions regarding the "profits" of that "tour." Such statements are credible to the mean, incredible to the high-minded, and were therefore never thought worthy of refutation by me. And why should I now waste a word upon your critic's closing sentences ? It will not make him noble to be told that envy is ignoble ; that if ever "praise" has been adjudged to me by his countrymen, it is not because I went out of my way to seek it. It came to me unasked—an incident, not an aim—shining, as your own Emerson would put it, pleasantly because spontaneously, upon the necessary journey of my life. It was not, I can say truly, the applause of large assemblies that constituted my chief happiness in the United States, but the ever-growing proof, for the most part undemonstrative, that, without swerving from my duty, I had gained a modicum of the affection of the American people. *That* I prized, and *that* I have sought to keep free from fleck, material or intellectual. For reasons best known to himself, your critic does not relish this relation ; and he will damage it if he can. I cherish the belief that he will be unsuccessful.—I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

JOHN TYNDALL.

LONDON, November 23, 1875.

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[In cheerfully giving a place to the foregoing communication of Dr. Tyndall, we ought to premise that the controversy on which it hinges did not originate in our columns. Just as little did it originate in any "ignoble envy" on our part, for we found it flagrant in the preface of the book on 'Sound,' devoted, as that preface mainly is, to a scientific polemic with the Chairman of the Lighthouse Board in Washington. Professor Henry having stated, in the

* It was lent to the Trinity House Corporation ; and I expressly signalize the lending "as an act of international courtesy worthy of imitation."

last annual report of that Board, that its researches have been "much more extensive on this subject [fog-signalling] than those of the Trinity House," and Dr. Tyndall in his preface having expressed the opinion that the claim thus made was "inordinate," we did but emphasize the facts and considerations which, in our judgment, confirmed the claim in all its breadth.

Taking up the points of Dr. Tyndall's reply in the order he gives to them, we may say that his criticism on our construction of the passage in which a reference was made to the "ruin of authority," has been anticipated in our columns. We were in error in supposing that the claim of Dr. Tyndall to have ruined "authority" on this question was aimed at Professor Henry; but as the "odious charge" of self-assertion, imputed to Dr. Tyndall in the premises, rested upon the alleged immodesty of such self-assertion, whether directed to the disparagement of Herschel, Arago, or anybody else, it is not apparent to our minds that Dr. Tyndall has met the gravamen of the charge by showing, as he does from the date of the reception of Professor Henry's report in Europe, that he could not have referred to Henry's "solution of ocean echoes." It would have been more in order for him to show the propriety of his language in claiming to have "ruined" the "authority" of any one among his scientific predecessors, for it was on the alleged self-conceit implied in such a claim *as made by himself* that we based our "peroratory invective."

We ascribed to Dr. Tyndall a want of "scientific generosity" in ignoring the alleged fact that Professor Henry had made "systematic enquiry" before his own into the causes affecting the intensity of sound; and we further supposed from the acknowledgments contained in Dr. Tyndall's preface, that he therein *admitted* the possession of such a general knowledge under this head as should have served to modify the statement found in the body of the book, where a contradictory statement seemed to be made. This supposed "inconsistency of statement" was the ground on which we ascribed to Dr. Tyndall a want of "dexterity in literary art." In his preface, referring to the "experiments and observations" of Professor Henry, as published in the Annual Report of the United States Lighthouse Board for 1874, Dr. Tyndall wrote as follows: "I was quite aware, in a general way, that labors like those now for the first time made public, had been *conducted* in the United States, and *this knowledge* was not without influence on *my conduct*." As he certainly asserts that *his* scientific researches were conducted with paramount reference to the discovery of the causes which affect the intensity of sound, and as he here expressly stated that his knowledge of the "labors conducted" in the United States had not been without influence on his "conduct," it was natural, and, according to the obvious meaning of English speech, it was inevitable that we should see in this statement an over-late concession to American science, which would have appeared to better advantage, as we thought, in the "summary of existing knowledge" contained in the seventh chapter of Dr. Tyndall's book, where a conflicting statement, entirely ignoring the existence of such antecedent labors in respect to these causes, is undoubtedly made.

Dr. Tyndall now explains that his knowledge of what had been done in the United States influenced his "conduct" to the extent only of advising the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House to use American as well as British apparatus in prosecuting their enquiry. It follows, therefore, that the alleged want of "literary art" assumes, in the presence of this explanation, the proportions not of an inherent "inconsistency of statement," but of a surprising ambiguity and infelicity in this part of his preface. Moreover, as he now disavows the acquisition, while he was in the United States, of any knowledge, general or special, respecting the causes which affect the intensity of sound, we can only say that he must be held better entitled than ourselves to know what he learned or what he did not learn in this country. But we think it important to call the attention of our readers to the fact that this disclaimer does not meet the point made by us under this head, for we contested the historical accuracy of Dr. Tyndall's statement that there had been no "systematic enquiry" into the causes affecting the intensity of sound since the year 1708. It is not enough for Dr. Tyndall to say that the researches of Prof. Henry, even as now published, do not cast a "scintilla of light" on the causes which affect the transmission of sound through the atmosphere. In order to meet our allegations, it is necessary for him to state that while he was in the United States he did not acquire a knowledge of the alleged fact that the Washington Lighthouse Board had made "systematic researches" directed to a discovery of these causes. The question between us is not one of *science*, but of *historical fact*. Did he, or did he not, learn, while in this country, that Prof. Henry had made systematic researches into these causes? If he did, the statement contained in the body of his book is inaccurate. If he did not, the statement was erroneously impeached by us. If it were a question of science, it would be proper to call, as Dr. Tyndall does, for a published paper; but as it is simply a question of history which we raised, it will suffice to receive from Dr. Tyndall the assurance that in listening to the paper read in his hearing before the Washington Philosophical Society by Prof. Henry, he did not learn from it that the paper was the result of systematic researches into the causes which affect the transmission of sound through the atmosphere.

We need only briefly advert to the minor inaccuracies which Dr. Tyndall supposes himself to find in the review. It was stated by us that "Major Elliot reached London a few days before Prof. Tyndall *began his experiments at Dover*, and was courteously invited to be present, but for want of time was compelled to forego the privilege." What privilege? The privilege of being present at the "experiments," we need not say. We merely cited the language of Major Elliot himself, whose report of the matter is as follows: "The limited time at my disposal did not allow me the pleasure of accepting an invitation to join them [the experimenters], and I had only an opportunity of observing the machines themselves at the experimental station at South Foreland." The verbal correction that the Syren was lent by the Washington Lighthouse Board to the Trinity House Corporation, and *not* to Dr. Tyndall, is frankly accepted by us on his own assurance. As to the date of his appointment as the scientific adviser of the Trinity House, while we were aware that he held this office at the time when he was in the United States, we were not informed as to his antecedent labors in connection with it.

In conclusion, we beg leave to add that we had not the slightest wish to detract from Dr. Tyndall's repute in the United States, but simply desired to prevent the labors and investigations of American science from being relegated by him to the state of historical nonentity, as he seemed to us to attempt to do, when, in his book on Sound, he denied equally the existence and the value of any researches in this country, directed to a discovery of the causes affecting this intensity of sound, anterior to his own investigations.—Ed. Nation.]

# Notes.

THE United States Geological Survey of the Territories (Hayden's) has just issued Vol. II. of the 4to series of Reports—an extended and elaborate 'Memoir on the Vertebrate Fauna of the Cretaceous Formations of the West,' by E. D. Cope, the eminent palæontologist. The work is illustrated with numerous lithographic plates, and at once takes an acknowledged place as the most complete exposition of the subject as at present understood ——The 'Bulletin of the National Museum,' published by the Department of the Interior under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, is a new medium of communication with the scientific public, designed to make known results of study of the material contained in the collection at Washington. The papers appear independently of each other, separately titled and paged, but will subsequently be gathered into volumes of convenient size, upon the plan of the well-known 'Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections.' Nos. 1 and 2 have appeared, the first being Professor Cope's Check-list of North American Reptilia and Batrachia; the second the Report of Dr. J. H. Kidder (edited by Dr. Coues) on the ornithological collections made by him at Kerguelen Island while he was attached to the

American Transit-of-Venus Expedition. Other papers will soon follow. ——Volume V. of 'Reports of the Explorations West of the 100th Meridian' (Wheeler's), being the volume on general zoölogy prepared by Dr. H. C. Yarrow, with the co-operation of several well-known specialists, is all in type, and will appear as soon as the work on the illustrations is completed —and this, we understand, is nearly finished. The volume will make about 800 quarto pages, illustrated with 45 chromo-lithographs. ——Additional numbers of Dr. Hayden's 'Bulletins' have just appeared, containing the usual variety of articles from different hands. The former "series" of this publication consisted of unconnected pamphlets, separately titled and paged; the numbers of the current "second series," though issued separately (sewed), are continuously paged, with the design that the greater part of the edition shall be made up into a yearly volume. The publication thus becomes a regular serial, though the numbers first appeared irregularly—a practical advantage over the former plan which bibliographers and all those who have occasion to quote the periodical will appreciate.—— Two numbers of the *Scientific Monthly*, a publication recently begun at Toledo, O, have reached us. The editorial responsibility seems to be personal, though the publication may have some connection with a scientific association existing in that city. Some of the articles are from known sources, and are fairly good, but the general appearance of the magazine is undeniably bad, and there is, we suppose, little prospect of success in this case.——We some time ago expressed our opinion that Mrs. Mary Mapes Dodge's delightful children's story, called 'Hans Brinker; or, The Silver Skates,' deserved an entirely new dress, with illustrations made in Holland instead of in America. The publishers (Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) have just issued an edition in accordance with this suggestion, and we hope it is not too late in the season to announce the fact. The pictures are admirable, and the whole volume, in appearance and contents, need not fear comparison with any juvenile publication of the year, or of many years.—— We must also give a word of praise to the translation of Dr. L. Sauveur's 'Chats with the Little Ones' (Estes & Lauriat), which parents will find to be a very high order of object-lessons.——The Water-Color Society will open its ninth annual exhibition in this city January 31, and close February 26. Pictures will be received from the 14th to the 19th of January.

—The second 'Reference Catalogue of Current Literature' (London: Joseph Whitaker) and the third 'Publishers' Trade-list Annual' (New York: F. Leypoldt) reach us together. The English volume is noticeably slenderer than its bulky predecessor; and with some surprise we look in vain for the catalogues of such houses as Blackwood, Murray, Routledge, and Williams & Norgate. In fact, there are forty fewer contributors than last year, and Mr. Whitaker announces that his next edition will not appear till 1877. He calls attention, however, to the improved character of the index, which is much fuller than last year's, and includes no fewer than 17,000 works or collections. It is this feature which for the first time distinguishes the 'Trade-list Annual,' following the example of the 'Reference Catalogue,' just as the latter work was called into being by the former. Mr. Leypoldt's disparaging estimate of his own index must not be taken too literally, but as indicating his consciousness of how far it falls short of ideal bibliography. His subscribers will not, we apprehend, have many reproaches to make him, even judged by this standard; but they may reasonably reproach themselves for the want of uniformity and punctuality in getting out their catalogues, which has caused him so much needless trouble and annoyance. Uniformity will, we do not doubt, be attained in time, but punctuality may prove something beyond control. In spite of all obstacles, Mr. Leypoldt reports a gain of four firms over the total representation of last year. Besides the general index, which, as compared with Mr. Whitaker's, appears to be at least one-half fuller, he gives educational, law, and medical indexes, and an index of specialties in the book and stationery trade. Both these volumes are achievements of incontestable value, and must do much to improve the trade, and to aid book-buyers directly and indirectly. They ought to be accessible in every public library and in the leading bookstores of the country.

—A few books in holiday attire still lie upon our table, and will receive here such brief notice as we can give them. 'The Sea' and 'The Insect' of Jules Michelet (New York: T. Nelson & Sons) belong in that curious and more or less fantastic series of scientific excursions in which the French historian found recreation from pursuits for which he was better fitted. Of all of them it may be said what he himself has avowed of 'The Insect': "It has sprung wholly from the heart. Nothing has been given up to the intellect, nothing to systems." They are, therefore, works which the student will and must pass by, but the general reader need not despise the instruction they contain. The illustrations by Giacomelli greatly embellish 'The Insect'; those in 'The Sea' are much less numerous, and would hardly be missed. 'Laurel Leaves,' a companion or sequel to the 'Lotos Leaves' of last year published by the same firm (Boston: Wm. F. Gill & Co.), is made up of contributions in prose and verse by writers, mostly American, of every degree of eminence. We have not observed that in any instance their laurels will be the greener on account of their performances in this volume, and we therefore cannot predict for the work an enduring reputation. The illustrations are also of mixed origin and merit. The book is handsomely printed and tastefully bound. 'Silhouettes and Songs Illustrative of the Months' (Boston: Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) holds a doubtful middle place between juvenile and adult literature. The designs are by Helen Maria Hinds, a young lady of fourteen, and do her credit, albeit the art is not so difficult as is apt to be supposed. They are all concerned with the representation of children, and some of the verses which accompany them are plainly nursery rhymes, and most of them relate or are addressed to children, though that does not make them proper reading for children. The selections have been made by the Rev. Edward E. Hale. The admirers of Mr. Will Carleton and Mr. Benjamin F. Taylor will be gratified by the illustrated editions of the former's 'Farm Legends' (Harpers) and the latter's 'Songs of Yesterday' (Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.) As popular Western poets these authors may challenge a degree of attention which their productions would certainly not receive on their merits.

—To the foregoing we may add mention of two other works suitable for gift-books, viz., Mr. Allibone's 'Prose Quotations, from Socrates to Macaulay' (Lippincott), and Mr. Edwin Abbott's 'Concordance to the [original Poetical] Works of Alexander Pope' (Appletons). The 'Prose Quotations' we find rather less dreary and more useful than the same compiler's 'Poetical Quotations'; and its 8,810 readings from 544 authors on 571 subjects will be well received by a large class, and will instruct at least in the proportion that they interest. The work is of a kind of which there need be no end, being put together without any but a moral order, and according to the compiler's fancy (say) for Burke and Macaulay over Bentham and Mill, yet including the greatest names in English literature. The topics are mainly abstractions like Admiration, Cheerfulness, Knavery, Public Spirit, Zeal, etc.; but there is a liberal admixture of concretes like Coins, East India Company, Microscope, Spaniards, Whigs, etc. A few countries, viz., America, England, France, Greece, and Italy, and some two score of eminent personages from Homer to Warren Hastings, furnishing headings for Mr. Allibone. These last illustrate more curiously than any other feature the accidental character of the 'Quotations.' A good concordance to the works of a great writer is always and under all circumstances praiseworthy, and a very hearty welcome can therefore be given to Mr. Abbott's concordance to Pope. It fills 365 closely but clearly printed pages, and is preceded by a brief but helpful introduction from the pen of Dr. Edwin A. Abbott, who discourses of Pope's style, and points out peculiarities in his use of words and idioms, and in his metre. Speaking of Pope's English as being eminently modern, he says: "We may glance down page after page of this concordance without finding a line or phrase that might not have been written in the nineteenth century." He used few archaisms, and his grammar generally hardly calls for remark. To Pope's apparent fondness for the sound of *s* Mr. Abbott attributes the fact that there are nearly twice as many entries under that letter as under any other. He never used *rang* or *sang*, but *rung* or *sung*, etc.; neither *also* nor *towards* will be found in the Concordance. Two pages are given to examples of irregular or unusual rhymes; but they are surprisingly few.

—Our remarks on the autopsy performed on the late Vice-President have elicited some criticism from our medical readers. A Boston physician writes: "You say 'the doctors, without the slightest necessity, for they knew he died of apoplexy,' etc. I think we do not yet know what Wilson died of. It is stated in the autopsy made by Dr. Lamb, of the Surgeon-General's Office, that there was *no extravasation* in the brain, but 'the spinal canal contained a large quantity of dark fluid-blood.' In view of the hasty nature of the examination, I feel uncertain as to the source of this blood, nor do I feel sure that its presence would be necessarily fatal, nor that the symptoms attending the death were consistent with the supposition that this blood caused his death. Microscopical examination will probably assist our diagnosis; but as yet I do not see that the assumption of 'nervous apoplexy dependent probably on cerebral anæmia' is the correct one either. The last number of the Boston *Medical and Surgical Journal* contains a Washington letter upon the subject."

—The accusation of plagiarism may be met in two ways; either a plea of unconscious coincidence can be entered, or the theft can be boldly acknowledged and justification attempted by means of alleged improve-

ments. In the latter case the plagiarist maintains that he did not steal, he conquered—to use the words applied to Ben Jonson by an early critic and to the elder Dumas by himself. He takes shelter under the fact that Shakspere did not invent his plots, and under the fiction that Molière once replied to a similar accusation : "Je prends mon bien où je le trouve." As M. Eugène Despois has proved the impossibility of Molière ever having breakfasted with Louis XIV., so M. Edouard Fournier, in his entertaining volume upon 'L'Esprit dans l'Histoire,' has shown the falsehood of this other *mot* by tracing Molière's exact words. The Gascon Cyrano, who was privy to many of Molière's first attempts at dramatic composition, profited by the poet's long professional absences in the provinces to introduce into his own comedy, "Le Pédant joué," one of the scenes which he had gleaned from Molière. When the latter at last returned to Paris in the full plenitude of his powers, he disdained reclamation. But later, as his mind became fatigued, and he retouched for Parisian audiences the earlier farces which had delighted the provincials, he unhesitatingly made use of the scene which Cyrano had stolen from him years before, saying, "Je reprends mon bien où je le trouve." This is the version given by Grimarest, the only original recorder of the phrase which has since been perverted. Instead of audaciously asserting a right to take his material wherever he found it, Molière only declared the right to take back his own. A popular error dies hard ; and it is perhaps useless to hope that petty plagiarists will ever refrain from citing the greatest of French dramatists as having set them a bad example.

—J. W. F. writes us from Tours, France, under date of Nov. 30 :

"The librarian of the library of Tours, Mr. A. Dorange, has made, with much expenditure of labor and of time, a catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in it—a collection which is deservedly famous. This has been published in a handsome volume of 580 pages quarto, beautifully printed on fine paper, at the expense of the city of Tours. A small edition only has been issued (two hundred copies, I believe), intended principally as presents to various libraries of France and to foreign governments, with a few for sale to such as may require them. I am assured that a copy will be presented to our Government for the Congressional Library.

"The great value and interest of the manuscripts of the library of Tours are well known. It possesses the handsomest manuscript on parchment known in Europe—that of the Evangelists of the eighth century, written in letters of gold—and numerous others of the highest value. The catalogue contains mention of 2,000 manuscripts, of which more than 200 have miniatures. It is not a merely dry list, but in all cases where there is sufficient inducement a full description, with citations of the most important portions of the subjects, is given. The variety and richness of the collection are explained by the number and celebrity of the religious establishments of Touraine, of whose manuscripts the library has become the heir and guardian. Thus the old libraries of the Cathedral, of the Abbey of St. Martin, and of that of Marmontier have contributed the remains of their treasures.

"The library of the Cathedral had its origin in the fifth century, when the sixth Bishop of Tours bequeathed his library to the Chapter of the Cathedral, 'except the Evangelists, which Hilaire, Bishop of Poitiers, had written with his own hand.' Of 460 manuscripts catalogued in 1706, the library of Tours possesses 309. The library of the Abbey of St. Martin of Tours was founded by the celebrated Alcuin, who was appointed by Charlemagne to revise the sacred texts, and who established about 796, in the Monastery of St. Martin, *ateliers* of copyists, from which issued, amongst others, the beautiful Evangelists in golden letters above referred to. In 1730 an inventory of the manuscripts of the collegiate of St. Martin was published. It contained 272 articles, of which this library now possesses 140. The library of the Abbey of Marmontier dates from the time of St. Martin himself. One of the principal occupations of its monks was to copy manuscripts. A catalogue of the manuscripts of that abbey, made in 1754, names 360, of which the library of Tours contains 263, many of them very precious. Numbers of them are among the oldest French manuscripts. Several are the most ancient monuments of French literature. In addition to the foregoing, there were twenty-five or more religious institutions which have contributed to this collection most valuable MSS.

"Many of these manuscripts are bound in rare bindings, and several bear arms of noble houses—of Anne de Bretagne, Diane de Poitiers, Henry III.—all of which are described in the catalogue. A list of a few of the most precious of these manuscripts may not be uninteresting. These are : The Evangelists, in gold letters and rare binding, of the eighth century ; The Bible, called that of Charles the Bald, of the ninth century ; *Sacramentaire* of Pope Gregory the Great, of the tenth century ; Life of St. Martin, by Sulpicius Severus, of the eleventh century ; Missal, containing wonderful miniatures, of the twelfth century ; Psalter, with miniatures, rare binding, of the thirteenth century ; Missal, for use in the English Church, of the fourteenth century ; Livre d'heures of Anne de Bretagne, of the fifteenth century ; another, containing beautiful miniatures, of the fifteenth century ; Titus Livius, with two great miniatures, one of the battle of Cannes, and ornamented, by order of Louis XI., by the best artists of the fifteenth century. There is a Latin dictionary of the ninth century, a prosody of the tenth, a collection of Greek historians brought from Cyprus, of the eleventh, a Cicero, Terence, and Ovid, of the twelfth. There is no space to mention more of these treasures.

"Mr. Dorange commenced this catalogue more than ten years ago, and has devoted all his leisure to the completion of it. Some idea of the labor may be formed when it is stated that he had to decipher and read all these manuscripts in order that he might give a proper description of them, and such extracts as he deemed most interesting. Those of your readers interested in such matters cannot fail to be gratified by the mention of this great work. It is the most carefully compiled catalogue of manuscripts which exists, and is entirely worthy of its admirable and interesting subjects."

—A fresh light has just been thrown upon one of the most hideous epochs of modern history by Professor Villari's publication of the despatches of Antonio Giustinian, who was the ambassador of Venice in Rome from 1502 to 1505. These papers were among the valuables carried to Vienna by the Austrians when they withdrew from Italy ; and one of the benefits arising from the restitution recently made is the appearance of Villari's volumes. They cover the last sixteen months of the pontificate of Alexander VI. and the commencement of that of Julius II., their main interest naturally centring in the sayings and doings of the Borgias while their ambitious schemes were ripening to fruition, to be cut short by the sudden death of the father. It would not be easy to convey a more vivid impression of the scandals of the time than is afforded by the quiet jottings of the Venetian diplomat, recording how the Holy Father amused himself with comedies and masquerades and the sports of the Carnival of 1503, when, his son having captured and slaughtered the Orsini at Sinigaglia, he was completing the task by executing and poisoning the members and adherents of the family in Rome, sacking their palaces, and carrying off the booty to the Vatican. No time, apparently, was lost in this latter portion of the work. When the Cardinal of St. Angelo died, as was asserted of poison, on the night of April 10–11, Giustinian, visiting the Pope on the 11th, was carried by him into a room where his creatures were already busily engaged in counting the spoils of the victim ; and Borgia pathetically complained that he was reported to have secured at least 80,000 to 100,000 ducats by the operation, but that there was only a paltry 23,832, to confirm which he called upon those engaged in the work to verify his statement. It is some satisfaction to know that when, four months after this, the monster died, he made "el più brutto, mostruoso et orrendo corpo di morte che vedesse mai," and that for very shame his corpse could not be openly shown to the people in the funeral ceremonies. The faculty of abhorrence seemed to have been exhausted by the revelations of Burchard and the suggestiveness of Machiavelli ; but Giustinian has shown us the possibility of even deeper degradation in an infallible Vicegerent of Christ.

## THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND.*

CHAPLAIN VAN HORNE'S 'History of the Army of the Cumberland' is one of the most important contributions to the story of the war of the rebellion which has yet appeared. It professes to be based upon materials mainly collected and supplied by General George H. Thomas himself, including his military journal, which is said to give accurate mention of the operations of each day and brief notes of the more important facts and events. A glance at the array of reports, despatches, orders, and letters referred to as authorities and quoted, shows that a long-continued and methodical collection of material had been made by Gen Thomas or some one under his eye, and that the author has thus been furnished with exceptional facilities for his work. The maps, in number, accuracy, and finish, are superior to those of any similar book upon the late war, and were prepared by the Superintendent of the Topographical Engineers-Office of the Department of the Cumberland, who had supervision of the official surveys of the battle-fields and lines of works upon a large part of the theatre of war in which took place the operations narrated in the history. No pains have been spared to make the work as nearly as possible exhaustive in its special province, and when we add to this that it is brought out by the publishers in thoroughly good style, it is clear that it must become the principal authority with all the members of the organization known as the Army of the Cumberland for its campaigns, marches, and engagements. Scarce a skirmish or a movement of a detachment, however small, is omitted ; the composition of the command, its corps, divisions, brigades, and regiments, are all given as they were originally made and from time to time changed, and a full appendix contains much valuable matter, including an illustrated résumé of the block-house system by which the railway bridges were protected on Sherman's long line of communications, and an extended list of the officers of all grades who were killed in battle or died of wounds. The book would therefore be a useful compilation of historical material, apart from the merits of the narrative.

* 'History of the Army of the Cumberland—its Organization, Campaigns, and Battles. By Thomas B. Van Horne, U.S.A. Illustrated with Campaign and Battle Maps compiled by Edward Ruger.' Two volumes and atlas. Cincinnati : Robert Clarke & Co. 1875.

The author's part of the work is creditable to him. He has devoted to his task the labor necessary to get a clear view of the movements and combinations of the troops whose story he is telling, and generally succeeds well in carrying his reader along with him, even in the intricacies of tactical movements of battles like Stone River and Chickamauga. His style is occasionally marred by turgid passages of attempted fine writing, but these blemishes are not frequent enough to detract much from the pleasure of reading the book. An introductory chapter gives the history of the political struggle in Kentucky which decided that that State should adhere to the Union, and of the events which soon put an end to the absurd attempt at neutrality which Governor Magoffin at first proclaimed Then followed the assignment of Gen. Robert Anderson to the "Department of Kentucky," the recruiting of loyal Kentucky regiments, the invasion of the State by the Confederate forces, and the successive appointments of Generals Sherman and Buell to the command of the Department.

It was under Buell's command that the organization afterwards known as the Army of the Cumberland took permanent shape, and his rigid ideas of system and discipline were soon impressed upon it, and made it from an early day one of the most compact and well-drilled bodies of troops in the Union army. General Thomas's connection with it dated almost from the very beginning, and his victory at Mill Spring was the most important of its early successes. Of course, the organization could not remain unchanged through all the campaigns of the war, but a sufficiently large proportion of its regiments remained connected with it to give fair justification to its historian for treating it as a unit and narrating the campaigns of all its parts, even when they were far separated from the Department and its commander, as in the case of the Fourteenth and Twentieth Corps, which made the march to the sea with Sherman. During that period General Thomas's actual command consisted of only the Fourth Corps of his original Cumberland Army, reinforced by the Twenty-third of the Army of the Ohio under Gen. Schofield, and the Sixteenth of the Army of the Tennessee under Gen. A. J. Smith, together with new troops and detachments of all sorts that were sent to his assistance. Yet so strong is the *esprit de corps* of the original organization that its historian attempts to follow the fortunes of its divisions, so widely scattered, and to give their history in detail. It is this feature of the plan of the book which makes it impossible that it should be in any sense a complete history, though it doubtless adds to its interest for those who regarded themselves as part of the Cumberland Army. So long as such a body of troops has a separate military work to do, its story may be written in a manner to make it a satisfactory integral part of the larger history of the war. But when the command was divided, and parts served in different campaigns, or when it became a component part of a larger army, as when it was the centre of Sherman's grand army, the attempt to write its history becomes most difficult, if not altogether impracticable. A unity is assumed when no unity in fact exists, and the best that can be made of it is to furnish material for a broader history, to be written from a standpoint which will enable the historian to group all the parts in fair proportion, and to free the picture from the color which a narrower view is sure to have.

The narrative may therefore be properly divided into two parts: the first covering the period in which the Army of the Cumberland was really a separate army engaged in independent campaigns, as during the time it was commanded by Buell and Rosecrans; the second period embracing the events in which it had only a share with the Armies of the Tennessee and Ohio. As to the first of these parts, the work of the author may be said to be complete, and his narrative to embody nearly all that any reader of history will need to know of the events described. The collection and collation of facts are painstaking and full, and the only criticism we are tempted to make is that a proper proportion is not maintained between great and little things. A trifling skirmish sometimes figures as a desperate engagement, and has a prominence which interferes with the grouping and composition of the work as a whole. As to the second part of the narrative in the classification above made, every real student of history will need to be constantly on his guard against the essentially misleading nature of a story in which the writer systematically gives overshadowing prominence to the part played by a fraction of an army, yet does not make his account the mere report of one integral part like a division or a corps. In trying to give enough of all that occurred to convey a tolerably clear view of a campaign, and yet to describe fully only what the portion known as the Army of the Cumberland did, the writer almost necessarily expands the excusable "quorum magna pars fui" of the Cumberland Army into an apparent claim to all the glory of every battle.

The most striking instance of this is in the account of the battle of Franklin, where the Confederate Army under General Hood was terribly repulsed by the National Army under General Schofield, the desperate nature of the contest being shown by the fact that in it Hood lost thirteen general officers killed and wounded. Yet the reader who should know that engagement only by Chaplain Van Horne's history would necessarily doubt whether the battle were anything more than an affair in which all the fighting on the Union side was done by one gallant brigade of the Army of the Cumberland. Of course, the reason assigned for this would be that the other troops belonged to the Army of the Ohio, and it is only the history of the Cumberland Army that is being written. In this case, however, the silence is so complete, and the extracts from official reports quoted as authority are so thoroughly culled of every allusion to the other forces, that the effect is altogether that of a garbled story, whatever be the reason or the motive.

Mr. Van Horne does not profess to give us much general criticism of campaigns, wisely limiting himself, in the main, to the narration of events as they passed. In the nature of the case, his work is strongly eulogistic. This spirit marks his treatment of the deposed as well as the successful leaders of the army. Buell and Rosecrans are alike right in all the controversies between them and the authorities at Washington. The former is justified in his retreat before Bragg, and the latter is said to have been forced to make the advance to Chattanooga with inadequate means and without real necessity. The standpoint is always that of one proud of the organization to which he belonged, and unwilling to see any but the side most flattering to it and to the leaders who were identified with its history. This could not well be otherwise, and we note it, not to condemn it, but to draw the line sharply between historical works of this class and the true history, in which the judicially impartial but equally well-informed historian shall take the larger view of events, and judge generals and armies from a standpoint which enables him to combine reasons of state with those of military necessity, and fully comprehend the relation of each army to the great common purpose.

*Prose Miscellanies from Heinrich Heine.* Translated by S. L. Fleishman. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876.)—In a small volume of three hundred pages, Mr. Fleishman has collected a number of interesting extracts from Heine's writings, which in no way cover the ground already occupied by other prose translators of that author, and only supplement the work that has been already done by them. The 'Reisebilder,' translated by Mr. C. G. Leland, gives but one side of Heine's complex character, while Mr. Stern's 'Scintillations from the Prose Works of Heine,' containing the 'Florentine Nights' and a number of examples of his wit taken at random from his writings, left comparatively untouched much of his more serious work. As Mr. Fleishman says in his Preface, "no writer better bears being quoted in brief, witty excerpts; yet none loses more by such treatment," and certainly no one comprehends all the charm and value of Heine's prose who only knows the extracted witticisms. In saying this we by no means condemn Mr. Stern's excellent volume, for it shows completely one of Heine's most fascinating sides—his boundless wit; but the editor of the volume before us to-day has added to the value of his book by giving us a chance to observe Heine's wisdom, which, be it said, was in no way devoid of wit.

The most important selections that the book contains are the condensed translations of the 'De l'Allemagne,' which treats of the history of religion and philosophy in Germany, and the admirable account of the Romantic School. Condensation was perhaps unavoidable, but we cannot help regretting that it had to be carried so far. The 'Memoirs of Herr von Schnabelewopski' might well have been omitted without harm to the book; its facetiousness is rather jarring than agreeable in English, and in its place we might have had a fuller translation of the Romantic School. It is a late day to call attention to the admirable way in which Heine wrote that chapter of literary history. Many long-winded German commentators and collectors of mouldy facts have toiled over the same ground, nearly buried beneath their learning, without half the insight of Heine, without half of his brilliant gift of exposition. Compare, for instance, Hayne's massive volume with these few chapters, and it is easy to see on which side the advantage lies—certainly not with the heaviest battalions.

Many of the 'Scintillations' are to be found in Mr. Fleishman's volume, but generally in their proper connection with other remarks; but even this last translator's more generous treatment does not satisfy us. Most readers would prefer to make their own condensations, and the asterisks which mark the frequent gaps are pretty sure to arouse the keenest curiosity about what has been omitted. Of Heine it is easier to give too little than too much. In addition to what we have already mentioned, the book contains his article on the pictures exhibited in Paris in 1831, that on the Suabian School, the Gods in Exile, and, in abbreviated form, his Confessions. This

selection, it will be seen, gives the reader opportunity to judge of Heine's versatility, and does not fall into the error of showing merely his brilliancy.

The introductory biographical sketch, based of course on Strodtmann's 'Life of Heine,' is of value. The critical part is interesting, but it fails, in our opinion, to give a complete explanation of the indifference towards him which is so common among the Germans. This cannot be ascribed wholly to his lack of moral character or to the frequent impropriety of his writings. These, doubtless, have had some influence; but the Germans are not more prudish than the rest of the world, and the English, French, and Americans have admired Heine warmly in spite of his obvious faults. His bitter attacks on Germany have probably had more to do with the coolness of their feeling towards him. He had a keen eye for the follies of his native country; he had certainly suffered severely from them, and he had a sharp tongue with which to rail at them. In this respect, his position is like that of Byron—neither is so much admired at home as abroad, and for the same reason: each of them attacked violently the ways of thought of his native land. Byron denounced England as the home of cant, and Heine was for ever ridiculing the political impotence of Germany and the tendencies of its writers.

Mr. Fleishman's translation is for the most part good. Objection must be made, however, to the use of such a word as *overly*, which occurs twice—namely, on pp. 68 and 267. In conclusion, it may be worth while to speak of the amount of attention Heine has received in this country. Besides the German edition of his works, in seven volumes, published by Schäfer & Koradi, of Philadelphia, which had reached its fifth edition in 1867, there are the translations we have mentioned. Moreover, it may not be generally known that the first translations of Heine into English appeared in this country, in a newspaper published in Newburyport, Mass. This was as long ago as 1830.

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*Fragments of a Samaritan Targum.* Edited from a Bodleian MS, with an Introduction containing a Sketch of Samaritan History, Dogma, and Literature, by John W. Nutt, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, etc. (London: Trübner & Co.)—The existence of Samaritans at the present day deserves to be counted among the curiosities of history. A scanty remnant—barely more than one hundred souls—they still inhabit the ancient town of Shechem (now Nablûs), which was first settled by their ancestors more than two thousand years ago. They have outlived the persecutions of Jews, pagans, Christians, and Mohammedans. They continue to observe many of the ordinances of Moses's law which have fallen into disuse elsewhere. And the certainty of their approaching extinction lends an additional interest to a people whose early fortunes form a conspicuous link in the chain of Old-Testament history, and whose name has become a proverb through the parable of Jesus. Dr. Petermann, in his 'Reisen im Orient,' gives an interesting account of their rites and usages. The law of Leviticus xii., ordaining the separation of women after childbirth for thirty-three or sixty-six days, is still rigidly enforced. Twice in the year, sixty days before Passover, and sixty before Tabernacles, the priest receives the Terumah or heave-offering, while year by year the Paschal lamb continues to be sacrificed on Mount Gerizim. Petermann, observing that their women were generally without ear-rings, was informed that the use of these ornaments had been prohibited, because employed by Aaron in the fabrication of the golden calf. To Gerizim, their sacred hill, the chief events of the Biblical narrative, at least in its earlier parts, are referred. On or about it was the seat of Paradise, here Adam built his first altar, here the ark rested, here Abraham attempted the sacrifice of his son. Nor has it lost its importance in their eyes even at the present day. In 1858 they expected a great revolution to occur on earth, when dynasties were to be overthrown, and new empires to rise. Then, after an interval of ten years, the ruling sovereigns would assemble the wisest men of the earth in order to determine the true faith. Among these the Taêb (the Messiah of the Samaritans) would appear, convince them of his God-given mission, and lead the nations back to Gerizim. The vessels of the Temple would then be restored, the manna discovered, etc.

The attempt of the Samaritans to monopolize the consecrated spots of the religious past was dictated by jealousy of the Jews. Themselves the successors and, to some extent at least, the heirs of the lost Ten Tribes, they claimed to be the true Israel, the only faithful guardians of the Law of God, which they asserted had been falsified in Judea. They never recognized the Prophets and Hagiographa as canonical books. The Pentateuch, however, they have always held in great veneration. Indeed, their reverence for the books of Moses was so great as to extend even to the character in which they were written. When the more archaic Hebrew character was abandoned among the Jews, it was preserved in the scrolls of the Samaritans, and, being thus transmitted to our own day, has served to interest scholars in their literature. But the pious zeal with which the Samaritans guarded the written form did not ensure them against forgetting its meaning. The language of the Law soon ceased to be understood among the vulgar, and it was found necessary to translate it into the Samaritan dialect.

Probably in the third century A.D., at or about the same time that the Chaldaic version (Targum) of Onkelos was fixed within Jewish circles, the Samaritan Targum was written down. To Mr. Nutt we are now indebted for the publication of a fragment of this Targum, from a MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, older than either the Barberini or Vatican MS. at Rome. It embraces the end of Leviticus from chap. xxv. 26, and the Book of Numbers, with considerable breaks in various places. "It is to this Targum," says Mr. Nutt, "that recourse must principally be had for settling the forms of the Samaritan language. . . . It is of considerable importance, therefore, that we should possess a thoroughly critical edition of the text, and it is as a contribution to this end that the present fragment has been edited." 152 pages of the book are devoted to an introduction on the history, doctrines, and literature of the Samaritans. In the second part, the connection shown to subsist between Samaritans, Sadducees, and Karaites will be found of special interest. An account of the Hebrew-Samaritan Pentateuch, the Targum, the Samaritan-Greek version, the Arabic version of Abu Said, the Samaritan Chronicles, etc., is given in the third part. The whole essay is a complete and careful reproduction of the results of Samaritan research, which are presented with singular clearness and accuracy. Perhaps the statement on p. 19, concerning the lighting of sham beacon-fires by the Samaritans, should be received with some caution. On comparing the source from which this statement is drawn with collateral passages of the Talmud, it appears to us more likely that the term "Cuthim" is employed in the instance referred to as a disguise, and that the sectaries referred to are in reality the early Christians.

The value of the volume is enhanced by two appendices. The former contains an account of the Firkovitch collection of Samaritan MSS. at St. Petersburg by Dr. Harkavy. The enthusiasm with which these treasures are announced would be more cordially appreciated if grave suspicions had not lately fallen on the genuineness of some of Firkovitch's discoveries. The second appendix embodies an English rendering of the 'Tract on the Samaritans.' We are glad to notice that the Introduction to the Targum is also to be sold separately. The interest of the latter appeals solely to the narrow circle of Semitic scholars. The former may be read with profit by all who are interested in the phenomena of religious history.

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*Lectures on Dendrology.* [Vorlesungen über Dendrologie. Gehalten zu Berlin im Winterhalbjahr 1874–75, von Karl Koch, Med. et Phil. Dr., Professor der Botanik an der Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität zu Berlin.] (New York: L. W. Schmidt. 1875.)—This is an unfinished course of lectures given last winter in Berlin by Professor Koch, of the University. It is by no means so restricted in its range as the common definition of dendrology might indicate; it comprises much more than the natural history of woody plants. The course is divided into three parts. The first gives a popular history of the garden and of landscape gardening; the second deals with the structure and life of trees, and the relations of trees to hygiene and climate; the third with a single family of woody plants, the *Coniferæ*. It will be seen that the claim made by Professor Koch, that dendrology is not a narrow and one-sided science, is well supported by the comprehensiveness of the present treatise. The subject is presented in a very interesting manner. Its technical character is relieved throughout by the introduction of bits of curious information, which have evidently been subjected to most careful scrutiny. A few of these may be new to many of our readers, and we therefore transfer them in a condensed form.

Only a small proportion of the hardy shrubs and trees growing in the open air in Germany are indigenous there; North America has contributed a far larger number; then follow successively Siberia, the Caucasus, Southern Europe, and the Orient. In a few favored localities in the South Rhine there are now some shrubs from the Terraces of Mexico, and even Peru and Chili. Of the sacred trees the author has much to say. He states that the oldest European nations revered the oak; the Germans the linden, making it the gathering-place of their sacred tribunals. It was not until the middle of the last century that the oak was adopted as the symbol of German power. The Northern people regarded the birch as sacred, but in the South of Russia its place was taken by the pear-tree. In the Himalaya

the cypress (*Cupressus religiosa*), the juniper (*Juniperus religiosa*), and the cedar (*Cedrus Deodara*) surround the temples. South of these mountains, the banyan (*Ficus religiosa*) supersedes the conifers just named. The ancient inhabitants of Egypt and Nubia revered the sycamore; by the Christians now living in those countries it is known as the tree of the Madonna. The sacred tree of South Africa is the gigantic Baobab (*Adansonia digitata*); in Teneriffe, a dragon-tree was regarded as sacred.

Long before the time of laying out walled gardens and cultivating in them plants for their flowers, the rose appears to have been widely planted. Each of the four great Asiatic groups possessed a rose of its own and carried it throughout its wanderings, until, finally, all four became the common property of the four peoples. The great Indo-Germanic cherished the Hundred-leaved rose (*Rosa Gallica*), but later, among the Germans, *Rosa canina* played an important rôle. The sacred rose of the Semitic, or Arabic, people was the Damascus, and perhaps the musk-rose; the Turkish-Mongolian division cultivated the yellow rose (*R. lutea*); Eastern Asia, probably China and Japan, is the native land of the so-called Indian, or tea-rose. In very early times it was carried to the East Indies; and as it was found there first by Europeans, it has received the erroneous common name of Indian rose. The author says that the roses which bloom many times in the year (the Remontant roses) are the product of comparatively recent horticultural art.

The employment of "weeping trees"—those with pendant branches—near burial-places is with us of recent origin. We have received the custom from China, where, from early times, a weeping cypress has been cultivated. Two weeping willows also are extensively planted there, not only at graves but in pleasure-gardens and parks. One of these was early introduced into Europe by way of the Orient, and it was assumed by Linnæus to be the tree under which the Jews, in their Babylonish captivity, sang their songs of sorrow, and he gave it therefore the erroneous name, *Salix Babylonica*, which it has since held.

Professor Koch's history of the garden among the ancients, and his account of the changes through which the garden has passed in its development, are full of interest. He finds in the style of gardening an expression of the national character, and he traces the modifications of the style with great skill. He is much perplexed, however, by the present character of Chinese pleasure-gardens. They resemble the free, wide parks which form such an attractive feature in England, and the Celestials have possessed such gardens for centuries. It is difficult, our author thinks, to explain this anomaly of free parks in an unprogressive and pedantic nation like the Chinese, except on the hypothesis that this people must have had a period of free thought at some time far back in their history. In Japan great parks appear to be wanting, and their gardens differ in other points from those of China. Horticulture is thought to be much older among Japanese than the Chinese, and to have exercised an important influence upon the latter. We do not find, however, that Professor Koch makes this clear. The gardens of the Greeks and Romans, those of the Italians of the middle ages and of the present day, French and Dutch gardens, are treated of in much detail and in a philosophical manner. We must express a hearty wish to have this course of lectures, together with those promised for the present winter, soon given to us in an English translation.

*** Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.*

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| *Authors.—Titles.* | *Publishers.—Prices.* |
|---|---|
| Centennial Orations, 1874-75, swd. | (Boston) |
| Castelar (E.), Lord Byron and Other Sketches | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Dabney (Rev. R. L.), Sensualistic Philosophy | (A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 2 00 |
| Dodge (Mary M.), Hans Brinker; or, The Silver Skates | (Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 3 00 |
| Daily Prayer and Praise | (American Unitarian Association) 1 00 |
| Doubleday (A.), Reminiscences of Forts Sumter and Moultrie | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Dalton (Dr. J. C.), Human Physiology | (Henry C. Lea) |
| Forster (J.), Life of Jonathan Swift, Vol. I. | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Gordon (Maj. Gen. G. H.), Second Massachusetts and "Stonewall" Jackson | (A. Williams & Co.) 2 00 |
| Johnson (Helen K.), Roddy's Reality | (G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 75 |
| Lundy (J. P.), Monumental Christianity | (J. W. Bouton) |
| May (Sophie), Ashbury Twins | (Lee & Shepard) 1 75 |
| Mettenheimer (H. J.), Safety Book-keeping | (Robert Clarke & Co.) 1 00 |
| Macmillan (Rev. H.), Sabbath of the Fields | (Macmillan & Co.) 2 00 |
| Newman (J. P.), Babylon and Nineveh. Illustrated | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Optic (O.), In Doors and Out | (Lee & Shepard) 1 75 |
| Parker (Rev. J.), Job's Comforters; or, Scientific Sympathy, swd. | (A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 25 |
| Portfolio for December, swd. | (J. W. Bouton) 1 00 |
| Reading Club and Handy Speaker | (Lee & Shepard) 50 |
| Reference Catalogue of Current Literature | (F. Leypoldt) |
| Skeat (Rev. W. W.), Shakespeare's Plutarch | (Macmillan & Co.) 2 50 |
| Sticler (A.), Hand-Atlas. Part 29, swd. | (L. W. Schmidt) |
| Stowe (Harriet B.), Betty's Bright Idea. Illustrated, swd. | (J. B. Ford & Co.) 30 |
| Strong (Hon. W.), Relations of Civil Law to Church Polity | (Dodd & Mead) |
| Shuman (A.), The Loves of a Lawyer | (W. B. Keen, Cooke & Co.) |
| Smith (G. B.), Poets and Novelists | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Stuart-Glennie (Prof. J. S.), Pilgrim Memories | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Talboys (W. P.), West India Pickles | (G. W. Carleton & Co.) |
| Travelers' Grab-Bag: Stories | (Authors' Publishing Co.) 0 50 |
| Uniform Trade-List Annual, 1875 | (F. Leypoldt) |
| Viollet-le-Duc (Em.), Discourses on Architecture | (Jas. R. Osgood & Co.) 8 00 |
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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1875.*

## The Week.

THE interval between the adjournment and the assembling of Congress is being mainly occupied with hints and prophecies as to what it will do on reassembling. There seems to be a general feeling among the Democrats that great caution and unity of action will be essential for them, and for this purpose it will probably be necessary for the majority to be managed by a caucus in all important matters. The Republicans are rather exultant at the signs of dissension in their opponents' ranks caused by the appointment of the committees, and it is amusing, when we remember what material the Republican Congresses used to be composed of, to see the veterans shaking their heads at Mr. Kerr's unpractical disposition and the want of experience of many of his appointees. As regards the chairmanship of the Committee of Ways and Means they are especially disappointed, and point out with great force that the choice for so important a position ought to fall upon a man not merely able and upright, but an experienced debater, a thorough parliamentarian, a man completely conversant with the actual condition of business and the national finances, as well as the needs of the country. In short, he should be a statesman. A man with all the best qualities of Hamilton, Webster, and Turgot united would not be a bit too good for the place. The Democrats, we suppose, comfort themselves with the reflection that though this is the kind of man the Republicans may have meant to put in, the choice, for some reason or other, used to fall upon Schenck and Dawes. Among the things intended by the Democrats for the winter's campaign is said to be the revivification of the Committees on the Departments. They have been merely nominal for the last fifteen years, and have exercised no check on expenditures, but, belonging to a hostile party, they will now be made more energetic and inquisitive.

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The general order of the President to "let no guilty man escape," however it may have been violated in some quarters, has been carefully obeyed by the press. The Chicago *Inter-Ocean* has, it pretends, recently become possessed of certain facts tending to prove that the head of the Whiskey Ring is not MacDonald or Joyce or even Babcock, but the Secretary of the Treasury himself, and with a commendable zeal has published them, evidently resolved not to screen the guilty, however high their position. Its "facts" are: 1st, that Bristow's brother-in-law's brother, one Weller by name, is a Louisville whiskey-dealer and rectifier; 2d, that Bristow when he goes to Louisville always stays at the house of his brother-in-law; 3d, that when he goes to Cincinnati he stays with one Hobart, "connected" with "one of the largest whiskey-houses" there; 4th, that before Bristow became Secretary of the Treasury he was counsel for Cunningham & Co. of Louisville, and in that capacity asked the Chicago district-attorney to release some whiskey of theirs which had been seized by the Government, and that after he became Secretary the whiskey was released. With regard to the first charges, we are sorry to say that the Wellers deny that the Secretary makes his home with either of them, but, on the contrary, goes to the Galt House; while the brother-in-law's brother says that he has been prosecuted by Mr. Bristow. As to the Cunningham seizure, it seems that Mr. Bristow had nothing to do with the release, declining to interfere on the ground that he had been counsel. This still leaves open the question, however, whether he "stays with Hobart" when he is in Cincinnati. This a Congressional committee would no doubt be able to discover. No tribunal, however, short of a court of law will be able to clear the Secretary of the charge that his brother-in-law's brother is a "whiskey-man."

The action of Governor Chamberlain in refusing to commission Whipper and Moses has led to an open breach between himself, backed by the conservative, taxpaying part of the population, and the corrupt and shameless organization which goes by the name of the Republican party in the State and controls the legislature. The legislature is greatly disgusted at finding that the Governor means to put a stop to corrupt legislation by vetoing improper bills, and to bring the government of the State back into the hands of the property-owning classes. The message of the Governor, sent to one of the New England dinners last week, calling upon the Puritan to unite with the Huguenot to put down evil-doing, has not a very peaceful sound, and, if it were not for his own good-sense and that of his followers, as well as the fortunate absence of a meddling temper at Washington, we might have had bloodshed before now. It has been clear for some time that the present condition of South Carolina—with half the State going under the name of "Conservatives" because they prefer to keep their property, and the other called "Radicals" because they want to get it away and have actually got a good deal of it, and these Conservatives all belonging to a superior race, embittered against the other by misgovernment and despising it at the same time—could not last for ever, particularly now that the State is surrounded with other communities which have been through the same troubles, and in which the whites have come out victorious.

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A bill has been introduced in the California Legislature providing for the punishment of wife-beaters by flogging, and it will probably attract the unfavorable attention of humanitarians. The whipping-post and pillory in Delaware have been supposed, by that large class of people who may be said to be interested in the abolition of pain, to be a relic of the brutal past, and they will probably raise an outcry against the proposed legislation in California. There are, however, some things to be brought forward in favor of flogging, the chief of them being the evidence of the English judges, who have found it on the whole useful for that class of crimes which are accompanied by gross brutality. Of these wife-beating and garroting are of course signal instances. It is a curious fact, by the way, that the law, with all the tenderness it has developed for inhuman wretches who torture their unfortunate victims for money or for the mere pleasure of the thing, still retains a Roman severity in the case of children, and allows their flagellation by parents in the interest of good morals and education, while it shudders at the thought of a flogging being given to a poor fellow who first beats his wife nearly to death and then pours camphene over her naked body and sets fire to it. It may be a good thing to reserve the right to beat children and a bad thing to flog anybody else, but it should be remembered certainly that the right of flagellation is not by any means a right without legal recognition.

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Philologists, and the multitude of unscientific people who take an interest in the growth and changes of the meaning of words, will be interested in reading the testimony taken by the Canal Commission in the case of Auditor Thayer. To "audit" bills no doubt originally meant to investigate the merits of a bill on behalf of the person or corporation against whom it was presented, and to decide whether it ought to be paid or not. An "auditor" was one who performed this duty. From the testimony given by Mr. Thayer, however, it seems that in what may be called Canal circles the word to "audit" now merely means to see that the bills are in "proper form" and "genuine," or, in other words, not forgeries, and an "auditor" is an officer of state who, after first satisfying himself on these essential points, buys the bills up himself at the usual

market rate. This is what Mr. Thayer has been doing, and his motives, according to his own account, are the same as those which have led to recent modifications in the meaning of a good many political and legal terms—a desire to prevent stagnation in trade, and to keep the crops in motion between the wheat-fields of the West and tide-water. He further says that he made no money by his transactions, and declares himself under the impression that he simply was discharging the duties of his office. It is another case of what Mr. Dorsheimer calls the "common law of the Canals." Nevertheless, Governor Tilden has suspended Mr. Thayer.

Mr. Henry C. Bowen of the *Independent* has recovered $1,000 in his libel suit against the Brooklyn *Eagle*, so that, as he laid his damages at $100,000, he has lost $99,000 on this one transaction. At this rate, two or three libels might reduce him to a condition of very moderate wealth. We observe also that, in another suit, evidence has been taken by commission, in Philadelphia, touching the contract between Mr. Bowen and Jay Cooke & Co., of which we spoke a year ago, to puff the bonds of the Northern Pacific Railroad in his "money and editorial columns," in return for heavy payment in stock and bonds of the road. Mr. Bowen's denials about this contract at the time were very painful to us, as coming from a gentleman who paid so large a sum for his pew in church. Mr. Lewis, the assignee of Jay Cooke & Co., has now been examined, and has testified to the existence of the contract, and to the receipt by Mr. Bowen of advances made on account of it. We would now, at the close of the old year, and in this period of moral confusion and uncertainty, earnestly urge subscribers to religious papers to ask themselves the following questions, and to try to answer them: Is there any necessary connection between religion and morality? If so, what connection? Should a religious man be moral? Should a religious paper be moral? Are not the scandal and evil of immorality on the part of a religious teacher greater than those of immorality on the part of other people? Is it right to encourage immoral religious men, whether teachers or not, in occupations tainted with humbug? Is not the Christian the natural foe of humbug? Is it not part of the mission of Christianity to put down humbug in every department of life? It is only after having cleared his mind thoroughly on these points that a man should renew his subscription to his religious paper and draw his chromo or his pair of suspenders.

The "Plymouth Church troubles" are still raging. Mrs. Moulton and the church are to call a mutual council to discuss their differences, having at last agreed on the matter and form of the questions to be submitted to that body. Plymouth Church, on its side, has called an advisory council to discuss on general grounds whether its discipline is or is not in conformity with Congregational usage and principles, but has been induced, or has consented, to postpone the meeting of this council until after the mutual council shall have finished its business. How it will all end it would be hard to say, but it is safe to predict that it will not end soon. Mr. Beecher's tone at the church meetings is defiant and combative of late, and shows little trace of the attitude of Christlike silence and resignation which he assumed when he came back from the mountains. He is not willing to be tried over again, he says, by ministers, for the very natural—and we must say, as it seems to us, strong—reason that they have neither the time nor the kind of experience to try the case fairly. Brother Shearman has resigned the church clerkship, receiving from Mr. Beecher in open court a certificate that he is a truly good man, in spite of all the newspaper charges against him. In the meantime, Moulton has begun a suit for malicious prosecution against Mr. Beecher which promises to reopen the whole question of the latter's guilt or innocence.

The New York *Commercial Bulletin* gave recently, apropos of the President's anxiety, expressed in his message, about the effect of a continuance of the Cuban insurrection on American commerce, some curiously instructive figures, from which it appears that, when he declared that the interests of commerce might call for some kind of interference with the belligerents, he really had not considered what he was saying. Indeed, it would appear from the Custom-house returns that the continuance of hostilities in the island was, on commercial grounds, a thing rather to be desired than deplored. Here is the table; we wonder whether the President did not ask General Babcock for it while he was writing the message, and whether Babcock, in the bewilderment of his whiskey troubles, did not forget it:

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1873–4 | $86,272,000 | 1870–1 | $58,240,000 |
| 1872–3 | 77,469,000 | 1869–70 | 54,056,000 |
| 1871–2 | 67,720,000 | 1868–9 | 58,201,000 |

It always, and for good reasons, happens that the last two weeks of the year are characterized by dulness in wholesale trade; the past week has been no exception to the rule. In Wall Street there has been little life in any market. Gold has declined further, and, contrary to expectation, so has sterling exchange. It was reasonable enough that gold should fall, as the Treasury on Monday began the prepayment, without rebate, of semi-annual interest on about $830,000,000 of debt, or, to be accurate, of $25,039,734 50 gold interest. Of this interest, $10,699,343 50 goes to holders of registered bonds, and the remainder to the holders of coupon bonds. This interest payment, at first glance, seems large when the amount of bonds called in for redemption is remembered; but the bonds called were entirely of the class on which interest is due in May and November. The quarterly interest on the new fives, issued in place of the 5-20 6 per cents, does not fall due either in January or July. Lower gold usually stimulates a demand for sterling, but, strange to say, rates for the latter have declined, the explanation being that a large amount of sterling was borrowed by speculators in stocks and was turned into gold, and then into currency, for the purpose of making the borrowers secure in their loans during the time which they calculate their speculation in stocks will cover. Excepting this supply of bills, which was ample, there were no bills except those made against cotton, and a very small amount against provisions. The money market has been fully 7 per cent. for demand loans, although higher as well as lower rates have obtained at the Stock Exchange, according as special influences were used in the loan market there. The banks gained in surplus reserve, by reason, however, of a reduction in liabilities, since the total reserve was actually less in amount than the preceding week. The banks will undoubtedly lose more currency before the tide turns in favor of New York, but it now seems likely that their gains in gold will exceed these losses.

The English mind is still greatly occupied, and with much irritability, over the late accidents to the ironclads, and over the exceeding delicacy of structure and arrangement which these accidents reveal. The prospect is at this moment that the policy of building great ironclad ships will be totally abandoned, and the fleet reconstructed of smaller, simpler, and more easily handled vessels, which will rely largely on quick manœuvring and ramming power. The ease with which a first-class ironclad gets out of order, and her utter helplessness and uselessness when she is out of order, have alarmed people. The condition of the army, too, is not satisfactory. The present pay and bounties do not bring in the old class of men, such as fought on the Alma and perished in the trenches before Sevastopol, but a younger and feebler class, who desert or break down much more readily. The Duke of Cambridge acknowledged as much in a speech the other day, and the public mind is filled with schemes of reorganization, all of which are of doubtful practicability and must involve a heavy increase of expenditure. The loss of Ireland as a recruiting field, owing to the diminution of the population, and the increased comfort of what there is, has greatly changed the military problem for the British Government since 1800, and yet England has since then grown in population and

resources far more in proportion than the enemies she then engaged; on the other hand, there are more first-class powers to be reckoned with than there were then.

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The French Ministry are making the unfortunate mistake of trying to embody in a bill introduced by M. Dufaure the worst restrictions ever imposed on the French press. The number of things forbidden to journalists is so great that ordinary political discussion would be impossible under the proposed law without leaving the editor at the mercy of the authorities, which is in fact the position in which M. Dufaure avowedly seeks to place him. The worst of it is that no party has as yet appeared in France able and willing to oppose legislation of this kind on principle. Each opposes it when introduced by its enemies, but is quite ready to resort to it itself whenever it gets into power. The French press is in reality no more unfair or passionate in its treatment of either men or measures than the press of this country, and does not approach in scurrility the "reform press" of this city during an exciting canvass. If there be any excuse for the harsh treatment with which nearly all French legislators like to visit it, it is to be found in the character of the people, who are very sensitive to abuse, and the remedy for the license of the press would seem to be in letting it loose until the public learn not to heed it. If, for instance, a man in Mr. John Bigelow's position in France had been told by a Paris paper, when a candidate for office, as Mr. Bigelow was told by the New York *Times*, that he had "betrayed every trust confided to him," he would never have rested day or night until he had got some satisfaction, and the public would have sympathized with him, and French society would have been convulsed over the incident. Here, on the other hand, Bigelow laughed, and his friends laughed, and the whole thing was forgotten by the public in twelve hours, and probably is now forgotten even by the editor of the *Times* himself. We do not mean to say that this is an admirable state of things; in fact, it is in many respects disgusting; but the evils of a licentious press are on the whole, as far as the community is concerned, vastly less than those of a well-policed press. The French Press Bill is treated by the Ministry as an essential preliminary to the raising of the state of siege in certain Departments.

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The Germans have been busy discussing the budget for the coming year, which is both an encouraging and annoying document. The Government, it ought to be observed, maintains under the new régime its old habit of prudence, and underestimates the receipts and overestimates the expenditures, and puts away all surplus as savings, and not to be drawn on. The estimates for the coming year report a deficit of nearly $5,000,000, of which the Liberals deny the existence. For instance, the Navy Department figures as requiring 31,000,000 marks, when it really has an accumulation of 48,000,000 marks, composed of the unexpended balances of former appropriations in the treasury. Then, too, although hardly any of the French indemnity has been devoted to civil purposes, the Government is calling for fresh appropriations for new staff-officers, for the construction of new barracks, for the fortification of Strassburg, for the increase of the War Fund and of ready money constantly kept in the treasury, and for the expenses of the alteration of coinage. The Liberals, however, are now disposed to insist on an abandonment of the old military mode of estimating, and on the adoption of the parliamentary system of close adjustment and of greater consideration for the taxpayer. They think the present extraordinary demands of the Government should be met by loans, and the burden thus distributed over a number of years; that the accumulations in special departments should be treated as liable for current expenses; that the French indemnity should be made to meet the expenses of recoinage; and that the Government should place more reliance on the yearly revenue, and on the elasticity of the resources of a free people, and on their credit for the meeting of emergencies, and less on the semi-barbarous practice of hoarding, begun when Prussia was a poor country, without commerce or manufactures, and surrounded by enemies and often compelled to fight for her life.

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The substance of the Papal reply to the Spanish note asking for a modification of the Concordat has been published, and is thoroughly insolent and contemptuous. It sets out by declaring that the Concordat ought not to be modified in any particular; that the Holy See is willing to help Spain, but only on condition that the "Sacred Knot" shall remain unloosed. It must be remembered that the "Sacred Knot" gave the bishops almost complete control over education, the press, and public worship. The note then, in a tone of pity, however, says that if the Spanish Government cannot help itself the Pope will look into the matter, and see whether he can do anything for its relief, and will, with that view, examine the new constitutional scheme; and, as King Alfonso expresses a desire to be on terms of cordiality with the Holy See, his Holiness is willing to reciprocate. The preparations for the final assault on the Carlists in the meantime continue, and a larger force than ever will probably "force the fighting" in the early spring, and this the rational portion of the Spanish people doubtless consider more important than the Pope's views about the Concordat. Don Carlos, on his side, has prepared for the fray by issuing the most magniloquent of all his proclamations, promising his troops plenty of fighting, of suffering, and of glory, and calling Alfonso a "rebel prince of his family." The manifesto has, however, been coldly received, and will probably do little for the resuscitation of the cause.

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The constitution granted last year by the King of Denmark to his Icelandic subjects materially changed the character of the Althing, or National Assembly—first, by substituting two houses for the single house of the old Althing; and, secondly, by conferring upon the new body legislative powers and complete control of the island's finances, in place of the merely advisory functions exercised by its predecessor. The first session of the reconstituted Althing began at Reykjavík July 1 of the present year, and ended August 26. The Lower House after organizing selected by ballot 6 of its 36 members to form, with the 6 deputies appointed by the Crown, an Upper House; thus making the upper branch to consist of 12 members and the lower of 30. Jón Sigurdsson, the distinguished leader of the Liberal party, was chosen presiding officer of the two Houses when in joint session and Speaker of the Lower House, while the Bishop of Iceland, Pétur Pétursson, was elected President of the Upper House. In the course of the session 16 bills were introduced by the Government, of which 11 became laws; and of 37 originating in the Houses 15 were added to the statute-book. Among the more important legislative acts were the budget for 1876 and 1877—the sessions of the Althing are held every other year—and laws systematizing the salaries of officials; regulating emigration; guarding against the introduction of epidemics; encouraging the construction of roads; enlarging the medical school at Reykjavík; and imposing duties on spirituous liquors and tobacco. An address to the King was voted, and joint resolutions were passed urging upon the Government the necessity of submitting a general school law, of promoting steam navigation between domestic ports, and of a revision of taxes; commissions were also appointed to prepare a plan for the establishment of a law school and to investigate the subject of tariffs and duties. The proceedings in general indicate that the practice of self-government secured by the new fundamental law will lead to important and beneficial results, and that the island enters upon its second millennial period under very favorable auspices. The only stormy debate which occurred during the session had reference to what is known as the "fjárkládi," an epidemic which has raged among the sheep of Iceland for several years, greatly to the injury of the island's principal industry. The Reykjavík journals of October 18 chronicle the arrival of the bronze memorial of the sculptor Thorvaldsen, voted last year by the municipality of Copenhagen to the municipality of Reykjavík; it was to be set up, on a pedestal already prepared for it, in one of the squares of the latter town.

## THE PURITANS AT THE SOUTH.

WE are sure the sympathy of honest and patriotic men all over the country will be given to Governor Chamberlain in his struggle with the corrupt and unprincipled majority of the South Carolina Legislature, for, as he telegraphed to the New England Society of Charleston on the 22d, it is the cause of civilization which is now at stake in that as well as in some other Southern States. The bold defiance to decency and morality displayed in the election of Moses and Whipper to two unexpired judgeships really does show that it is civilization itself which is in peril in some of the debased democracies of the South. For the shameless indifference to public opinion which has made possible in South Carolina the selection by the legislature for judicial functions of two notorious reprobates, bankrupts, and defaulters—one of them a rascally white man and the other an ignorant and vicious negro—the Republican party at the North is in a great degree responsible. This cannot be repeated too often, and cannot be remembered too faithfully, because we doubt much whether the public mind at the North is yet fully alive to the real nature of our responsibility towards some portions of Southern society. The President may be safely taken as a fair representative of the average man, and he has waked up, as is seen in his last message, to the dangers with which unintelligent suffrage threatens the country. With his anxiety on this point nobody can find fault, but when he comes to talk of the remedy, and finds it simply in common schools and unsectarian literary instruction, he shows that, like so many of the body he represents, he does not fully understand the evil which he is discussing, for the common schools do not and never can give children either their moral or political any more than their religious training. They put in their hands the means of acquiring a certain amount of moral and political training by teaching them to read and write; but this is all they do or are ever likely to do. The notions of right and wrong, of the expedient and inexpedient—the main features, in short, of the code by which conduct is regulated, are learnt by the great bulk of the youth of the country from their social surroundings and their own experience of actual life. The attachment of the body of the people to republican government, for instance, is not due to what they were taught at school about republican government, for they were taught little or nothing at school, but to their own experience of its working. A boy learns respect for the authority of the majority not out of his political catechism, but from what he sees of the mode in which this authority is created and exercised. His respect for the law, too, is derived, not from treatises on government, but from his knowledge of the men who make the laws, and of their working after they are made. Nor would it be possible to counteract, by any amount of preaching or literary instruction, the impression about the judicial character and functions which a young mind gets from observation of the judges themselves, and from observation of the estimation in which they are held by the public. No greater misfortune can happen a young man than to grow up in a community in which justice is bought and sold, and its dispensers are treated in common parlance as knaves and embezzlers. His education with regard to certain fundamental social ideas is, and must remain for ever, fatally defective, in spite of all books and teachers can do. We doubt if it be possible to overestimate the moral and political injury done to the generation which was coming on the stage of affairs in New York during the years when Barnard and Cardozo and their confederates were on the bench, and Shearman and Field were using them in the service of Fisk and Gould, and the press was ringing with denunciations of the whole gang. Hundreds, if not thousands, of young men who will play or are playing prominent parts in life will never get over the effects of seeing what those judges did and hearing the way in which they were spoken of. The youth must have been more than ordinarily endowed by nature whose very ideal of Justice herself, or at all events of the possible limits of her rôle in this world, was not fatally injured by the experience of those years.

It was the forgetfulness of the Northern public, and especially of the Republican party, of this educational influence of the mere phenomena of political and social life, that led to the recklessness of much of the legislation and of more of the administration of the Reconstruction process. People forgot how much the colored voters had to learn, and how rapidly they would learn something or other, and how important the way in which they learnt and the things they learnt were going to be both to the South and to the nation at large. The notion that the use of the ballot itself would bring the knowledge how to use it was perhaps, under all the circumstances, excusable, though it was drawn from the experience of races two thousand years in advance of the Southern freedmen. But there was no excuse for supposing that it would bring this knowledge without the aid of sound social and political influences. People learn the proper use of the suffrage at the North surrounded by a highly civilized community; by officials who, if not all they ought to be, are on the whole honest and respectable; and by judges whose integrity nobody doubts; and by a public opinion which, on the whole, works for righteousness. The negroes at the South had none of these aids; they began their political life in a country desolated by war, and in the midst of a social disorganization so great as to threaten civilization itself with extinction.

At this point the North intervened. It ought to have intervened with all the best influences and agencies within its reach. Its resistless force, in which the freedmen saw the very finger of God, ought to have been wielded by what was best and purest in Northern society. The work of setting the political machinery in motion ought to have been entrusted to the most upright and intelligent functionaries and administrators the free States could produce. More solemn work than the work of Southern Reconstruction no people were ever called on to perform, and it ought to have been performed by the wisest heads and cleanest hands we could get. Instead of which we proclaimed to the country, by our legislation and administration, that here was a chance for defaulters, embezzlers, cheats, vagabonds, and forgers. We gave office then to men to whom we dared not give office at the North, much as the North will stand in the way of official impurity. We made it known that, let the excesses of the men whom we armed with power be what they might, their victims should have no redress in this world. We asked for abject, blind, and silent submission to the meanest, most sordid, and degrading tyranny ever set up in any age or country—the tyranny of feeble and ignorant knaves. The result was a social and political system such as the world has perhaps never seen, in which the forms of constitutional government, and the processes of law, and the emblems of power in its most legitimate and august form, were used to cover petty and grand larceny, embezzlement, forgery, and resistance to the police.

It was thus the school was furnished in which our colored voters learnt their first lessons in politics. The United States appeared on their horizon, at the dawn of their political life, as a power which furnished artillery to bands of burglars whenever people defended their houses too stoutly. It is not wonderful, then, that their notions of government should be so confused, and so corrupt, that Governor Chamberlain's principal duty seems to be that of a detective watching a lot of "cracksmen" and trying to counteract their various schemes of robbery. There is to us something profoundly melancholy in that despatch of his in which he calls for a fresh display on the part of the New Englanders in South Carolina of the old Puritan "spirit of undying, unconquerable enmity and defiance to wrong" at this crisis in the history of the State. The old Puritans showed their mettle and formed their character in conflicts with what was highest and mightiest and most respectable in the civilization of their day. They contended on flood and field with "gallant men and cavaliers," with kings and priests and nobles, with the strongest faiths, the oldest prejudices, the loftiest pride, and the most revered customs the world had to show, and with a fortitude and heroism worthy in all ways of men who sought to establish the kingdom of God on earth. But the tracking of criminals, the work of bringing thieves and pickpockets and highwaymen to the gallows and the cart's-tail, the defence of the public

treasury against forgers, and the exclusion of defaulters and embezzlers from the judicial bench, they never dreamed of as any part of their mission. When a man of Governor Chamberlain's standing has to appeal for the execution of tasks of this kind to the spirit which brought Bradford and Winthrop and Endicott over the sea, and closed the ranks behind Cromwell at Naseby, it must be confessed we have fallen on evil days. And yet the days are not so evil as they seem. American civilization may be threatened by many perils, but assuredly it is in no danger of being overthrown by jail-birds, and, bad as the condition of some parts of the South may seem, four years of a pure, high-toned, energetic, and conscientious Administration in Washington, with its face set like flint against peculation and corruption, with neither quarter nor protection for adventurers, jobbers, and intriguers, with cordial social and political relations with the best portion of American society—best, we mean, in regard to morality and intelligence—would break up the corrupt element in Southern politics without any difficulty, and if it did not turn the steps of the negro voters into the paths of honesty and economy, would at least fill them with the respect for character and ability through which, if the South is to be saved, its salvation must come.

## THE REDUCTION OF THE ARMY.

THERE are certain national affairs, the tariff being a conspicuous example, which have always served as Congressional foot-balls, to be bandied to and fro—as an index of the strength of party ranks or of the skill of party leaders—and which, as soon as they have reached a goal, are again carried into the arena to be struggled over by new sets of players. From these contests the buffeted object always emerges more or less damaged, and the winning party, caring nothing for the symbol that it has borne before it, and little for the principle, if haply a principle there be, involved, flings aside the somewhat mutilated trophy for which but a little while before it was hotly contending. One of these playthings is the Army, to the treatment of which we invite attention.

The dread of a standing army as a menace to constitutional liberty manifested itself with our English forefathers in the yearly re-enacted and annually expiring Mutiny Act, which for so many years, we might say for political ages, has given the military force of Great Britain its legal existence; and found expression in the Congress of the Confederation, at the close of our own Revolution, in the disbandment of all the Continental forces except, literally, a few dozen men to guard the ordnance stores at Fort Pitt and West Point. That dread, although not always clearly defined as an article of political faith, coupled with the notion that an army is "aristocratic," and therefore unrepublican, and is costly, and therefore should be suppressed, has tinctured popular feeling to the present day. Many of the Congressional debates and the statutes growing out of them affecting the military force, form a curious medley of unwilling and often ignorant legislation. To this very point one of the few traditional witticisms of Washington bears witness. It is said that it was proposed in the Convention to limit the army to five thousand men, when he offered the additional clause, "and no enemy shall invade the United States with more than three thousand men." In April, 1861, the army consisted of nineteen small regiments. In 1866, the peace establishment was fixed at 50,000 men; in 1869, it was reduced to 30,000, and in 1874 to 25,000 men. A vigorous effort will be made this winter to effect a further heavy reduction under the plea of economy.

In the eyes of politicians, it would be childish for the army to revive the vows and pledges written on the sands of popular feeling in the frightened days of '61. The handful of regulars at Bull Run, Wilson's Creek, and Fort Pickens in 1861, and on the Peninsula and again at Bull Run in 1862, who, as they stemmed those floods of fire, indicated what an army corps of such troops would have been worth, established no claim of which their survivors and successors can show the bond. But until the millennium introduces unerring judgment as well as perfect morals, armies, equally with courts of justice, will be necessary agents of governments. And with these, as with women, to be respected they must be good. To be effective, an army must be able to discharge its ordinary duties thoroughly, and must have a reasonable reserve with which to respond to demands of emergency. It is the unexpected that happens and for which we should be prepared. But, unfortunately, where danger is prospective, present cost is apt to outweigh future advantages. The standing army has probably never been in excess of the current requirements of the country, and its muster-roll now is but a trifle larger than when the rebellion arose. No one doubts the impulse given to secession by the occupation of the empty or feebly garrisoned forts, and yet at this day about eighteen hundred men hold the seaboard from Eastport to Pensacola. It is true that no new rebellion is to be apprehended, but it is equally true that the forts were built for a purpose, and that the men in each harbor are barely enough to guard the guns decently from petty thieves of old iron. The condition is the same upon the Lake region. Except the artillery just referred to, the nominal peace establishment is really occupied with chronic war. Probably not a dozen of the trans-Mississippi garrisons have not been engaged in actual hostilities within the last ten years, often on the briefest warning. As we have pointed out in discussing the Indian question, the ability to compel peace is an important element in its preservation. To display that ability requires every available carbine and rifle. But vexatious and harassing as are the savage troubles, there is plainly other work that may engage the troops. In 1866, with many more disposable battalions, the Fenian flurry required their active employment to prevent embarrassing complications, and these or other international blunderers may any day set the Canadian frontier aflame. The instant that Great Britain is involved in war a military cordon on the north will be necessary for our own neutrality. In like manner, the Cuban question may lead to an embroglio; and the Rio Grande is no barrier, and but an indifferent boundary as Mexican affairs now run. We are no alarmists, and the immediate foreign outlook is reasonably serene; but modern war is its own herald, and the reduction of our minimum army would place us among very foolish virgins who had thrown away their lamps as well as expended their oil. But the constant Indian and the possible foreign problems are not the only ones that may require martial solution. Utah has its thorn in the flesh that may demand military surgery in the future as in Sidney Johnston's day. New Mexico is virtually a foreign province, despite the sweet pipings of ambitious politicians, and fortune may tempt the alien people, who to this hour hate the Americans, to repeat and extend the revolt of Taos. The inhospitable climate of Alaska may shield its natives from fierce contact with the pioneer, but if the unregenerate squatter ever migrates there, as Mr. Seward dreamed, there will be loud and real calls for the army in force. We thus barely indicate some military possibilities, although, as becomes our Centennial year, we are now in a state of unusual repose; for the doors of Janus are never locked, and no one can foresee the disturbing jar.

The prompt reply that this representation will receive is that an army is costly, and that volunteers will appear when war comes. An army is costly, but neglect is generally extravagance. The shepherd who delays sending for dogs until wolves attack the flock, will find slaughtered mutton more expensive than dog-feed. An army on a war-footing is only for war, but the true peace establishment is one of efficient activity. One overgrown would be mischievous, but one impotent from size would be less economical; for efficient as well as merciful war is really short, sharp, and decisive. The common argument assumes that in peace the army makes no return for the money expended upon it, that to cut it down will be a positive saving, and that, in fact, volunteers will do the fighting when hostilities occur. That the army makes a positive and constant return, albeit not in the shape of visible dollars paid into the Treasury, we may point out another time; but to assume that reduction below a certain limit is economical is akin to the fallacy of undermanning a steamship. A few dollars in wages may be saved,

but the essential working expenses are not diminished, and a very serious risk of wrecking the whole establishment is incurred. Volunteers saved the nation, but they did so as determined citizens bent on upholding the Government at every sacrifice; for, with all their courage and all their patriotism, there is no more costly machinery for waging war than volunteer organizations. They are wasteful of time, of stores, of money, and, above all, of lives. Disease makes fearful havoc among such troops. Our regulars will never form the body of a mobilized army, but they should always be its soul, for a division of disciplined troops is the tempered lance-head making efficient the extemporized column that it leads. To tear to pieces a delicate machine—a machine that is vital in a double sense—with the certain knowledge that it must speedily be reconstructed, merely to save the friction of its daily use, is a blunder that no statesman will countenance and that no politician will look upon with complacence five years after he has voted for it.

That the discipline and organization of the force now in existence are what they ought to be, we by no means pretend. The army has suffered since the war from the same causes which have corrupted and are corrupting the civil service. Its tone has been lowered by leniency and favoritism in high quarters, as well as by the spirit of money-getting which has, since 1868, flowed through all branches of Government like a flood of lava. It is with the remorseless removal of whatever has interfered or is interfering with the discipline and honorable feeling of the force that the present Congress ought to occupy itself. In cutting down its numbers, we are simply diminishing the effectiveness of the only instrument of its will on which the Government can at this moment implicitly rely.

## "GOVERNOR TOM'S" PI-UTE LETTERS.

WE published last week a letter from ex-Governor Thomas C. Fletcher, of Missouri, on the subject of his "Pi-Ute" correspondence with the *Globe-Democrat*. In this he renewed his declaration that in charging him with writing certain letters "defending Delano and whitewashing the Interior Department and the Indian administration, and of generally taking the part of counsel for the defence," we foully slandered him; admitted that he did write the "Pi-Ute" letters, but denied that they were in substance an attack on Prof. Marsh, and filled with puffs of himself, and "so constructed as to have no meaning except as a defence of Delano and Smith," and demanded that we should "publish the letters fairly." We should have been delighted to do this but for the danger of establishing a precedent of a very perilous nature. To republish the "Pi-Ute" letters would require something like an entire issue of the *Nation*, and as simple justice would exact that what is done in the case of one aggrieved man should be done in every case, and almost all public men now labor from time to time under "charges" or "slanders" of some kind, we should be obliged to impose upon the readers of the *Nation* a good deal of reading which is already brought within their reach by the enterprise of the daily press. Besides this, Mr. Fletcher seems to have overlooked the fact that instead of having "no newspaper" at his command, he has three—first, the *Globe-Democrat*, in which he published his correspondence; second, the St. Louis *Republican*, in which he has begun to publish letters addressed to the *Nation;* and, third, the *Nation*. We believe we may also anticipate another opportunity for him to defend himself, namely, before an investigating committee at Washington this winter (where we, of course, cannot appear); and, besides all this, he challenges Prof. Marsh to cite him before the Faculty of Yale College—an admirable suggestion, which will without doubt be acted upon by the Professor. Nevertheless, though we cannot republish the entire correspondence, we will do what we can by extracting from it a few passages here and there to show its general drift. To appreciate them fully, we must beg the reader to bear in mind that they are written under an assumed name by the chairman of a Commission appointed to investigate charges brought against the Indian administration by Prof. Marsh, and which he laid before the President expressly on the ground that the heads of that administration—Smith and Delano—were, in his opinion, in a measure at least responsible for the frauds. The Indians therefore are the plaintiffs, and Prof. Marsh is their volunteer attorney; Smith and Delano and their subordinates are the defendants; while Governor Fletcher is chief of a board of judges appointed to try the case.

The first letter of the correspondence which we have before us is a very short one, dated at Omaha, July 26. It announces the approach of the Commissioners, says that "everybody professes" to know something about Indian contracts, and gives the following as an illustration:

"A very dignified old gentleman addressed Governor Fletcher at the tea-table to-night and said: 'I understand you are one of the Indian Commissioners,' to which Governor Tom very blandly assented. 'Well,' said the old gent, 'I know something about the way the Indians have been treated.' 'Indeed,' said Governor F., 'I will be greatly obliged to you for any information on the subject.' 'Well, sir,' said the old gent, 'I was in the Black Hawk War, and I know that the treaty we then made with the Indians was never carried out in good faith by the Government; there were some beans and other things promised the Indians which they never received.' 'Ah!' said the urbane Governor Tom, 'have you any information of a more recent date than that?' 'Oh, no,' said the old man, 'I have not known anything about the Indians since the Black Hawk War.' All that Governor Tom could say was that he feared that the matter having occurred over forty years ago, the statute of limitations would apply, but he would see about it."

Now this is pretty much all there is in the letter, and, as we are obliged to suppose that the chairman of the Commission would not have written it without some object, we take it to be the very obvious one of throwing doubt on volunteer evidence as to Indian frauds such as Prof. Marsh had been accumulating.

In his second letter (July 30), "Pi-Ute" Chief has got as far as Cheyenne, and declares that "it is hardly probable" that the Commissioners "will be able to gather much information as to any frauds upon the Indians" for the following burlesque reasons: that the contractors "elect whom they please as delegates to Congress"; that they "control not only the politics of Wyoming, but the business of every kind"; that "the beef-contractor" controls nearly all the population "outside of the towns"; while the "people of the towns" are controlled by the "contractor for transportation." In his Indian character, the chairman declares himself often "insulted" by the white men, who "ask me to work, or suggest that I had better go to work"; and adds, "Poor, ignorant white man! don't know that Indian don't work." He then makes a reference to the Red Cloud Agency, where the frauds he is commissioned to examine are alleged to be carried on, in the same burlesquing vein:

"Up in the vicinity of Red Cloud Agency there are camped from 9,000 to 12,000 red people, and they dance and run horse-races, and draw their rations from week to week during the whole year. The beef-contractor drives up great herds of beeves, the Government pays for them, and my people have sport in shooting them and eating as much of them as they desire";

while, as if to make the animus of the whole letter still plainer, he declares that he is "tired of the Indian Territory" (in which the "Indian policy" of the Government has been supposed to be most successful), because "the Cherokees and Choctaws have so far departed from all the good old Indian customs that they are now very little better than white people."

In the next letter (still dated Cheyenne, August 1), he gives some evidence as to Indian frauds at Red Cloud as follows:

"I have learned myself of great wrongs done my red brethren. The Government pays from $4 75 to $5 per 100 lbs. for flour at the Red Cloud Agency, and issues it in the original packages of 100 lbs. sacks to the Indians. Now, my people, in their glorious natural state, don't care much about flour, and they sell it to the trader for about 50 to 75 cents per 100, and when the trader has accumulated 200 or 300 sacks, he sells it again, probably to the contractor for supplying flour, and he turns it over again to the Indian agent and gets $4 75 or $5 per 100 for it again; and so it goes on, to the great injustice and exclusion of the red man from any of the heavier margins upon it."

A letter from Fort Laramie (August 5) contains two suggestions for the solution of the Indian problem—1st, that the Commissioners "invest the whole of one appropriation of $8,000,000 in whiskey, and issue it all at one time"; and, 2d, that "it would be a good and cheap thing for the white man to build a railroad to the happy hunting-grounds, and send all my people there." Arrived at Red Cloud Agency, the chairman begins work by ridiculing Red Cloud himself, one of the principal witnesses in the case, suggesting that he has "had his day" and now "rides in a wagon," and makes the following genial reference to himself and his own sagacity:

"They also have news of a fight somewhere up in the Big Horn country, in which Lone Horn, the lame chief, was killed by the Crows. Also one Minneconjon, one Uncapapa, and four Arrapahoes. I believe Commissioner Fletcher regretted that they had not attested their valor by a larger mortality list. At least he muttered something very much like it. I am afraid he does not appreciate the nobleness of my race. I don't think he properly estimates the suffering of my people. I told him how they had nearly starved last winter, and had ate their very dogs. He only remarked that the average Indian preferred dog to venison or Southdown mutton, and guessed it did not hurt him much to eat dog."

Another reference of the same sort is to be found in the same letter. An Indian party had come in, firing guns in the air and whooping, whereupon "Pi-Ute Chief" says that Mr. Fletcher observed that they were wasting their ammunition, when by "aiming lower" they might render the Government essential service; and then:

"I do greatly dislike that man. He thinks a good white man worth as much as an average Indian. He says that by the treaty the Sioux were made citizens of the United States, and so cruel is he towards my race that I believe he wants to make them wear trowsers with seats in them, and would even subject them to the degradation of making them vote at elections with white men, and then I presume he would want to put them in the penitentiary for stealing horses and cattle, and hang them for murder. The next delegation that goes to Washington to get some more horses and have a big talk, will report him to the Great Father and have his wages docked, unless he reports in favor of Mocha or Java coffee instead of Rio, and white sugar instead of brown. I believe he thinks molasses good enough for an Indian. He remarked that he thought if they ate black molasses it would probably foment (*sic*) in them this warm weather and make them lively. Think of it, O ye gods!"

It is hardly worth while after this to give any more extracts to show the "Pi-Ute's" opinion of the ex-Governor, or of "Governor Tom," as he would perhaps prefer to be referred to, or "Railroad Tom," as we believe he is called in "politics" We will merely give a few more extracts, with dates, and our own understanding of their meaning—not, be it understood, the meaning which "Tom" himself may now say he intended, but the meaning which they must have had to nine men out of ten when they were written.

In a letter dated August 6 he says: "They [the Commissioners] are discussing the Indian question generally, and while I believe they think the President's 'peace policy,' as it is termed, is the best one that could be adopted, they are discussing some changes in its details"—(Qualified whitewash). And in the same letter:

"But I was about to tell you of my suggestion for civilizing my people. It is easy and plain. Let the Government purchase us a reservation on the Connecticut River between Hartford and New Haven, and put my people upon it. If they didn't get civilization there they wouldn't get anything else unless they paid for it, and my proud nation would learn that work is not degrading, and the people whose bowels yearn towards the noble red man would have an opportunity to expend all their overflowing sympathy upon him"—(Indirect abuse of Professor Marsh and the Indians together).

Again, referring to one of the main questions in the case—the issue of rations—he says that "it is hard to tell" how the number of 13,423 at Red Cloud Agency was arrived at, because, among other reasons, they "want to overstate their numbers, so as to get more rations," and "they beat white men out of many rations in that way"—(Prejudging the case in favor of the defendants). The next letter is dated Red Cloud, and prejudges the case in the following singularly unblushing way: "The complaint that the Arrapahoes and Cheyennes had starved last winter was not sustained by anything that could be drawn from them."

In the next letter, dated Whetstone Agency, occurs this passage:

"The whole plain for ten miles from the Agency was strewn with the skeletons of the beeves issued to my people. One good Indian was gathering up beef-bones on the prairie, and when enquired of as to what he would do with them, said he was going to ship them to Professor Marsh, at Yale College. We did not get a clear understanding of his object. He knew Marsh was in want of bones, and perhaps it did not occur to him that there was much difference between beef-bones and the bones of the mastodon. Perhaps he thought Marsh could tell from the bones what kind of beef he had been getting for his wakapomanie, or grub"—(Ridicule of Marsh and of the Indians together).

And this:

"The investigations of the Commissioners are being made with great care, and will be thorough in every particular. They have examined about seventy-five witnesses, and have a great mass of testimony and documentary evidence"—(Puff of the Court, including, of course, the presiding judge).

And this:

"Then there is another peculiarity of the whites. If one of them does not understand what another is doing, he at once accuses him of rascality. The great defect in the white man's law is that there is no provision made for requiring every one to mind his own business"—(Slur at the whole investigation and the motives of its promoter, Professor Marsh).

The next letter, dated "Camp on Chardron," purports to give an account of a "talk," or, in other words, of some of the evidence taken. Of the witnesses, the evidence of one is given in a broad vein of "Pi-Ute" burlesque; another is spoken of as endowed with a vast amount of "rascality"; while a third is described as a "dead beat." Spotted Tail, however, is spoken highly of:

"He showed a perfect knowledge of the whole subject, and the clear, concise, and forcible manner in which he stated the case could not be excelled. He showed that the *appropriation was not sufficient, and that covered the whole case*"—(Another unblushing prejudgment of this part of the case in favor of the Government, Delano, and Smith, at the expense of Congress).

The next letter, dated "Camp on White River," gives an account of the attempt of the Red Cloud agent (under investigation) to put up a flag on the Agency as a signal for the benefit of the Indians, declares that the Indians "rallied" and "cut up the pole" and "threatened to burn the Agency," and adds:

"Oh, how lamentable is the folly of most white men. Professor Marsh fortunately had the wisdom to comprehend the matter and the bravery to bring the agent up for an investigation. My people are always delighted to find a white man of sense and practical knowledge of business and things of the world, and free from prejudice—a man hunting bones, or something of the kind, who will believe what the noble red man, with one lounge [*sic*] and good heart, will say on the question of grub, or what a squaw-man or half-breed who don't like an agent will say about him."

As to the chairman, this letter announces the fact that he "pushes everything day and night," breaks camp "usually before sunrise," and often examines witnesses "till midnight"; and as to the witnesses generally, "the difficulty is that the Indian and squaw-man and half-breed has so much upon his mind that he cannot recollect till to-morrow what he says to-day"—(Puff of the chairman and burlesque of the whole investigation).

From these extracts any one can judge for himself of the character of the letters. We are quite ready to admit that if we had examined the letters at first in this minute way, we should not have characterized them as whitewashing Delano and Smith and the Indian administration directly, but rather as consisting of burlesque of the evidence, impeachment of many of the principal witnesses for the plaintiffs, slurs on the motives and intelligence of the prosecution—all indirectly tending to produce an impression that the whole prosecution was a mistake, and that the general management of the Indians was in good hands. Every one knows the old story of the advice given to the lawyer who has no case—to "abuse the plaintiff." If we can go so far as to imagine the story told of a judge on the bench appointed by the defence to try the case, we should have an exact parallel in "Governor Tom's" case.

But we imagine that we have taken up enough time in discussing the defences put forward by Mr. Fletcher for his conduct. The offence of which he has been guilty lies not in the particular turn which he gave to the "Pi-Ute" letters, but in the fact that they were written at all. Mr. Fletcher was a judge appointed by the Government in an important case in which its good name and honor were involved. He occupied an office which, though of limited duration, was just as judicial in character as that of any judge who tries the disputes of individuals in a court of law. It was an office, too, needing peculiar delicacy and reserve as well as fairness, inasmuch as the judges derived their appointment from the defendants who were under investigation, while the plaintiffs were ignorant, helpless savages, dependent on the defendants for the common necessaries of life, and believed to have been defrauded of their food and clothing through the connivance or negligence of the defendants themselves. For the presiding judge of a court like this to open immediately a burlesque correspondence with a newspaper under an assumed name on the subject of the investigation, the witnesses, the evidence, and the general character of the defence and the other side, is an outrage of decency so gross that we believe no instance of its having been committed in this country before can be produced—not even in this city, nor in the worst days of Barnard, Cardozo, Fisk, and Tweed. When we add to this the fact that Mr. Fletcher, being discovered in the act, instead of maintaining, as a man at all restrained by public opinion would have done, a most careful silence, rushes forward with the air of an injured man and proclaims that he wrote the letters, and that it was a proper thing to do, we may see in him a new and extraordinary instance of the lowness of the prevailing tone in politics, and the confusion as to the commonest rules of right and wrong on which our white "Pi-Utes" ply their trade.

## ENGLISH OPINION ON THE SUEZ CANAL PURCHASE.

LONDON, December 6, 1875.

IN my last letter I stated that public opinion in this country was fixed (so far as public opinion can ever be fixed) on the Eastern question; that we were making up our minds to change our traditional policy of upholding the *status quo* of the Turkish Empire; that we were concentrating our attention upon holding in our own hands the communication between the Mediterranean and India; and that we were prepared to fight, if unhappily

we should be driven to do so, in defence of our new position. In making these statements, I disclaimed any official knowledge of what was going on, and I am not ashamed to admit that I was profoundly ignorant of the negotiations for the purchase of the Suez Canal shares from the Khedive; but as that ignorance was shared by my neighbors—that is, by the entire population of these islands except the Cabinet and, I suppose, Baron Rothschild and a Foreign-Office clerk or two—there is not much to be ashamed of. The secret was well kept; for an English diplomatic secret, unprecedentedly well kept. Negotiations must have been in train for several days, and besides the Foreign-Office clerks, the Telegraph officials must have known that something was going on. But the enterprise of the daily newspapers and the ingenuity of the Stock Exchange were equally at fault, and, until the official announcement appeared in the *Times* of last Thursday week, I do not believe that a score of men in London knew anything about the matter. There are many stories going about the clubs and such places of male resort as to the private history of the transaction. One of these (for which a most respectable Conservative print is responsible) is that it was all settled quietly by Mr. Disraeli and Baron Rothschild over the Baron's walnuts and wine on the twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity. The great Prime Minister, so the story goes, celebrates the Christian Sabbath in the society of the great financier—in other words, Coningsby and Sidonia dine together every Sunday. On the particular Sunday alluded to—in Mr. Disraeli's "Maundy-Thursday" style—a telegram was brought to the Baron on a golden salver announcing that the Khedive's shares were offered for sale to the French Government and that the parties were haggling about the price. "Mr. Disraeli"—I must here quote the words of the organ in question—"Mr. Disraeli suddenly raised his head and said, 'What is the price'? The Baron immediately telegraphed for the desired information to Paris, and the answer came back in a few minutes—'four millions sterling.' 'We will take them,' said Mr. Disraeli without a moment's hesitation, and from thence the matter became one merely of detail." The scene is so graphic and characteristic that, were it not that the newspaper which gives it currency is above the suspicion of a joke, I should have thought it had perpetrated a parody on the Premier's best paragraphs. It is more probable that some ingenious correspondent has played an unkind joke upon the newspaper. Another account, equally authentic, states that the Cabinet were terror-stricken by the proposal when it came before them; that Mr. Disraeli and Lord Derby were more alarmed than any of their colleagues; and that it was only by the persistent pressure of a benevolent Lady Macbeth, connected matrimonially with a leading member of the Cabinet, that the deed was done. The late Empress of the French undoubtedly precipitated the Franco-Prussian war against the wiser counsels of her Cabinet; and it may be that the consultations of our Ministers are directed and prospered by a special providence who is not responsible to Parliament. If so, let us trust that all things may be ordered and settled by her endeavors upon a better and surer foundation than they were by the special providence that presided over the destinies of France. I attach but little importance to these canards, nor do I believe that the influence of the Duke of Sutherland and the Prince of Wales was exerted, on their way through Egypt, to bring about this end. Whoever is really responsible, the Government must defend their action when Parliament meets, and to them must attach the credit or discredit arising out of it.

Up to the present time, both foreign and domestic critics have approved it. The *Times* set the example in this country, and the smaller papers generally follow the lead of the leviathan of the press upon any grave subject of foreign policy. Excellent and independent as these papers are in their criticism of domestic affairs, they are hesitating and uncertain when they come to handle foreign affairs. They have no knowledge, and they grope about in the dark. With the exception of the *Economist*, which is well informed and judicially-minded, the whole London press has simply rung the changes on the articles in the *Times*. Too much importance, therefore, must not be given to the fact that the London press has approved the purchase of the shares. The fact that the foreign press, with the exception of the Bonapartist prints in France and those which are hostile to the Duc Decazes, have also spoken favorably of the negotiation, does not prove much, except that abroad it is regarded as of less importance than it is at home. Outside the official and the press circles I hear grave doubts are expressed as to the wisdom of this stroke of policy. Men are saying, "We should like to know what Gladstone thinks of this," and "What are Lowe's views upon it?" But neither of these Pythias of finance has spoken, though probably both of them will do so when the question comes before Parliament. The only prominent member of the Opposition in the House of Commons who has discussed the subject is Mr. Fawcett, and he has thrown out some serious suggestions by no means favorable to the purchase. Lord Sandhurst, better known as Sir William Mansfield, has published a letter in the *Times* which shows that men of his way of thinking are shaking their heads a good deal over the business. He represents the better-educated military circles of English society. The old aristocratic Whigs, and the Tory gentlemen of the pre-Disraelite epoch in the history of the Tory party, do not like the sort of thing at all. The British Government, they say, never dealt in stock-jobbing transactions before this unfortunate business. We did not mind being twitted by foreign cavillers for being "a nation of shopkeepers" so long as we were under Liberal domination; but now, with a Tory Government in office and a Tory majority in the House of Commons, we did not think that we should see our Administration huckstering in shares like a parcel of Jew bill-brokers. "Non componantes bellum sed belligerentes" was the proud old Roman boast, and that should have been the boast of our new Tory Government. There is a good deal of nonsense of this sort being talked just now in the selecter social circles which is not without a certain weight.

Another class of outside critics complain that by our anxiety to get these shares we have shown our hand too soon, and thereby encouraged Russian or Austrian aggression and precipitated the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. We have, they say, by this official act practically abandoned Turkey and opened the door for Russian ascendancy in Constantinople. We have advertised to the world that we have changed our traditional policy and thrown the Sultan over. And this has been done by a Tory Government. It is no secret that the purchase of these shares at almost a nominal sum was offered to Mr. Gladstone's Government, and pressed upon them by some not uninfluential personages in the City and at the West-end, and they would have nothing to say to it. They were not prepared to change our Eastern policy at a moment's notice, and yet they might have done it much more quietly, and with more dignity, than the present Government has done it under cover of the Turkish repudiation. Depend upon it, the Gladstone Government had good reasons for their abstinence. It may be that circumstances have changed since then, and it was right that we should show our hand, and show it by some open and decided act. On this point we would reserve our judgment until the whole proceedings and correspondence are laid before Parliament. Another body of objectors ask the question, How is our position in the East improved by the purchase of these shares? We are four millions out of pocket, and, though the Khedive promises to give us interest upon this sum for a period of nineteen years, it is very doubtful if we shall ever see a penny of it. We have secured a certain number of votes—some say ten, others say more, and a well-informed correspondent of a leading weekly paper says that deferred shares like ours have no votes at all—in the management of the concern, and much good they will do us. If serious complications were to arise, our ten votes, if we have them, would not be worth the trouble of giving them. We should have to show something much more formidable than voting power, and that we should have to do whether we had the shares or not. Still another criticism is passed upon the action of the Cabinet—it is without precedent and unconstitutional. The executive is not entitled to spend one penny that has not been voted by Parliament, and, though an unconstitutional act of this kind may be approved of in a great emergency, and got over by the device of an act of indemnity, the country looks with jealousy upon any such transaction, and desires to get the judgment of Parliament upon it at the earliest opportunity. Parliament ought to have been summoned together for a short session as soon as the decision to enter on the transaction had been taken. Many weeks must elapse before the regular meeting in February takes place, and every sort of wild scheme will be proposed and discussed before then. We may find ourselves embarked upon a project for buying up all the other shares at an additional outlay of twenty million sterling, or for widening or deepening the Canal, or for lowering the tariff, or what not, before the initial proceeding has been approved.

The *Economist* of this week goes very near proving, though on what it admits to be imperfect knowledge, that financially, commercially, and politically the purchase is a failure. It leaves an impression on the mind that we have been "jockeyed" (if I may use the expression) by the Khedive, and have really got next to nothing for our four millions, or I may say our eight millions, assuming that we shall get no interest and no return for nineteen years, and that is an unpleasant impression to be allowed to float about, though it satisfactorily explains the approving attitude of our foreign critics. I suspend my judgment upon the whole transaction until I see the correspondence, and read the papers, and hear the explanations of the Government. But no one can doubt that Mr. Disraeli has been ill-advised to postpone the meeting of Parliament to the usual time. In his own interest he ought to have summoned it to meet at once. In the present state of public

opinion he would have got his act of indemnity with little trouble. He may get it in the actual course of events, and in that case success will justify the delay. But, on the other hand, he may, and probably will, have to face a strong reaction of public opinion, and indications of reaction are manifesting themselves daily. He certainly will have to face a good deal of hostile criticism which will have time to crystallize, and before the 4th of February people may have convinced themselves that of all the mistakes which this Government has committed, the purchase of these unprofitable shares is the gravest and the least defensible.

# Correspondence.

## IS BUSINESS IMPROVING?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: At short intervals during the several past months the *Nation* has informed its readers that a general revival in business was taking place, and that the trade of the country was improving in a marked degree. As you still persist in this view of affairs, will you permit me to give you a few reasons why I think you are mistaken, and then be kind enough to publish your grounds for believing that the past few months have shown any material increase of business prosperity?

The mere fact of a certain activity existing in the merchandise which composes the bare necessaries of life is no sign of business well-doing, especially when, as is now the case, most of these commodities are sold at an absolute loss on their first cost of production. The iron business is one of the greatest industries of the country, and I very much doubt if any one engaged in it would say the past year has afforded him any profits, or that the outlook for the coming one is any more promising. A great many large furnaces and foundries are closed, and many of those now running are only doing so because they can't stop. With lumber it is the same or even worse. Up to the close of navigation, prices have steadily declined both in the Eastern and Western markets, and it is safe to assert that all of the business in this staple in 1875 has been done at a loss to the manufacturer, not only on the legitimate profit he should realize, but on his absolute expenditure of money in producing his stock. The same is true even in a greater degree of our dry-goods staples. A great many woollen mills are closed up, and on several large lines of woollen goods there has been a decline in price lately from the previous low rates. In the various manufactures of cotton there has been this year, and most of it recently, a reduction in price ranging from 10 to 20 per cent., and in some instances much greater. The recent circulars issued by the agents of the large dry-goods manufacturers in New York show that *now* very nearly all of their stock is for sale at lower prices than a year ago. The foreign trade we are now having in cotton fabrics to new points of demand, it is safe to say, is all done at a large loss to our manufacturers, and simply to unload the goods which have accumulated on their hands. Owners of large factories can better afford to do one or two years' business at a loss than to stop their works and disperse their workmen; and it is the general history of such establishments that they keep on through hard years working at a loss until the weak ones fail, and then, after compromising, start again, or sell out to some one who repeats the performance.

A late statistical circular of Dun, Barlow & Co. gives the number of failures which have occurred during the first nine months of the year in the United States, with the amount of liabilities. The total number is 5,334, with liabilities of $131,172,503. Of these, 1,771 failures, with $54,328,227 of liabilities, occurred in the third three months of the year—an excess of about 200 failures and $20,000,000 of liabilities over the second three months. The failures and liabilities for the first nine months of 1875 are also greater than the average of failures and liabilities for nine months of any of the four preceding years by 1,174 failures and $3,730,000 of liabilities. Now, the increase in the number of failures, still more than in the amount, is an unfavorable symptom of the business condition of the country, there having been 3,050 in 1872, 3,887 in 1873, 4,371 in 1,874, and 5,334 in 1875, taking nine months of each year.

It is fair to say, however, that the circular from which I quote states that "in anticipation of the movements in crops and currency a fair trade has been done at almost all jobbing centres," and "that as compared with the condition of things at this date last year there is certainly an improved prospect." It is now nearly two months since the above was written, and I am credibly informed that since then the previous rate of failures has been fully kept up, both in numbers and amounts of liabilities. Any change in the price of staple articles of manufacture has been for the worse, and the feeling among business men is one of hopelessness for the future, rather than satisfaction with the present.

Yours truly,

Brooklyn, Dec. 15, 1875. D. S.

[In noting, from time to time, such improvements in the aspects of business as have appeared on the surface, we were always to be understood as comparing the actual condition of things either with the depressed condition of business which prevailed during the first year following the panic or with the unsound condition existing previous to the panic. It would be strange indeed if, after such a severe remedial process as set in with the events of September, 1873, there should have been no signs of returning health in 1875; and it would perhaps be equally strange, considering how thorough and universal was the derangement of business when the panic occurred, if there should not still remain much that is unsatisfactory in the state of industry and trade. "D. S." has taken much pains to expose the still diseased spots in our industrial system, and we do not say that he has entirely overdrawn his picture. But what of his facts? They show that the process of recovery from the effects of the panic—or, more properly, from the derangement that caused the panic—has not yet run its complete course in *all* branches of business. Some interests are naturally reached by it later than others, and some, being affected by a greater complexity of influences, yield more slowly to the remedy than do the remainder. But are we to conclude, because the recovery is not complete and universal, that therefore there has been no improvement? Besides, some discrimination should be made as to what constitutes an improvement or recovery in the condition of business. There may be a great deal of recovery that is not indicated on the merchant's ledger. If, for instance, a manufacturer who has been making goods at a continual loss effects such a reduction in the wages of his employés and in the cost of his raw material as enables him to produce goods proportioned to the purchasing ability of consumers, there is a fundamental improvement in the condition of his business, and, to say the least, he stands on the threshold of prosperity, though at the moment there may be little demand for his goods. Within the past year there has been a large amount of improvement of this kind in every branch of manufacturing industry, and even among those which "D. S." instances as specially depressed. Where such a change has occurred there is a basis for confidence and for ultimate activity which did not exist before; and in all interests thus affected there is now a much more hopeful feeling than there was a year ago. This we deem improvement. So, also, we reckon it as of some account that the crops of the West and the South are likely to yield an exportable surplus that will bring a good deal more than the ordinary money value. The cotton crop, for instance, promises to be the second largest in our history. These are facts which in both these sections – and five-eighths, if not three-fourths, of our trade is with them—have brought about a state of business which is certainly an improvement on that existing in 1874.

We do not entirely agree with "D. S." in regarding the number of failures as a measure of the current depression of business. They are rather an indication of the extent of the insolvency which past evils and the decline in prices have produced. Suspensions are an inevitable consequence of a reactionary crisis, and they may, and usually do, coexist with a genuine improvement in the conditions of business. Indeed, they seem to be essential to a thorough cure of commercial disease, and any reaction is to be distrusted, as having only half effected its work, if it is not attended with a good crop of failures. The past year has done much more than was accomplished in 1874 towards removing the complex derangements by which all values and wages have been inflated and the whole industrial, commercial, financial, and social life of the country vitiated; and although many have apparently been hurt by this process, yet all classes and interests have been brought nearer to their normal condition. Assurance that this reconstruction has worked out its full results is, of course, needful for the full restoration of activity

in all departments of trade and industry. That we may have to wait longer for it is perhaps true, but that we have made rapid and great advances towards it in the past year—particularly the last half of it—there is no room for doubt. Nor are there wanting signs that we are closely verging on a period when confidence in the future, and impatience over the past, will unite capital and labor in prosperous activity. The new era, however, must not be judged by the false standards so mistakenly accepted during the time of spurious prosperity, from 1861 to 1873. Our future progress must be measured by the old landmarks. If "D. S." could be persuaded to estimate the present state of affairs by comparing it less with the ante-panic standard, and more with the fundamental conditions of true prosperity, he might discover some ground for our occasional hopeful utterances, and would, perhaps, feel at liberty to modify somewhat his present lugubrious views of the situation.—ED. NATION.]

## Notes.

IT is proposed by the Harvard Art Club to raise a fund with which to found a travelling scholarship, the holder of it "to visit a place or places, determined by the Club, within the regions of ancient culture, to undertake such investigation or exploration as may be practicable," and to keep a journal, which may be published at the discretion of the Club. Works of art procured by this means are to be placed on deposit with the University for suitable exhibition. The holder of the scholarship is to be chosen by the Club (subject to the approval of the President of the University and of the Professor of the History of the Fine Arts) from among Harvard graduates of recent standing. Subscribers of one hundred dollars or more will become honorary members of the Club; those of fifty dollars, associate members. The annual subscription to the fund will be ten dollars, payable Oct. 1 in each year. The treasurer of the Club is Mr. A. C. Gurnee, Cambridge.——The editors of the *Harvard Advocate* intend publishing next month a volume of poetry culled from former issues of their lively sheet. They certainly do not exaggerate the superiority of the average versifying in the *Advocate* over that of any other college periodical with which we are acquainted.——F. B. Patterson announces 'The Amenities of Verbal Criticism,' an impartial showing, by appropriate extracts, of the dreadful consequences of debate induced by *odium philologicum*. Mr. Chas. F. Cox is the author.——By a rare chance, the citizens of Westerly, R. I., were recently fortunate enough to secure the services of M. Hammerel, leader of the chorus at the Opéra Comique, Paris, as director of a Choral Harmonic Society, organized for the practice of secular and religious choral music. We were about to congratulate them on the part this society was likely to play in any Centennial combination, when we learned that their meagre attendance at rehearsal on the 6th instant was regarded by M. Hammerel both as a sign of their indifference to their opportunity and as a mark of disrespect to himself, and that he incontinently withdrew from all connection with the enterprise. Perhaps Providence, where M. Hammerel is or has been staying with a former pupil of his, might profit by Westerly's mistake.——We are often asked to recommend some foreign periodical to a student of the language in which it is published. Hitherto, we believe, there has not been any single catalogue embracing all important foreign periodicals classified and described sufficiently for intelligent selection. This has now been done to a very full extent by Mr. L. W. Schmidt, 24 Barclay Street. His Catalogue of American Periodicals, similarly arranged, will also prove useful to those who consult it.——J. R. Osgood & Co. will publish, in uniform style with their new edition of Hawthorne's works, a biographical sketch of the novelist by his son-in-law, Mr. G. P. Lathrop. It will contain many unpublished details, especially concerning his youth. ——George Eliot's 'Daniel Deronda' will be published by Harper & Bros., and Thomas Hardy's 'Hand of Ethelberta' by Henry Holt & Co.

—The *Evening Post* has been "journalizing" again. On the last occasion (June 11, 1874), it said the *Nation* had given it "a benevolent reprimand for making any mention whatever of M. Rochefort's letter in the *Herald*" This imposed on us the painful duty of calling attention to the fact that what the *Nation* said was that "it was surprised to see a paper of the *Post's* standing treating his (Rochefort's) history of the Commune as worthy of credit." The *Post* does not "journalize" so often as the *Times*, which is peculiarly reckless in this field, but then the *Times* never ventures on pure invention or complete falsification. You can usually discover the passage it has distorted. The *Post*, on the other hand, now and then invents boldly—so boldly that there is absolutely no basis for its "journalism." On Friday evening it said that "the *Nation* had for years been making merry at the expense of persons who believe that honesty in politics as in everything else can only be secured through the instrumentality of honest men." This is pure invention. Also that the *Nation* "has for several months been busy insisting that *all* the citizens of New York who voted against the Kelly candidates in November, and who now desire the overthrow of Tammany Hall as a political power, *were and are actuated simply and solely* by the demagogic purpose of paying the public laborer two dollars for work which the private laborer does for a dollar and a half." (The italics are ours.) This is also pure invention, so pure that no phrase or passage can be discovered in the *Nation* giving any foundation for it. We remember no worse case of "journalism," and it is so flagrant, especially when followed by the amusing statement that "these persistent assertions had impaired the *Nation's* reputation for fairness," that we feel compelled to call the attention of the editor, as a man of honor, to the dangers both to faith and morals of this sort of controversy. He is now placed in the peculiarly embarrassing position of having either to produce the basis of these remarks on the *Nation*, or to admit himself guilty of "journalism" in its most soul-destroying form.

—A new loop-hole for the escape of defendants in libel suits is foreshadowed in the quiet sarcasm of a recent victim of the ready reviewer. The Report on the Yellow-Fever Epidemic of 1873, by Dr. Frank W. Reilly, briefly noted in these columns (No. 536), having been made the subject of a review in which, as he alleges, the quotations were invented and views and opinions of the most heterodox character gratuitously furnished by the reviewer, he suggests the preservation of the article as "an illustration of the curious vagaries of *amnesic aphasia*"—a peculiar affection of the brain which manifests itself, among other symptoms, by a perverse dislocation of ideas and things from their vocal representatives. This seems to be a decided improvement on the Pickwickian mode of explaining away offensive or libellous utterances, and the hint is commended to the sharp practitioner, as likely to be of at least equal value with the plea of "emotional insanity" in another and analogous group of defenceless cases.

—Mr. H. H. Bancroft, in his third volume on the 'Native Races of the Pacific States'—which is noticed on another page—uses a singular philological term which he seems to have coined himself, and the invention of which shows a true Western enterprise and boldness. This new term is "sound-shunting." He says, on pp. 553, 559: "Among these same northern nations of which I am speaking is found that certain system of *Lautverschiebung*, or sound-shunting, originally discovered by Grimm in the Indo-Germanic family, and by Professor Max Müller called Grimm's law." And on p. 670: "I allude to Mr. Grimm's discovery of what has been termed *Lautverschiebung* or *Lautveränderung*—Anglicé, sound-shunting." And he adds: "This phenomenon consists of the changing or shunting of certain vowels or consonants in the words of one language into certain other vowels and consonants in the same words of another language," etc. The law here referred to does not call for remark in these columns; but the word "shunting," by which Mr. Bancroft attempts to define it, while perfectly familiar to some, will be new to many of his readers, not only in this figurative sense but in the literal. In its literal sense, however, it belongs to the literature of the day; for Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., uses it repeatedly in his article on "Railroad Accidents" in the December *Atlantic*. It is strictly a railroad word, and as such is fully defined in the dictionaries. According to Webster, a shunt is "a turn off to a side or short rail that the principal rail may be left free," and the verb is supposed to be contracted from "shun it," or derived from the Dutch *schuinen*, to slope, *schuinte*, a declivity. In the rural districts of England it is used with the meaning "to shun, to move from, to give a sudden start to, to shove." In railroad phraseology, "shunting" is equivalent to "switching off," and the word, therefore, may be taken as representing well the noticeable difference between the railroad dialect of England and that of America. In England, they say "railway" for "railroad," "carriage" for "car," "luggage-van" for "baggage-car," "wagon" for "freight-car," "goods-train" for "freight-train," "shackle" for "couple," and so on. These several pairs of words are exact synonyms, and yet there is scarcely any intermingling of the two on the two sides of the ocean. On the Erie road, which is largely under English control, the word "railway" has been adopted instead of "railroad," and the sleeping-cars are called "coaches"; but taking the country through, these dialectic differences are rigidly marked and perhaps permanently established. In view of the recent origin of the railroad system, the constant intercourse between the two countries, and the large amount of correspondence on railroad matters

which must be constantly going on, these variations are a phenomenon worthy of study.

—M. Charles de Mazade, one of the most active contributors to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, has lately published in that periodical an article entitled "La Littérature et nos Désastres," in which he discusses an interesting topic, though he perhaps throws no very intense light upon it. The gist of his article is the question, "What did the Empire do for French literature?" His conclusion appears to be that it did little—a conclusion in which many persons will agree with him. It behooves such persons to remember, however, that it is hard at all times to measure what, for good or for ill, the political administration of a country does for its literary tone. If the government is corrupt, it is very likely that the books of the day will be poor; but this is rather because the people who put up with a corrupt government are the sort of people to write poor books than because the political régime exerts any very direct pressure upon literature. M. de Mazade reminds us of the brilliant beginnings of contemporary French literature during the period from 1830 to 1848, and then asks what it has come to in the hands of such writers as MM. Feydeau and Zola. It is very true that the "generation of 1830" offered an extraordinary reunion of genius and enthusiasm, and that it produced a series of masterpieces; but the generation of 1830 had been preceded by the despotic First Empire and the narrow régime of the Restoration, and although the reign of Louis Philippe was comparatively, for Frenchmen, a very comfortable one, its tone was certainly not particularly inspiring or nourishing. However that may be, it is incontestable that as the powerful talents who had passed their maturity dropped away, their places, under the Empire, were never filled. We can think of but two eminent writers who rose to conspicuity after the *coup d'état* of whom it may be said that their talent is of an elevated order: we allude to MM. Renan and Taine. A great many clever writers sprang into activity, but their cleverness had always a vicious strain in it. The "moral" writers under the Empire were extremely feeble and unreadable. The Empire had decidedly a taste of its own, and that taste was a very bad one. The books of the day have its stamp, but it is very possible that they gave as much as they took. The Empire had indeed a literary style which was as bad as possible—the pretentious, hollow, insincere style of Napoleon III. in his speeches and addresses, the "official" French of the *Moniteur*. In so far as this insufferable phraseology rubbed off on other productions it was of course most baleful. French talents and cleverness were, we believe, as great as ever under the Empire; it was what underlies talent—thought, feeling, conviction, substance—that was wanting. Everything ran to form, and the successful books were apt to resemble little vases, skilfully moulded and chiselled, into which unclean things have been dropped. It was not always, indeed, that the successful books had form to recommend them; M. de Mazade accuses the "sovereigns" of reading 'Rocambole' at their villas. Apart from the other many excellent reasons for hoping for the continuance of the Republic in France we have this additional ground for deprecating the resurrection of the Empire—the permanence of the Republic will help, namely, to solve a curious intellectual problem: how far can a government really "encourage or discourage good literature." If under the Republic the chiselled and gilded empty shell of French literary form really finds a living soul again, we shall almost begin to believe in the old traditions about the "protection" of literature.

—We encountered in some journal several weeks ago the rather surprising statement that "M. Ernest Renan was at Ischia writing a novel." It appears that at the time it was published the first half of this statement was true; M. Renan had indeed the felicity of being at Ischia. Whether he was writing a novel or not, we are unable to say; but he was writing something very nearly as entertaining. He has just published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in the form of a letter from Ischia, a singularly interesting account of some of the doings of the late learned Congress of Palermo. It is written in the exquisite style usual with M. Renan, and it will well repay reading. At the close of the Congress, Signor Bonghi, the Italian Minister of Public Instruction, organized a ten days' excursion to the various ruins and historical sites of Sicily. Every one present seems to have had very little time to spare, and the party travelled at high pressure beneath a Sicilian September sun. M. Renan says that he did not sleep during the whole ten days, and that at last fatigue overwhelmed him; but he saw everything, and, thanks to his large erudition, understood everything. As an honored guest, he takes a rather rose-colored view of Sicily; we hear not a word about brigands; it is all a population of "braves gens." Here is an interesting passage:

"A surprising ease, occasionally a little presumption, are the fruit of the high sense of his nobleness of origin which is the characteristic of the Sicilian. The idea that he is inferior to any one in the world never occurs to him. The petty tricks that we call reserve and discretion are in us the relic of a long social inequality. The Greek is equally unacquainted with these timidities. At first I was surprised at the innumerable letters, at the cosmogonies and treatises on the universe and the nature of things, at the projects of universal reform, that I received every day. It is not often that with us a stranger comes to you and says, 'Your philosophy is mine,' or, 'You are one of the small number of persons who have arrived at the just conception of the created.' Then you remember that you are in Greece, that things took place in this way in the time of Empedocles, and that it is owing to this awakening that humanity began to institute a search for causes. Sicily is perhaps the country where a taste for speculation is most natural. If anything can still give us the idea of a country in which, as in Greece, the taste for beautiful things was the care of a whole people, and in which the difference of culture between the inferior classes and the upper ones existed only in degree, we must look for it in Sicily. What seems to us *naïf* is simply antique. The joyous greeting given in the country districts to the Congress was a spectacle that no other country in Europe could have offered."

It is agreeable to hear all this about regions from which the principal news lately has been the doings of the *mafia* and the impossibility of getting juries to convict murderers. Upon the great ruins—Syracuse, Agrigentum, and Taormina—M. Renan is of course very eloquent and interesting.

—A correspondent writes us as follows: "I send you a parody of Baudelaire's style which appeared in a French newspaper soon after the publication of the 'Fleurs du Mal.' It is not much of an exaggeration, as any one can see who will look at the quotations from 'Delphine' and 'Le Voyage,' given by Saintsbury in his *Fortnightly* article last October. And it may be of use in settling the mind of your correspondent, 'W. J.' (*vide Nation*, December 2), who 'penned a short notice' of Baudelaire at second-hand from Saintsbury's paper for a 'Manual of the Literature of the XIXth Century,' and was afterwards bewildered by Edmond Scherer's very different view of the author in question":

TO MR. KRIGGER, TAILOR, WHO HAD THE BAD TASTE TO BRING ME HIS BILL WHILE I WAS AT BREAKFAST.

"On craint la Mort; mais moi, j'aime cette Carogne.
Vieille Camarde! quand voudras tu de mes os?
Je me sens fatigué de ma triste besogne
Ainsi qu'un vidangeur accablé de travaux.

"Un autre en rougirait, je le dis sans vergogne:
Ne pouvant pas avoir de splendides tombeaux,
Je veux qu'un noir fumier reçoive ma charogne;
Je veux être mangé par d'immondes corbeaux.

"Oui! lorsqu'un tas de vers, aimant la pourriture,
Viendront me dévorer la poitrine et les bras,
Et quand mon estomac sera rempli de rats,
Je rirai tout mon saoul, tailleur! car ta facture,
Mané Tekel, Pharès de mon maigre repas!
Etant mort, o tailleur! je ne la paierai pas."

—Few men have made as many books as Le Bibliophile Jacob, and it were well if all bookmakers were as industrious and as conscientious as the librarian of the Arsénal. His 'Mystifications et Mystifiés: Histoires Comiques' (Paris: Dentu; New York: F. W. Christern; 8vo, pp. iii.–311; 1875) seems to be a mere reprint of newspaper articles. The first chapter gives an historical sketch of hoaxing in France; each of the three other chapters is devoted to describing a series of practical jokes. Perhaps the most amusing is the colossal correspondence carried on in 1785 by the Comte de Fortia de Piles under the *nom de plume* of Caillot-Duval. The Count was a cavalry officer stationed at Nantes, who, to relieve the tedium of garrison life, wrote letters to fifty different people, of all sorts, flattering and bepraising and asking for advice and assistance. In 1795, he published at Nancy the complete correspondence, giving in full all the letters he had written and received. M. Lacroix confines himself to France, and makes no mention of the hoaxes of Hook and Mathews in England, or of Franklin's scalp story, or of the Cardiff Giant in this country. At the end of the volume announcement is made of a uniform reissue of the author's works of fiction, and the titles are given of twenty-eight books in sixty-one volumes. Upon the cover three books are advertised as just out and four more as in active preparation. It is to be hoped that M. Lacroix will some day draw up a bibliography of his own works. It would be especially interesting if it gave particulars of the anonymous assistance M. Lacroix rendered to the elder Dumas.

—Professor Schmoller, of Strassburg, one of the leaders of the "Kathedersocialisten," whose 'Grundfragen des Rechts und der Volkswirthschaft'—a controversial treatise in reply to Treitschke's "Socialismus und seine Gönner"—we have recently noticed, has just published two addresses of peculiar importance and interest not only in themselves, but as illustrating the aims and methods of the "Historical School." The first, 'Strassburgs Blüte und die volkswirthschaftliche Revolution im XIIIten Jahrhundert," was delivered upon his assuming the rectorate of the university, October 31,

1874; the other, in continuation of it, 'Strassburg zur Zeit der Zunftkämpfe und die Reform seiner Verfassung und Verwaltung in XVten Jahrhundert,' was delivered May 1 of the present year, on the occasion of the anniversary of the foundation of the university. We have never chanced to meet with anything which gave so clear and compendious a view of the municipal history of the Middle Ages as these two thin pamphlets. The first treats mainly of the origin of municipal government, essentially from Nitzsch's point of view, although in some points agreeing with Heusler. Of course this difficult subject cannot be treated without leaving some gaps and obscurities; and the second address is at once more complete and of more general interest. After treating of the origin of the guilds (Zünfte) and the revolution which placed them in power in the XIVth century, he goes on to describe the mischiefs and misgovernment of the thoroughly democratic régime thus introduced, and the methods by which these were remedied in the fifteenth century. This is perhaps the most striking portion of the whole. The mischiefs to be remedied were precisely those under which we are suffering in our democratic republic; and that they were successfully and thoroughly remedied is a significant and instructive fact. The method, too, is remarkable. It consisted in making no essential change in the forms already in existence, but in adding new features which served to control the bad tendencies. The council (Rath) and the magistrates continued with powers somewhat limited, but not materially altered, only above the council were established three new boards—the XIII, the XV, and the XXI (called the *Geheime Stuben* or *das beständige Regiment*), the peculiarity of which was that they were composed of men of administrative experience who served for life and without pay—composed in due proportion of members of the patriciate and members of the guilds. The Board of XIII was of gradual formation, and at last assumed the chief administrative authority in the state; it appears to have encroached upon the functions of the magistrates much as the Spartan Ephors upon those of the kings. The XV were the most remarkable institution, and remind one of the Athenian *Nomophylakes*. It was their business to watch over the execution of the laws as well as alterations in the laws themselves, which were submitted to them, and which could not be made against their unanimous opposition. The Board of XXI (so called, for its numbers varied) was in the main composed of the other two; it formed a sort of supplementary council which must be called to sit with the old council in certain specified cases. These constitutional reforms, and the great administrative reforms which characterize the XVth century, brought Strassburg to that pitch of prosperity and good government described by Erasmus as "monarchiam absque tyrannide, aristocratiam sine factionibus, democratiam sine tumultu, opes absque luxu, felicitatem absque procacitate."

—The first of these addresses, perhaps also the second, is published also as a "Heft" in the series entitled 'Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker,' edited by Ten Brink and Scherer, and published in Strassburg by Trübner. The other numbers, so far as published (eight in all), are mostly by Scherer and others upon topics of mediæval German literature: No. 5 is "Die Vorreden Friedrichs des Grossen zur 'Histoire de mon temps,'" by Wilhelm Wiegand. A somewhat similar series, equally illustrating the literary activity of the German university towns, is published at Basel, in annual numbers, under the title, 'Neujahrsblatt für Basels Jugend.' It has reached already more than fifty numbers, all upon topics connected with the history of the city; No. 51, for example (1873), is entitled "Das Karthäuser Kloster und die Bürgerschaft von Basel," by Prof. Wilhelm Vischer. Other titles, illustrating the varied character of the series, are: (1837) "Erasmus von Roterdam in Basel," by Hagenbach; (1842) "Hans Holbein der Jüngere von Basel," by Burckhardt; (1856) "Die Zünfte und der Rheinische Städte-Bund," by Burckhardt; (1866) "Basels Eintritt in der Schweizerbund," by Frey. No. 50, "Eine Basler Bürger-Familie aus den sechszehnten Jahrhundert," by Prof. Vischer, contains a brief sketch of the municipal history of this city. Its development did not pass through any so democratic stage as Strassburg. Basel was always distinguished for its conservative character; the patrician families retained a larger share of power, and by entering into the Swiss Confederacy in 1501 the free German city was transformed into an aristocratic, federated republic. Another recent publication in the same field deserves to be mentioned—'Notice sur l'origine des magistrats communaux,' by Prof. Vanderkindere of Brussels. This little treatise, of 47 pages, contains an excellent statement of the results of the latest German researches into the origin of mediæval institutions, with especial reference to the institutions of the Low Countries. In regard to the municipal institutions, he chiefly follows the theory of Von Maurer, that they were derived essentially from those of the village communities, and sums up at the close with the opinion that "our communal magistrates of the Middle Age had a double origin and a double character; the *échevins* are the judges of the Frank hundred, the councillors are the administrators of the Germanic mark."

## PRICE ON CURRENCY AND BANKING.*

WE have seldom read a book on the subject of currency with more satisfaction than the one now before us has given, nor have we seen one which Mr. Wendell Phillips and his school would read with more dissatisfaction. A more vigorous and thorough demolition of the numerous fallacies which underlie the popular ideas on the subject could with difficulty be found. Professor Price's style of writing is like that of General Sherman in at least one quality—that of leaving the reader in no doubt as to what he means. It is withal now and then a shade dogmatic—a quality arising from the fact that the author has not the slightest doubt of the absolute correctness and sufficiency of all his views. His creed is that of the extreme orthodox English school, from which he does not tolerate the slightest dissent. At the same time, the merits of the book lie in its destructive rather than its constructive powers; the fallacious notions which beset the subject are exploded in detail, but the work of reconstruction does not go much further than the establishment of the correct notions in place of the incorrect ones. It cannot, therefore, take any high rank as a scientific treatise on money, nor can we suppose that the author intended it should do so. The lamentable state of public opinion on the subject does not arise from mere want of knowledge, but from the prevalence of false and groundless opinions; and the first step toward a clear and correct understanding of the subject must consist in the sweeping away of these opinions. The author's mode of treatment is therefore well adapted to the times, and his work can be read with at least as much profit by Americans as by Englishmen. Indeed, the evidence of an extended reading of American newspapers on his part is very striking, and we strongly suspect that a large share of the stimulus necessary to produce the book was derived in this way.

One general characteristic of this treatise, which may be traced all the way through it, is the absence of every attempt to build anything like a lofty edifice, or to expand into anything which might be stigmatized as theorizing or praised as lofty generalizations. Professor Price does not begin with Robinson Crusoe, but with the actual trade and mining of the present day, some digging gold and selling it, while others are constantly exchanging goods and incurring debts. Confining himself so strictly to the foundations of the subject, he has no general principles to propound for which he does not find ample illustrations in the actual operations of exchange and banking.

Notwithstanding the great merits of the work, and the low altitude and simple architecture of the superstructure which the author erects, we cannot regard it as incapable of decided improvement. One idea which, without being formally enunciated, seems to pervade or underlie a great deal of the reasoning of the book, is that the operations of commerce, in both kind and extent, are absolute and fixed, and that the monetary machinery must accommodate itself to them, but is entirely without influence upon them. Very likely Prof. Price himself would enter a disclaimer against so sweeping a proposition being attributed to him; yet we strongly suspect that in his zeal to combat the current superstitions, which look upon the commerce of the world as at the mercy of a few moneyed institutions, he has now and then tacitly assumed it as the basis of reasoning. On it he bases a proposition which strikes us as the least tenable of any he puts forth—namely, that an inflated circulation of bank-notes payable on demand is a pure absurdity. To combat this proposition with any useful result, we should have to begin by agreeing upon what should be considered an "inflated circulation of bank-notes," which would almost require a treatise on currency to serve as an introduction to our theme.

The branch of the subject in which we find the greatest room for improvement in treatment, however, is that of the functions and effects of bank deposits, and we conceive that it would have been treated quite differently if the above general proposition had not been lying half-dormant in the author's mind. Among the features presented to us by the current of public thought on the money question, none is more curious than the almost total forgetfulness of the fact that bank-notes and bank deposits are in all essential particulars the very same in their nature and effects—a forgetfulness which seems to affect the economists and the legislators of all countries as much as it does the public. In this country and, we suppose, in all others, when the volume of the circulating medium is reckoned, the bank-notes are always counted in, while the deposits are omitted. Yet both consist of bank credit, that is, of debts due from the bank, payable

* Currency and Banking. By Bonamy Price, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

on demand and transferable from hand to hand without limit, and hence used in place of money for the exchange of goods. The only difference is that in the one case the debt is transferred by passing a bank-note, and in the other case by writing or endorsing a check. The commercial effect of increasing or diminishing the amount of either is precisely the same, excepting any slight difference which may arise from the two forms not being used in the same proportions by all classes of the community. There is about as much sense in excluding bank deposits when estimating the volume of the currency as there would be in excluding bills printed on paper of a particular color, which, nevertheless, circulated just like the others, except that they were more used in wholesale than in retail transactions. It is a pity that in place of the terms "circulation" and "deposits" in bank statements, we could not use some terms implying, 1, credits for which notes payable to the bearer on demand are issued, and, 2, credits for which the owner must present his check.

The moral of this is, that barring any limitations imposed by law or by prudence on the amount of deposits which may exist, banks can increase the volume of the currency by simply writing the necessary figures on the left-hand side of the depositor's pass-book, in precisely the same way as if they could issue notes at pleasure. Not only is this fact not brought out by our author, but he speaks as if the powers of each bank in creating currency and indebtedness were absolutely limited by the commercial transactions of its customers, and as if debts could be formed only by buying or selling, apparently overlooking that important class of cases in which artificial debts are created by the simple exchange of evidences of indebtedness between two parties. "Can you loan me a thousand dollars?" says a customer to his banker. If the latter says "no," things remain *in statu quo*. If he says "yes," the customer draws his note for the amount payable in thirty days with interest, while the banker writes the figures 1,000 on the credit sides of the necessary books. The former now goes forth armed to all intents and purposes with a thousand dollars in currency, which would not have been in circulation if the banker had said no, and with which he will outbid some one else in the purchase of a piece of property, and thus increase its price. And whether the banker shall say yes or no is not fixed by any inflexible law, but solely by considerations of prudence; the main question being whether there is any danger that the checks to be drawn upon him during the thirty days following will exceed his ability to pay in legal tender.

The option thus placed in the hands of the banker may be employed so as to have, at least temporarily, the double effect of increasing transactions and of raising prices. This proposition can be combated only by showing that any excess of notes or deposits over a specific demand come back, not simply that the notes may be changed to deposits, or *vice versa*, but that the debt may be paid in gold or legal tender. If only a single bank expands in a city where there are plenty of others, it will speedily be stopped in this way by the excess of checks upon it presented through the clearing-house over those it has to present. But if all the banks expand together, supposing public confidence unabated, they will be stopped only by the rise of prices inducing a demand for gold to export, and this is so slow a process that a considerable general inflation may occur before it stops the expansion. In this country, at the present time, where the legal tender is not gold but paper, the stoppage may be much more sudden, being caused by the diminution of the legal-tender reserve to twenty-five per cent. of the credits payable on demand.

A minor point remains for critical remark. The curious fact is noticed that the supensions of the Bank Act which have been authorized in times of panic, and which allowed the Bank of England to issue notes without limit during those times, have been nugatory except in their moral effect. The law requires that for every note issued above a certain minimum, the bank shall have an equivalent of coin in the Issue Department, and Prof. Price shows that the Bank always had the coin to fulfil this requirement notwithstanding its suspension. But he does not state whether he includes all the coin held by the Bank, including the reserve for depositors, or only that actually made over to the Issue Department. In the former case, his argument would entirely fail, for if the coin held by the Issue Department actually fell below the legal requirement, the act would, we should suppose, be considered as violated.

Notwithstanding a few points on which we dissent, the tone of the book as a whole is eminently healthy, such, in fact, as only a vigorous and well-nourished brain could produce. While totally free from all ornamentation of style, no one who begins reading the book will want to set it aside till he is through with it, and the man must be wise indeed who can read it without some advantage.

## INDIAN MYTHS AND LANGUAGES.*

DR. SAMUEL FARMER JARVIS, in his discourse before the New York Historical Society in 1819, expressed the opinion that "the religion of the Indian tribes of North America had not been viewed with that largeness of observation which is the characteristic of enlightened philosophy." The same criticism might be made to-day, after half a century has passed; but such a treatise as this of Mr. Bancroft's must do much to take away the reproach of American scholarship in the department of aboriginal mythology. Dr. Jarvis's own contribution to the philosophical study of American religions was of no slight value, and the same may be said of Mr. E. G. Squier's dissertation on the 'Serpent Symbol in America,' and of Dr. J. G. Müller's voluminous German work on the 'American Primitive Religions.' But, unless we except Dr. D. G. Brinton's 'Myths of the New World,' nothing has appeared in this department of American anthropology so broad and thorough, and so crowded with authentic details, as this treatise of Mr. Bancroft's on the mythology of the races of the Pacific States. Although his field embraces only the Western slope of the continent, down to the Isthmus, his contribution to this one department amounts to 550 octavo pages, and is crowded with well-established facts pertaining to the shadowy and uncertain realm of mythological ideas and religious beliefs. The author's method is the same as that which he pursued so strictly in the previous volumes of his work—namely, to give all the ascertainable facts, and to leave to others the construction of theories by which to explain them. "There never was a myth without a meaning," he says; but to discuss the meanings of the myths which he places on record, or the significance of the religious rites which he describes—except incidentally and of necessity—is no part of the task he has allotted to himself. But his work is none the less interesting to the general reader, and certainly none the less valuable to the student of the subject who has not the time to explore the original authorities, or cannot resort to the vast collection of books of which Mr. Bancroft is the happy owner. The divisions he makes are as follows: I. Origin and End of Things; II. Physical Myths; III. Animal Myths; IV. Gods, Supernatural Beings, and Worship; V. The Future State. Among the most noticeable parts of the book are (1) the account of the *Popol Vuh*, the sacred book of the Quichés, from which he copies the Quiché creation-myth at considerable length; (2) the description of the Mexican pantheon and the Mexican religion and ritual, with various aboriginal prayers in full; and (3) the consideration of the question of phallic worship. In respect to this last-mentioned subject, Mr. Bancroft holds a position midway between Mr. Squier and Dr. Brinton. He gives in full Dr. Brinton's protest, but adds: "With his statement that the proofs of a recognition of the fecundating principle in nature by the Americans are 'altogether wanting' I cannot agree." The thoroughness with which Mr. Bancroft has done his work is attested (as in the previous volumes) by the numerous foot-notes, particularly by the bibliographical notes in reference to the *Popol Vuh* (pp. 42–44), and to Father Sahagun and his 'Historia' (pp. 231–236).

Of the second part of the volume, relating to languages, there are more readers who are in a position to form a critical estimate than of the first. This class of persons will hardly feel that the author has made in these pages a very valuable contribution to linguistics, yet because of his fidelity to his own method they will find very little to complain of. Evidently Mr. Bancroft is not a master in philological science; but as he avoids all parade of learning, and confines himself closely to the business in hand—namely, the reporting of facts—this philological division of his work compares very well with the rest of it. It is a division, however, which some of those who set out to read the whole five volumes—if in these busy days there should be any such persons—will be tempted to "skip," for the simple reason that much of it is literally unreadable. For any one except the most devoted philologue, tables of cacophonous nouns, paradigms of outlandish verbs, and paternosters which can neither be parsed nor pronounced, are not very attractive reading, unless, indeed, the reader be captivated—as well he might be—by the discovery that these seemingly uncouth tongues are under the dominion of law equally with the most refined Indo-European languages, and are constructed on a symmetrical and beautiful plan. This fact, of which so many intelligent persons are totally ignorant, Mr. Bancroft's treatise will do much to render obvious; and it will also do much to dissipate popular ignorance with reference to the number of the American tongues. It is no uncommon thing, even in intellgent circles, to hear of "the Indian language," as if there were only one such language spoken by all the aborigines. But Mr. Bancroft's tabulated list of the languages of the

* 'The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America. By Hubert Howe Bancroft. Vol. III. Myths and Languages.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

Pacific Slope occupies eleven pages, and contains more than six hundred distinct names. "These languages," he says, "resemble one another too slightly to be called dialects, and in the majority of cases no affiliations of any kind can be traced." This last statement is, to say the least, a very loose one; but the book, as a whole, brings out very plainly the multiplicity of the American tongues. "I may safely assert," he says on p. 553, "that on no other continent can there be found such a multitude of distinct languages which definitely approach one another in scarcely a single word or syllable."

One of the most marked characteristics of the American languages is the constant occurrence of long words. This is the natural result of the synthetic character which they possess in common. In expressing an idea, the Indian does not analyze it as the Anglo-Saxon does, but pursues the opposite course: he throws it as nearly as possible into a single word. To this there is one striking exception—the language of the Otomis; and it is certainly a strange phenomenon that of two languages in close juxtaposition—the Otomi and the Aztec—one should possess such tremendous words as "mihuiittilmoyoiccuitlatonpicixochitl" (the name of a plant) and the other should be as strictly monosyllabic as the Chinese. To the Aztec language more space is given than to any other, for the excellent reason that it was the language of a comparatively cultivated people, and possesses a larger literature and more abundant grammatical materials than any other language of Western America.

In both divisions of this volume there are many items of information which will engage the attention of those who have become familiar with the "comparative" method of study. It is easy, with this mass of facts before us, to trace resemblances and differences between one American myth and another, and between American and Old-World religions. There is also (on pp. 560, 561) an interesting list of words which are common to some American language and the Indo-European stock. It is on such lists that empirics in ethnology base their astonishing theories of the origin and migrations of the American races, but Mr. Bancroft of course recognizes such resemblances as fortuitous.

We notice in the volume some instances of careless proof-reading. On p. 2, we find "Aristotelean"; and on p. 6, "Heroditus." The adjective by which is designated the Indo-European family of languages is sometimes written "Arian" and sometimes "Aryan." Since the word in its first form is theological, and has a recognized place in the history of dogma, why not make the philological term uniformly "Aryan"? The variation, however, is pardonable; for, strange to say, the word is not found in the standard dictionaries. Does it not show a lack of enterprise amongst the lexicographers and their publishers that neither Worcester nor Webster should give a place to a word so well-known and so linguistic as "Aryan"?

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*Art Foliage, for Sculpture and Decoration;* with an Analysis of Geometric Forms and Studies from Nature of Buds, Leaves, Flowers, and Fruit. By James K. Colling, F.R.I.B.A. First American from the latest English edition. (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.)—Mr. Colling's book is divided into three parts, which treat of "Analysis of Form," "Art Foliage," and "Natural Examples" respectively. The subject is a very delightful one, and, were it handled by a man of discriminating perception and feeling for the finest qualities of organic form, would be useful and important as an aid to art instruction in these days, when merely kaleidoscopic variations upon geometric figures and formally symmetrical arrangements of lifeless plant and animal forms pass for design; but Mr. Colling does not so handle it.

The main faults of the book grow out of the idea that convention in art properly means "arrangement according to certain *rules*" rather than the limitations, as regards complete imitation of nature, imposed by the various conditions of individual thought, feeling, perception, and skill, as well as by the nature of the materials in which designs are wrought and the various purposes which they are intended to serve. This idea of convention—which is an essential defect of much of the recent popular art instruction in England, France, and Germany, as well as in America—finds expression more or less distinctly throughout the text, notwithstanding certain passages which might otherwise seem to indicate the apprehension of truer principle; and it is borne out to the full in the plates, which are supposed to be illustrative of nature, and of design founded upon nature. As a consequence of this idea, Mr. Colling is dogmatic in his statement of what he considers to be rules of art. Thus, on page 7, we find it stated that "in the treatment of foliage for the purposes of art it must, more or less, always be made geometrical, and arranged with symmetry"; on page 36, "The ornamentation of wall surface, whether it be by paint, paper, or carving, should invariably be arranged in a flat manner."

If it be true that "in the treatment of foliage for the purposes of art, it must, more or less, always be made geometrical, and arranged with symmetry," what is to be said of Middle-Age foliate design, which, in all departments of carving, engraving, and MS. illumination, is, with little exception, highly ungeometrical and far from symmetrical in any formal sense? This design is distinctly organic, and full of those departures from formal arrangement which in art, as in nature, express life and action. It is true that geometric figures frequently occur in mediæval design, but it is always in a subordinate way. They are not intended as chief ornament, but as foils to organic design. Thus Giotto has inlaid the Florentine Campanile with colored stones set in the geometric forms of the circle, triangle, square, and their derivatives; but here the *color* is the chief source of beauty. In the carved panels, near the base of the wall, all is organic and changeful. Take, for instance, the vine in the "Drunkenness of Noah," which is a lesson in design worth prolonged study. Mr. Colling admits that irregularities are often valuable in art; but what he says about them, as well as the illustrations which he gives, shows that he does not justly appreciate the function and significance of these departures from geometric regularity. He speaks of nature as being "geometric with *minor* irregularities." But this is true only in regard to *plan*. All organic nature is ungeometric in *elevation*, so to speak, especially in perspective elevation, which presents her utmost loveliness of form. As a specimen of the author's treatment of this part of the subject, the following extract may be given without further comment:

"The principle of irregularity is also that of the picturesque, and all nature is picturesque to a more or less degree. Freedom in design, therefore, is the element of the picturesque, or that which is natural, while symmetry and geometrical regularity is the rule of art. Lines in nature are bent, and what is commonly called 'crooked'; art makes them straight. Curves in nature are often irregular; art regulates them. But if art dispenses entirely with the irregular it becomes stiff and stilted, and no longer natural. No art should be without this element of the picturesque, the irregular, or the natural—no matter what it is called. The mind and eye are quiescent while viewing perfectly geometrical composition—there is a quiet satisfaction that everything is correct and according to rule; but engraft upon it the irregular, and we are at once drawn towards it with very different feelings. It then becomes picturesque. Before, it was a beautiful object, even and uniform; now it is natural, it has variety and freedom, and we look upon it and meditate its character."

As regards the maxim that "ornamentation of wall surface, whether it be by paint, paper, or carving, should invariably be arranged in a flat manner," it need only be said that, if this be true, all ancient and mediæval mural decoration by fresco and mosaic must be considered in bad taste; and it would have been better could walls have been covered with Minton tiles or some other outgrowth of South Kensington art instruction.

Mr. Colling constantly speaks of "adapting" and "applying" natural forms, and gives detailed suggestions as to the various points which should be "considered" in "adapting" nature to the purposes of design—not infrequently saying good and true things, but always quite failing to appreciate the fact that inventive faculty will enable a man to work in perfect obedience to all true laws of design without reference to precepts, and that precepts, even where they are infallibly true and specific enough to reach every principle involved, would never enable a man who had not designing faculty to invent the least beautiful thing. Precepts and suggestions, however, though they will not make designers, may, if they are wise, be helpful in aiding many to apprehend and enjoy design. And it is to be regretted, therefore, when a work of this nature fails so extensively to inculcate true principles.

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*Poets and Novelists:* A Series of Literary Studies. By George Barnett Smith. (New York: Appletons. 1875.)—These essays are marked as having originally appeared in various periodicals—the *Edinburgh, New Quarterly, Fortnightly,* and *Contemporary Reviews,* and the *Cornhill Magazine.* The information is valuable, for we should never have supposed that Mr. Barnett Smith's "literary studies" had been ushered into the world by these illustrious journals. They treat of Thackeray, Mrs. Browning, Peacock the novelist, Hawthorne, the Misses Brontë, Fielding, and Robert Buchanan. Of Thackeray Mr. Smith tells us that "his mode of narrative consists in a series of pictures after the manner of Hogarth." He goes on to say that Pendennis's "love-passages with Miss Fotheringay are naïvely related," and that the young man's university career "is described with no sparing pen." "The subjectiveness of Thackeray," Mr. Smith pursues, "is another quality which has greatly enhanced the value of his works"; and he adds that, "leading out of his subjectiveness, or, rather, being a broader and grander development of it, we come to his humanity. That is the crown and glory of his work. And yet this man,

who was sensitive almost beyond parallel, was charged with having no heart! . . . So superficial are the judgments of the world!" The author concludes with a compliment to Thackeray's style. "To the faithfulness with which he spake the English tongue we believe future generations will testify." This last is surely ambiguous. For future generations the English tongue will probably have greatly changed, and we should say that the testimony of Thackeray's own generation as to the way he "spake" it was the more valuable. But the error is perhaps slighter than to discover that Thackeray's narrative is like a series of pictures by Hogarth, or that the episode of Miss Fotheringay is "naïvely" related. Satirists are not usually remarkable for their naïveté, and if ever a man had little of this virginity of perception we should say it was the world-worn creator of the Pendennises and Costigans. For Mrs. Browning Mr. Smith has a boundless admiration. He devotes some space to considering the question whether it better describes her to say that she is "Tennyson's sister" or "Shakspere's daughter." It is impossible to withhold the suggestion that it might do to try "Wordsworth's niece" or "Swinburne's aunt." There was a chance to say a great many discriminating things about Mrs. Browning, but Mr. Smith has utterly missed it. It would have been interesting to point out the singularly intimate union of her merits and defects, to show how her laxity and impurity of style is constantly vitiating her felicity of thought. Mrs. Browning possessed the real poetic heat in a high degree; but it is not too much to say that her sense of the poetic form was an absolute muddle. Mr. Smith, however, has no eye for the niceties of diction (his own is often decidedly erratic), and he swallows everything whole. "And Burns, with pungent passionings set in his eyes," and "poor, proud Byron, sad as the grave and salt as life"—Mr. Smith thinks those are "excellent touches." In discussing the "Romaunt of Margret" and "Isobel's Child," he might have found something to say about that unwholesome taste, so characteristic of his author, which found a pathos in playing tricks with the spelling of proper names. With regard to another of Mrs. Browning's poems, he remarks that "the poet who loves Lady Geraldine has many excellences, but his vocation has not properly imbued him with the kingly spirit." "The character of the Earl," on the other hand, "is well drawn, his natural dignity being admirably caught in the few lines devoted to his limning." Mrs. Browning's sonnets Mr. Smith thinks "certainly equal to any of Wordsworth's and most of Milton's." Of "Aurora Leigh" he says that "it is a poem which one could imagine Shakspere dropping a tear over for its humanity"; and, again, with his high relish for "intense subjectivity," he remarks that that of the work in question "will exempt its influence on men from decay." Mr. Smith has much to say about Peacock's novels—for instance, that as regards one of them, in which the author has been less successful than in the others, "after the feast of sparkling wines and choice viands which he has again and again placed before us, the palate remains comparatively unexcited and unsatiated with this specimen of intellectual catering." There are many pages upon Hawthorne, from which we cull this allusion to one of the most exquisite of his tales: "The search for the 'Great Carbuncle' has much amusement, notwithstanding it is open to the charge of wild extravagance." To reproach Hawthorne for his "extravagance" is almost as odd as to compliment him on his comicality. From the article on "The Brontës" we learn that the author of 'Jane Eyre' was as "strong and brave as a lion"; that Rochester in that novel was a "Jupiter of rugged strength and passion"; that the situations in the tale are "very vivid: several scenes being depicted which it would be impossible to eradicate from the memory after the most extensive reading of serial literature": and that Emily Brontë "has this distinction, at any rate, that she has written a book which stands as completely alone in the language as does the 'Paradise Lost' or the 'Pilgrim's Progress.'" This is high praise for the crude and morbid story of 'Wuthering Heights,' and Mr. Smith may well say that "this, of itself, setting aside subject and construction, is no mean eminence." He devotes fifty-eight pages of eulogy to Robert Buchanan, in the course of which he makes the somewhat puzzling enquiry—"What would he give, for instance, for the details relative to the *personnel* of Homer and Shakspere, if written by themselves?" What is Mr. Smith's notion of the meaning of the word *personnel?* We have heard of the *personnel* of a hotel, of a theatre, of a fire-company, but never yet of a poet. Mr. Smith says in his preface that he has collected his essays in compliance with the importunities of his friends. He would have done better bravely to make up his mind to seem ill-natured and resist them. He seems to us but scantily furnished with the equipment of a critic.

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*The Vikings of the Baltic.* A Tale of the North in the Tenth Century. By G. W. Dasent. Vols. I.–III. (London: Chapman & Hall. 1875.)—The author of this work is favorably known to every student of the Icelandic or old Scandinavian literature, he having among other works rendered into English the Younger Edda of Snorri Sturla's son (1842) and two most excellent Icelandic sagas, viz., that of 'Burnt Njal' (in two large vols., 1861) and that of 'Gisli the Outlaw' (1866). The introduction to the great Icelandic-English dictionary by Cleasby and Vigfusson (Oxford, 1874) was also written by him. This last work of Mr. Dasent's is somewhat different in its form, not only from *his* former literary productions, but also from all those touching the saga-literature which have yet appeared in the English tongue. Its subject is especially drawn from the so-called 'Jómsvíkinga-saga' as we find it in the eleventh volume of 'Fornmanna-sögur'; but it is neither a mere translation of this saga, nor an effort to present the historical events contained in it in a form more correct and more in accordance with modern criticism. It is an historical romance, or rather a romantic historical sketch from the Scandinavian Viking life in the latter part of the tenth century.

In the reign of the Danish king Harald Bluetooth there arose a magnificent town, called Jomsburgh, on the south coast of the Baltic, at the mouth of the river Oder. Here Palnatoki, a mighty Danish chief, after having killed the king and thus become disgraced at the royal house at home, founded a republican viking society, called Jomsvikings or the Vikings of Jomsburgh. As this society was founded in order to support and strengthen the vigor and warlike character of the most independent Scandinavians of that time, so the statutes enacted for its existence and development inculcated an almost incredible courage, boldness of spirit, and contempt of death. Women were not admitted into Jomsburgh at all, and nothing but warlike deeds and bravery constituted the occupation of the ten to twelve thousand members of this characteristic viking republic. But after Palnatoki's death, under the administration of Sigvaldi, the son of Earl Strut-Harald, in Denmark, the fundamental law of the society was somewhat slackened, it then being allowed to the vikings, for instance, to marry and admit their wives into the burgh, and this was the cause of many eventful occurrences in the history of the republic. From this time many of the most prominent Jomsvikings are found fighting and cruising upon the Northern waters, not only in quest of fee and fame, but also and especially on adventures of love. Their chieftain Sigvaldi fell in love with a daughter of the Slavonian king, Burislav of Vindland (Pomerania), of whom the Danish king, Svein Harald's son, had just asked a tribute as a token of his submission to the Danish crown. To gain the princess, Sigvaldi has to free King Burislav from paying the Danish tribute. In this he succeeded by taking King Svein in Denmark by surprise, bringing him as a captive to Jomsburgh, and forcing him to marry another daughter of King Burislav, become his friend, and give up his assumed supremacy of Vindland. So Sigvaldi marries Astrid, the eldest princess of Vindland, and King Svein, Gunnhild, her sister. Soon afterwards, Strut-Harald, Sigvaldi's father and King Svein's liegeman, died, and at his funeral feast King Svein, who in his heart nourished an unquenchable hatred to Sigvaldi for his late victory over him, and feared that the powerful Jomsvikings might be dangerous to his kingdom in Denmark, allured Sigvaldi and the other chieftains of his viking band into making a vow of harrying Norway and killing his deadly enemy, Earl Hakon, the mighty ruler of that country, and bringing it under Danish rule. This was King Svein's way of humbling the overbearing vikings, and he was successful in his plan, for the result of the Jomsvikings' expedition against Norway was the great battle in Hjörungavog (c. 990), where these fierce warriors were defeated and their power broken by Earl Hakon.

Such are the main historical events treated of in 'The Vikings of the Baltic.' We think the work is of much higher value, at least to the general reader, than a mere translation of the 'Jómsvíkinga-saga' could be, for here we find the poetical elements of the original in an embellished form; and, besides this, the author has interspersed his tale with very instructive descriptions—many of which are not found in the original—of almost everything pertaining to the daily life of the Scandinavians in those remote times, and, furthermore, he has added from other Sagas some interesting narratives closely connected with the main facts of his tale. Thus, chaps. xi. and xii. in Vol. II., containing Earl Hakon's visit to the temple in Gudbrand's Dale and the hunt after Rapp, are taken from the story of Burnt Njal (chaps. lxxxviii. and lxxxix.) in a form not very much changed, and chap. xix. in the same volume is for the most part drawn from the 'Færeyinga-saga.' In chap. xvii., Vol. III., we read Earl Hakon's solemn form of taking the supposed strangers into his peace, with which "the handselling of peace" given to the disguised Grettir in 'Grettis-saga' (chap. lxxiii.) should be compared. Upon the whole, Mr. Dasent's work contains a rich store of antiquarian knowledge, greatly

to be commended to every one wishing to enter upon the field of Icelandic Saga-literature. In reference to its relation to the Sagas, it may be compared with such dramatic works of Oehlenschläger as 'Hakon jarl,' 'Kjartan og Gudrun,' etc., and though perhaps lacking somewhat of the creative genius of that celebrated poet, Mr. Dasent never in his 'Vikings' commits the sin of violating the historical contents of the Sagas, for which Oehlenschläger is so much and so justly blamed. As for the form in which the author has told his tale, it may be compared with Ingemann's historical romances or with some of Walter Scott's tales, productions to which Mr. Dasent's is perhaps inferior in poetic beauty, but no doubt superior in antiquarian truthfulness. Much as we like this work, however, we do not coincide with its author in his spelling of Icelandic proper nouns, some of which we find in almost their original dress, while others are somewhat Anglicized, though not according to any systematic rule. In Vol. III., p. 26, we read: "Her mother was Kathleen, a daughter of Rolf the Ganger, begotten in *Iceland* before he left off sea-roving," etc., which cannot be right, because Rolf was never in Iceland. It should finally be noticed that besides the 'Jómsvíkinga-saga,' which Mr. Dasent has followed in his book, there are two others somewhat different from the one first named, not only as to their form, but also as to their contents. One of them is found in the first volume of *Flateyjarbók* (Christiania, 1860); the other was published in a separate volume in Copenhagen (1824).

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*The Battle of Gettysburg.* By S. P. Bates, LL.D. (Philadelphia: T. H. Davis & Co. 1875.)—The battle of Gettysburg has often been compared to that of Waterloo, but the resemblance is more fancied than real; in a military view there is hardly any similarity beyond the mere fact of an approximate equality in the numbers actually engaged and in the losses, but both were far-reaching in political results. From the 4th of July, 1863, all hope of foreign intervention was at an end, the Confederates gained no action of any consequence, and the Army of Northern Virginia was reduced strictly to the defensive, fighting more to gain honorable terms than with any hope of ultimate victory. The battle thus marks the turning-point of the war, and this alone would give it great prominence independently of its sanguinary character. The work before us contains a little of everything relating to Gettysburg—a narrative of the whole campaign, a biographical sketch of "old John Burns," called by the author "the hero of Gettysburg," various newspaper and other accounts of the experience of residents of the town, a detailed plan of the National Cemetery, with a notice of the ceremonies at its consecration, sundry official documents, including Meade's and Lee's reports, and some of the despatches between Halleck, Meade, and Schenck, and, finally, a list of the Union regiments engaged and the names of the dead interred in the cemetery. It can hardly pretend to take rank as a military criticism. In the opening of the campaign every move on both sides is discovered by the author to show the wonderful foresight of Gen. Hooker; this is carried to such a point that one can hardly repress a smile when it is remembered that this is the same Gen. Hooker who, six weeks before, at Chancellorsville, had made brilliant manœuvres and high-sounding promises, only, when the actual conflict came, to lose his head and narrowly escape losing his whole army. Hooker conducted his march well in the beginning of the Gettysburg campaign, but the Washington authorities were evidently distrustful of him, and seemed to wish an opportunity to relieve him; his undignified and rather insubordinate despatch of June 27 left them no option. Gen. Meade occupies no such bright place in the author's opinion; he is credited with having done his duty as far as his ability went, but is charged with having his army scattered, with failing to examine and appreciate the ground, with slowness and indecision, and with giving ill-defined instructions to his corps commanders. Gen. Lee receives hearty praise as a general; his tactical mistake of fighting an offensive battle seems to have escaped the author, who endeavors to defend Lee from most of the criticisms which have been made upon him; as, for example, his failure to press his advantage on the 1st, the disjointed nature of his attacks upon the 2d, and the blind error of assaulting an impregnable position on the 3d. To most of these criticisms the author finds a sufficient answer in the bravery of our troops, which would, he argues, have produced the same result, no matter what dispositions Lee might have made!

Dr. Bates's narrative of the battle is generally clear, and agrees well with previous accounts and the weight of authority on both sides, but it has not added much to our previous knowledge of the important events. Several minor incidents, such as the experience of the inhabitants of Gettysburg, the circumstances of the death of Reynolds, and notably the dramatic account of the meeting of Imboden and Lee late on the night of July 3, are new and interesting. The principal defect of the book is the lack of good maps; it contains one map of the theatre of operations, and three of the field of battle, giving the positions of the troops on the successive days; of these latter, no two are alike in topographical features, no scales are given, and on two of them the direction of the meridian is omitted. Such defects could easily have been remedied, for the Government has made accurate surveys of the field; these could have been obtained, or, still better, the publishers might have procured a reduced copy of Bachelder's isometric drawing. This most excellent picture has been examined and corrected by all the corps commanders on the Federal side, and shows as much at a glance as it would take chapters to describe; no account of the battle of Gettysburg which aims to be exhaustive is complete without it.

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*John Todd:* The Story of his Life, told mainly by himself. Compiled and edited by John E. Todd, pastor of the Church of the Redeemer, New Haven, Conn. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876. 8vo, pp. 529.)—We do not know whether the present generation of college students know anything of Todd's 'Students' Manual,' a book a good deal read and exercising a good deal of influence some years ago. It is really an excellent work, containing much sound advice, with a strong but not unhealthy flavor of pietism, and, while decidedly "orthodox," not offensively doctrinal. One would not guess it from the stern, dyspeptic-looking New Englander pictured on the frontispiece, but Dr. Todd had a genuine gift for kindly, persuasive addresses to the young, and deserves to be remembered as one who did a good work in his day.

In this life of Dr. Todd a good share of space is devoted to his youth and training, after which comes his pastoral career, which falls essentially into two parts—at Groton and Pittsfield, Massachusetts; for the life at Northampton and Philadelphia, coming between these, was of less peculiar interest. His life at Groton (1827–1833) was a battle. It was the time of the reaction of orthodoxy, under the lead of Dr. Beecher, against the Unitarian movement of the early part of the century. In this reaction Mr. Todd was one of the most active agents, and the chapters which describe his ministry at Groton should be read by those interested in the history of this controversy. It must be confessed that he was by no means inclined to underrate his own success as a controversialist. Such expressions in relation to his preaching as—"It made the natives stare," "It makes the Unitarians awfully cross," "If they did not find it a bitter pill, I am a poor judge of human nature"—occur here on almost every page. The account (p. 152) of the effect produced by his preaching in the Unitarian pulpit in Groton is quite marvellous:

"Behold me, then, on the Sabbath, in a Unitarian pulpit, the minister by my side trembling like a leaf. I went home with him at noon, and sat down to a sumptuous dinner—real Unitarian. . . . In the afternoon his congregation looked still more wild, and as still as if in the presence of death. They never had anything like it. . . . Mr. Gannett never thanked me, but said he should remember my kindness; and I very much mistake if he does *not* remember it for a long time to come."

The life at Pittsfield, where he was settled for thirty years, was a complete contrast to that at Groton, as here he was "transferred to an old and established church, where his duty was not to attack, but to defend, existing things; not to revolutionize, but to conserve; not to draw upon the strength of other churches, but to maintain strength upon which others were constantly drawing" (p. 314). This was, after all, the chief work of his life, and, as his son and biographer believes, that which "he was really best fitted for by his natural tastes and talents." If his life at Groton is a chapter in the ecclesiastical history, that at Pittsfield is no less instructive as a picture of the social and religious life, of New England.

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# Fine Arts.

## ART INSTRUCTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

WE have heretofore on several occasions called attention to the effort making in Massachusetts to establish a system of instruction in art in the high and common schools. This effort has been attended with a success gratifying to its promoters. But the Report of the Boston School Committee,* recently published, confirms doubts, which we have before hinted at, as to the wisdom of the system adopted.

This pamphlet embraces the annual report of the chairman of the committee, Mr. C. C. Perkins, and "Notes and Comments on the Heliotyped Drawings" which accompany it, and which illustrate the system recently established by the General Supervisor of Drawing and State Director of Art Education, Mr. Walter Smith.

We observe in these pages that the phrases "drawing and design," "mechanical drawing," "industrial drawing," and "art education," are used in a confused and uncertain way; the several ideas which they stand for, and their precise relation to each other, not being clearly indicated. In like manner, the illustrations consist of geometric outlines, symmetrical patterns, elaborate drawings of casts, drawings of machinery and building construction, a drawing from a landscape after Turner, etc., etc.

Now, the objects of mechanical drawing and of drawing for purposes of artistic expression are not to be reached by the same processes. They have little in common except the use of the same materials. The training of hand and eye required in each of them demands essentially different methods, and to suppose that good instruction for the one end is equally good for the other indicates a thorough confusion of ideas. It is true that most designers require to know certain mechanical processes, but, *as designers*, they require training of a purely artistic kind, which cannot be provided unless the mechanical element be kept out of it. The great underlying fault of the present Massachusetts State system is that the essentially unmechanical nature of fine art is not clearly apprehended; and the result is, as might be expected in a time when mechanic art is better understood than fine art, that the general drift of the scheme is toward mechanical, rather than artistic, training. Indeed, it has been said in defence of this system—when the mechanical nature of its methods has been pointed out—that it does not aim at higher art instruction, but only at that which relates to art as "applied to industry." But this argument again implies a confusion of thought in those who make use of it. Mechanical drawing has nothing to do with art proper. Art is always a form of individual expression, and, if we would apply "art to industry," we must be careful to use the methods which "art" requires. Art instruction is properly directed towards purely æsthetic culture alone—æsthetic, that is, in the sense of the term which includes a moral element. Such instruction begins by opening the perceptions to visible facts and beauties of nature, and of the works which express human enjoyment of it. And it advances by more full recognition of the value of form and color as language for the expression of those states of feeling and imagination which can be communicated through the sense of sight only. But, looking through this Report, what do we find that might tend toward such culture? It contains little but meaningless formal and mechanical exercises. From the most elementary to the most advanced, there is not an illustration given which is well calculated to convey any true knowledge of nature or any just idea of beauty of form in nature or art.

Plates 1, 2, and 3 represent drawings by children from seven to ten years of age. They consist of formal and meaningless lines, arranged more or less geometrically, and drawn with painful care and neatness. There is not a line in any of them the drawing of which could fix any idea of nature in the child's mind; while, on the contrary, such inorganic patterns as No. 5, Plate 2, serve to place obstacles in the way of perception and feeling which it must be difficult afterwards to overcome. In Plate 4 we have what are called "original designs" by children of the ages of ten and eleven respectively. Though nothing is yet done to awaken interest in nature, or to store the mind with facts and beauties of form, the child is asked to evolve designs out of the depths of his own consciousness. That they are but formal variations of meaningless patterns, which is all the child has been taught to draw, is therefore not to be wondered at. In Plate 5 we have outlines of the cone and cylinder, which would be all very well as exercise in solid geometry, but it serves no proper purpose of elementary art instruction. Plate 6—more meaningless "design." Plate 7—more geometry. Plate 8—formal outlines of ugly patterns. Plates 9, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, and 34—designs which we may pause again to consider. They are not only entirely geometrical as before, but from beginning to end there is not an expressive line in any of them; nor have they any organic relation of parts. And this is especially worthy of remark when forms like those of vegetation—which should be highly organic—are used. Purely geometric design may often be well enough in subordinate office, but plant form made rigid and symmetrical is an enormity in design. We see by this one reason why geometric drawing forms so constant and conspicuous a feature in this system. For let any geometric figure be symmetrically divided, and into each division let other figures, of any sort whatever, be placed symmetrically, and the result will be in a sense attractive, and will pass, with the undiscerning, for very sufficient design. But if this be design, then the kaleidoscope is the best of designers.

Fig. 1, Plate 11, is a painful instance of the consequence of doing nothing to direct the pupils' attention to the principles of living growth in vegetation. Observe the flower placed upon the end of the leaflet on the left-hand side of each principal group; also, the manner in which the stalk which supports a flower, and that which supports a group of buds, start respectively from the *middle* of the foot-stalk of the upper leaflet. Mr. Smith, in his notes, refers to this plate, and says that in these figures "progress is observable in manipulation and carefulness of workmanship," not seeing that such manipulation and carefulness—where all intelligence and feeling are wanting—are not deserving of praise. Besides such works as these there are designs for lace-work—some of which, by the way, have merit—designs for china decoration, of which No. 2, Plate 28, has some grace as compared with the rest. Plate 21—the drawing from Turner—after making all due allowance for the imperfection of the heliotype, entirely fails to indicate any appreciation of those qualities which make Turner's work valuable. To gain the faculty of appreciating those qualities is the only use in copying, but in this case it is evident that the most superficial qualities were all that the pupil understood. These she has rendered with a meretricious skill of hand which is an unfailing characteristic of the results of this system. These semicircular cloud-forms, and the characterless drawing throughout, are as unlike Turner as anything could possibly be. And the light and shade is wanting in those delicate and gentle transitions for which Turner stands alone. This copy appears to have been made from a photograph of the sepia sketch which is preserved at South Kensington. These original sketches have little of Turner's fine qualities. They were very hastily done, simply to indicate to the engraver how the masses of light and shade were to be disposed in the first mapping out on the plate. Impressions from the finished plates of the "Liber Studiorum" are worth vastly more as examples to the student than these sketches; and impressions from these plates, giving Turner's own etching before the mezzotint was added, are exceedingly instructive and useful to students. These last have the advantage of being sufficiently well rendered by photography, whereas a photograph from the finished plate gives little of the true excellence of the original. Faithful and intelligent copying of these etchings will teach the student much, both as regards the excellence of Turner's design and also as regards discrimination of the functional characteristics of nature. Being in line, they may be measured and traced, and the accuracy of the copy may be thus clearly tested.

Plates 22 and 32 are shaded drawings from solid models. Both illustrate vicious modes of shading with the point. Elaborate point shading is uneconomical in general practice, though useful as occasional exercise. But to produce shades by minute hatching and stippling which is all equally elaborate throughout a drawing, is a painful waste of labor. And so is the method of tinting with evenly-drawn parallel lines. All this laborious execution is meaningless, and it shows that the true function of the point, as distinguished from that of the brush or stump, is not understood. Plate 23 is the best bit of drawing in the series. The execution is simple and expressive. It has considerable truth and precision of line, and the lights are touched in with very true feeling. But the example is a fragment of Moorish ornament, which, though it is a rich specimen of barbaric abstract ornamentation, can do nothing to instruct the student in the principles of organic design. Plate 25—a shaded drawing from a cast of a hand—is noticeable as having less of the usual academic character. The object is represented in a diffused light, and there are no excessive shades in it. But though it is pleasantly moderate in chiaroscuro, it has little solidity. To keep shades pale in drawing white objects is a merit; but to keep them pale and at the same time to mark lights and shades clearly and express solid form perfectly is a much greater merit, and one which pupils should be encouraged to strive for. Plate 30 is a shaded drawing from a flat

* Report of the Committee on Drawing, Boston, 1875.

copy. The only use in flat copies is to illustrate exemplary methods of execution, including choice and arrangement of subject. This copy is not exemplary in any respect; it is quite the reverse. A plan elevation of a thing being unnatural, and intended to serve only a temporary use, does not require to be elaborately shaded. The true form of a capital cannot be expressed unless it be given in full perspective. The representation of lateral perspective in the carved ornament, as it passes around the bell of the capital, while the abacus and neck-moulding are not given in perspective relation to each other, of necessity distorts the forms. When such a plan is called for, a wise regard to economy, as well as good taste, would dictate that it should be executed with the greatest simplicity, The same principle holds in regard to all architectural elevations not in perspective, and in regard to all drawings of machinery. The frequently elaborate shading of such things is one of the most short-sighted modes of wasting human labor connected with modern mechanical processes. A good and finished drawing of a fine capital—in perspective, of course—would be excellent as an example for a student; but labor spent upon a copy like this is wasted. Plate 33 is a shaded drawing from a cast of a bunch of fruit and leaves. A cast from nature like this is wholly unfit to be used as a model. Let plant forms be drawn from nature as they grow, or let casts from the carvings of real designers, who have appreciated and expressed living qualities of vegetation, be used as models, but let it be known that a cast from nature is a dead thing of necessity. All that is essentially beautiful in the growing thing—all action and spring of life—is entirely lost. Let such a model as this be compared with any group of fruit and leafage in the architrave over the Ghiberti gates, for instance, and the difference between an example taken without regard to expression of functional characteristics, and one in which art has illustrated these characteristics with exquisite emphasis, will be apparent.

The character of these illustrations indicates the shortsightedness and inadequacy of the South Kensington system (upon which this Massachusetts system is substantially based)—a system which originated in the mistaken idea that, in the interest of the material ends of industry and commerce, a scheme of art instruction can be devised which, without thorough and distinctively artistic training, may permanently raise the standard of artistic culture and produce a great body of designers. Such a system may succeed in giving to manufactured products a sort of attractiveness which will quickly commend them to the mass of undiscriminating and uncultivated buyers, but it can do nothing for art culture and the improvement of taste. On the contrary, its mechanical character is actively destructive of artistic sense alike in producer and consumer. It not only is not a power for good, it is a vast power for evil. To criticise thus severely work undertaken and carried on in good faith, and with genuine zeal and energy, is not a pleasant task. It might, indeed, seem captious to do so did not these very qualities, combined as they are with want of real intelligence as to the methods and ends of artistic culture, make the prevalence of the system the more dangerous. It would be a real misfortune, not only to art but to manufactures, should the now popular South Kensington system become established through the efforts of its able advocates in the schools of Massachusetts and other States.


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*ERRATA.*

Page 253, col. ii, line 20 of second paragraph. For "chemist" read "alienist."
Page 280, col. ii, line 20. For "Mr." read "Miss."
Page 361, col. ii, line 41. For "S. B. Carpeaux" read "J. B. Carpeaux."
Page 382, col. ii, line 18. For "1857" read "1868."

# REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED

## DURING THE HALF-YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1875.

### Theology, Metaphysics, and Ethics.

Arnold (M.), God and the Bible.....(Macmillan & Co.) $2 50
Aryan Philosophy.....(Geo. Ellis & Bros.)
Asmus (Dr. P.), Die indogermanische Religion, Vol. I.....(R. Westermann & Co.) 2 60
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